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THE CARAVAN ROAD FROM PERSIA TO TURKEY*

By MICHAL VYVYAN

THE subject of this lecture, the caravan road from Tabriz to the Black Sea, is no longer a Central Asian one, but, having been in former times the most favoured avenue for both commerce and travellers not only into Northern Persia but also into Central Asia, it retains some interest as one of the most well-beaten routes in the Nearer East as well as one of the most secluded. This road between Trebizond, Balburt, Erzerum, Bayezid Khoi, and Tabriz first became of conspicuous importance in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, after the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols had shifted the centre of gravity of the Western Iranian world, at any rate commercially, from Baghdad to Tabriz. This was in time for Marco Polo to use it on his return to the West in the last decade of the century, and the main stages of the route as it was described in the handbook of Marco Polo's fellow-countryman Pegolotti, fifty years later, very nearly correspond with those in use up till the advent of motor traffic.

It was the route of the first English Ambassador to Persia, Edward I.'s envoy, Galfried de Langele, and at that time it was the most important of three main routes into Northern and Western Persia; today it is the least important of four. I stress this distinction as my purpose in this lecture on a not particularly unfamiliar trade route is to attempt to outline some of the changes which can be observed by a traveller *de passage* on a road which has only lately become somewhat inaccessible. In addition, the rise and fall in importance of trade routes is of some significance where none too many exist, especially in recent years, when the changes have been particularly rapid owing to the alterations of political frontiers, the extension of railway systems and the introduction of motor transport.

The other routes of the later Middle Ages to which I have referred were, in the first place, the seldom followed one from Poti, the ancient Phasis, to Tiflis and the Kura valley, and thence to Tabriz or the Caspian, and secondly, the important routes from Northern Syria, or, alternatively, Erzerum to Baghdad and thence to Isfahan. These routes continued to be of roughly the same relative importance until the extension of the Russian Empire into the Caucasus and Transcaucasia in the

* Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on October 1, 1930, the Right Hon. Lord Lloyd in the Chair.

first half of the nineteenth century. The route from Poti or its successor Batum then grew in importance at the expense of the Trebizond-Erzerum route, and its popularity was further increased by the building of the Transcaucasian railway with an eventual southerly extension to Tabriz. At the same time the Caspian railhead of the Transcaucasian railway at Baku provided another more direct route to Tehran, and this is now the cheapest approach to Persia and most convenient, if we except the Imperial Airways Service to Baghdad and Junker's extension to Tehran. More or less contemporary with the extension of the Russian railway system was the initiation of the Baghdad railway project which represented one of the modern versions of the Syrian routes to Persia. The other version, the fourth modern route, came with the beginning of motor travel, practically a post-war development, and one which has, of course, revolutionized communications in what has now begun to be called the Middle, instead of the Near East.

The road from Trebizond via Erzerum and Bayezid to Tabriz has, therefore, steadily declined in importance. The transit trade from Persia to Trebizond, counting exports and imports together, had fallen from so much as a million pounds sterling to an estimated £20,000 between 1905 and 1914 (mainly owing to the competition of the Russian railways), and has, of course, declined still further in face of the vicissitudes through which Armenia and Northern Kurdistan have since passed. Yet even had Eastern Asia Minor not suffered such violent political changes, it is probable that the growing prestige of Baghdad as the capital of a new state and a future railway junction would have diverted the caravans from the formerly great highway of Armenia.

Eastern Asia Minor is, therefore, out of the way of modern trade routes, and must wait for its development as part of the scheme of modernization planned by the new nationalist régime in Turkey. At present the country through which the road from Tabriz to Trebizond passes certainly impresses one with its remoteness. The greater part lies on the Armenian plateau at a level of 4,000 to 7,000 feet and is a natural road, but the tableland, bounded by the peripheral ranges of the Pontic chain in the north and the so-called Alps of Kurdistan in the south, is broken by the incursion of one other range terminating in Mount Ararat in the eastern corner of both the geographical and political frontiers of Asia Minor. Consequently the road is interrupted by passes, one of the most insignificant of which crosses the water-parting between two such noble rivers as the Araxes and Euphrates. But when the road turns off through the Pontic chain to reach the sea at Trebizond, it is a very different matter, and illustrates the immense difficulties of constructing through routes in Asia Minor, all of which is not steppe and plateau. It is a made road mainly following the gorges of the Chorokh and Karshut rivers below new mountains very unlike

the sugar-loaf range of the tableland which has been left behind, and passing through scenery reminiscent of Corsica. Begun in the seventies of the last century by French engineers, it was improved during the war by Germans and Russians in turn, and has had the distinction for half a century of being the best built road in Asia Minor. This was perhaps not saying a great deal under the pre-war régime.

In the neighbourhood of Ararat, Persia, Turkey and the U.S.S.R. appropriately meet, and so the road from Tabriz has the peculiar interest of passing through a borderland. The Turco-Persian frontier remains on the slopes of Little Ararat, but in the Turco-Russian treaty of 1921 the Turks were the gainers for the first time in over a century's reshufflings of territory. Greater Ararat is consequently high and dry in Turkey, and the Russian frontier has receded to the Araxes and its affluent the Arpa Chai. But an unofficial sphere of Russian influence to some extent still persists, passenger transport is dependent on the Transcaucasian oilfields, and the grey lorries marked in red with the hammer and sickle, the badge in this case of the "Azneft," the Azerbaijani petroleum "syndicate" of Baku, are a commoner sight in the coast towns of Northern Anatolia, in Trebizond and Samsun than in Northern Persia. To this trade is mainly due the wide distribution of the Soviet state trading delegations which can be used as virtual consulates and fly the Russian flag. One of these Sovtorg agencies is established at the little Persian town of Maku on the Turkish frontier, which is not even on the Tabriz-Tiflis railway. In view of the extensive trade between the U.S.S.R. and Persia, the Russian colony is naturally very considerable in Tabriz, and it is interesting to observe that the sub-titles at the local cinemas are written in Azeri (Azerbaijani-Turkish) and Russian, not in Persian.

In the last century it appears that Azeri was generally spoken as far south as Kazvin on the road to Tehran, but Persian seems to have gained ground lately. Yet, apart from the change of language, the traveller from Tehran to Tabriz cannot fail to notice the change from Persia proper to the Turki province of Azerbaijan long before his arrival at the latter city. The Kola-i-pehlevi, the new Persian national headdress, is no longer universally worn as in the neighbourhood of Tehran, it is exchanged for the local embroidered woollen caps or the rarer fur ones.

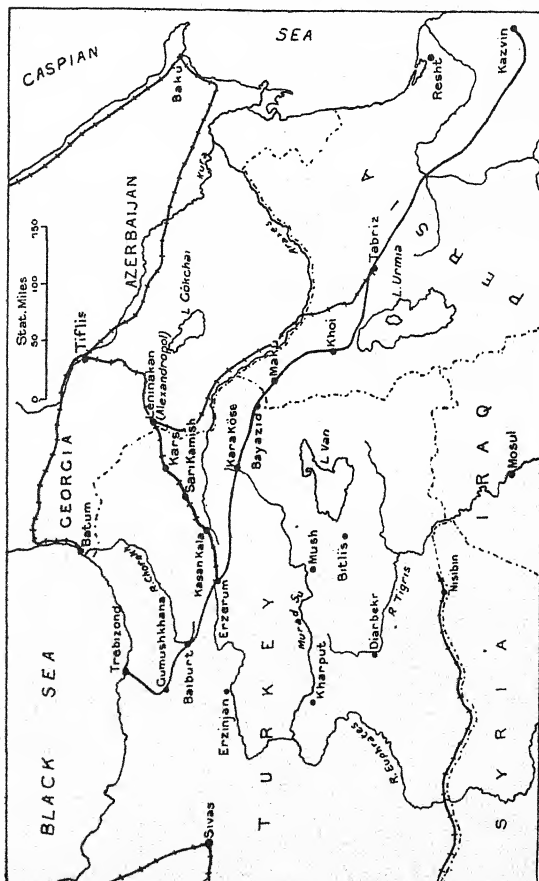
It is indeed the most remarkable feature of the caravan route from Persia to the Black Sea that in crossing the fringes of the two new uncompromisingly nationalist régimes in Western Asia, it passes through the territories of racial minorities for the greater part of the way. North of Khoi, some seventy miles north-west of Tabriz, there are Kurds on both sides of the Turco-Persian frontier, and although there are no Armenians at all left on the Turkish side, the road fringes

the southern border of another minority, the Laz, a Moslem Caucasian-speaking people akin to the Mingrelians or Western Georgians. To the latter, and to the few stray Kurds to be found north of Erzerum, the Turks attribute all the banditry on the post road, probably without entire justice.

The words of Mahmud Esad Bey, Mustafa Kemal Pasha's late Minister for Justice, that the only rights of minorities in Turkey are the rights of slaves, can scarcely be taken as representative of the Government's views, but one cannot fail to realize that the independent development of any of these minorities outside the Turkish fold is incompatible with the ideals of the Nationalist Government at Angora. The new Pan-Turkism is no compromise like the Pan-Ottomanism of Abdul Hamid, and the failure of the two Kurdish large-scale rebellions of 1924-25 and of the present year have shown the futility of armed separatist movements. The Turks have their opportunity in the empty tableland vacated by the Armenians. This region through which the Persian caravan route passes is a great reserve for Turkish immigration, but its successful utilization in extending Turkish nationalism southwards as well as eastwards depends on the all-important question of communications. Where the influence of newspapers does not penetrate, caravan routes or preferably railways are the sole channels of the propaganda by which nationalist régimes stand or fall. The new railway linking Samsun to Kaisarieh via Sivas will more or less divide Turkey into two parts—inner and outer Anatolia—and though the transference of many Kurdish families from the eastern to western vilayets which was carried out after 1925 has considerably affected the distribution of population, the minority problem exists mainly in the mountains of outer Anatolia. Two of the most well-informed writers on Eastern Asia Minor, Cuinet and Lynch, remarked before 1900 that the backwardness and intractability of the Kurds was largely the fault of the Imperial Government in providing Kurdistan with no roads or irrigation to enable the inhabitants to adopt a settled way of life. The present Government has scarcely had time to remove this reproach.

East of Sivas there are not more than four arterial roads passable for regular motor traffic, and the greater part of these are not all-weather roads. One from Mardin in the south via Diyarbekr and Sivas joins the Baghdad railway to the Black Sea at Ordu or Samsun. Another from Sivas via Erzinjan and Erzerum reaches the Russian frontier via Kars or the Persian frontier via Bayezid, and finally there is the Trebizond-Erzerum road. The other road systems are local and isolated.

I do not propose to comment on the route from Tehran to Tabriz. It is a very well known road over which I hurried as fast as possible in a car. At Kazvin it branches off from the road to Resht and the Caspian harbour of Pehlevi, and thence for most of the way it consists



in following up one wide floored valley between thoroughly eroded volcanic ranges to a water parting and then following a similar one downwards. The only panoramic excitement is the crossing of the magnificent gorge of the Kizil Uzun. Roadmaking is a simple business here as compared to the borders of the Armenian tableland, and when I passed about a year ago a new road was being built by the side of the old one, on a very ample scale. Another new road had also just been completed, branching off a little to the south of Tabriz and joining Azerbaijan to Gilan, and it was just about to be opened by the Shah on his return from a journey in Persian Kurdistan. But until the north to south railway is completed these new roads will not materially lighten Persia's economic disabilities. Some idea of the present cost of transport from Europe to the most accessible part of Northern Persia can be gathered from the fact that the railway material costs between \$50 and \$60 a ton to bring from Germany to the new Caspian railhead at Bander-i-Shah.

It is only to passenger traffic that motor transport has brought a fundamental change. The time for a small caravan of riding and pack horses from Tehran to Tabriz used to be about fifteen days; the journey of 360 odd miles now takes two days, stopping at Zenjan, and it has been done in one day with a Morris Cowley. Again for the 530 or so miles from Tabriz to Trebizond nineteen travelling days were taken with a caravan. I took seven, deducting voluntary halts, but two of these were riding stages, and I was much delayed by police formalities and the supposed or real dangers from the Kurds after dark.

From Tabriz the road to the Turkish frontier at Bayezid and the Russian frontier at Julfa is common until Marand. The Turkish road then turns west to the remarkable little walled and castellated town of Khoi, which has, I believe, the nickname of *Darü es Safa*, or "Abode of Delight." North of Khoi one enters the western side of the Araxes valley and the fringe of Northern Kurdistan. This time last year the Kurdish disaffection had apparently been smouldering for four years before breaking out on a larger scale this year in precisely this area. All the peasants one met were armed with rifles, even in the fields, and no one is allowed on the road after dark. This applied as well on the Turkish side of the frontier nearly as far as Erzerum, and I had in turn a Persian and Turkish military escort. Just before reaching Maku, the Persian frontier town and garrisoned fort, I had my first view of Ararat and kept it in sight for three days. I was very lucky in that the final white cone was scarcely ever covered with mist while I was there. Beyond Maku there are two riding stages to Bayezid. Cars, that is to say, are not allowed to cross the frontier, although it would be possible for them to do so.

The Turkish frontier port of Güreli Bulağ is placed just above a

small Kurdish village. The commandant here, as well as the commanding officer at Bayezid, told me that the local tribe in the neighbourhood of Ararat is a part of the large Haideranli tribe which extends on both sides of the frontier. These Kurds have a bad reputation, but have always been considered of indifferent military qualities. So it seems fairly evident that the Kurdish revolt of this year in the Haideranli territory involved a tribal confederacy stretching southwards. The battlefield was merely, as is frequently the case, in the territory of the weakest ally.

Beyond Bayezid the road lies along the Armenian tableland to which I have referred, until some distance the other side of Erzerum. Since leaving the Tabriz to Tiflis railway, it is littered with the débris of the Russian retreat of 1917. Only traces now remain of the Maku railway which formed part of the Russian scheme of strategic communications linking Armenia to Transcaucasia. It was built in 1915 and 1916, branching off from the Tabriz line at Shah Takhti and running almost to a junction with the 3 foot 6 inch gauge Erzerum-Kars railway which becomes broad gauge before Kars at Sari Kamish. Bayezid was apparently a considerable railway station, but the buildings are all burnt out, and the rails serve as beams for houses at the Turkish military posts and as foundations for bridges. The projected Trebizond-Erzerum line did not get so far, but there are traces of embankments, and even some tunnels had been bored.

On the Armenian plateau the smaller villages as well as towns like Erzerum give the impression of complete emptiness since the exodus of the Armenians. Agriculture is extremely backward in the Erzerum vilayet, which is mainly a pastoral district. Wheat, barley and rye are grown in sufficient quantities for the very limited population, but for cultivating these crops the peasants are generally content with the old wooden plough. Of course, such innovations as tractors have scarcely penetrated into the eastern half of Turkey, unless perhaps in the rich agricultural districts of Diyarbekr and Bitlis. The most impressive evidence of the activity of the new Government which I met with on this road was in the school at Alashkert. There were only forty pupils, but it was neat and well equipped, hung with maps of Anatolia and portraits of the Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, and draped, like all official buildings, in Turkish flags. A small boy of about six wrote up on the blackboard a complimentary sentence about my visit in Latin characters far superior to those with which police officials were constantly mutilating my passport. The Turkish scribes have already worked some variations on the copybook Italian hand, and it is almost certain that with their national genius for calligraphy, they will soon develop a distinct handwriting side by side with the retention of Latin printed characters.

The impression of desolation which the almost uninhabited villages convey, is enhanced by the decline of caravan traffic on the roads. The Persian transit trade has almost vanished, partly owing to the lack of security on the roads during the Kurdish risings, and partly owing to the increase in the Turkish tariff on Persian carpets. This latter factor has also had the effect of jeopardizing the position of Constantinople as a world-wide carpet *entrepôt*, since foreign importers are now inclined to deal with Persian exporters direct. Consequently it is only after the junction of the Persian road with the road to Kars at the crossing of the Araxes that trading caravans become at all frequent. Meanwhile passenger traffic has taken to motor transport. Chevrolet tenders, enclosed with wire netting and packed with all kinds of travellers, are common on all the main roads of Turkey and Persia, particularly between Tehran and Tabriz and Erzerum and Trebizond.

The last two hundred miles of the journey, from Erzerum to the coast, now takes only a day and a half in a car as opposed to the seven days of caravan stages. The road crosses three high passes, Kop, Vavuk, and Zigana. The former is over 8,000 feet, the latter two both over 6,500 feet, and the Kop pass is generally impassable for motor traffic when under winter snow. This is also sometimes the case with the Vavuk, but this pass, which separates the Erzerum and Trebizond vilayets, marks completely the change between the two types of country, the inner plateau and the coastal area. Crossing the Vavuk one enters valleys lined with magnificent beeches and other hard woods, the pastoral land is left behind, and one feels the approach of the Mediterranean climate. It is, therefore, appropriate enough that Trebizond should possess all the characteristics of a Levantine town, a remarkable change from Erzerum. In Erzerum there had been a heavy frost when I passed in the end of October, and the roads of the plateau resembled a moraine cemented together with hard clay. And yet on arriving in Trebizond a day and a half later the temperature was 65°, and there was only once rain and not once frost during the next three weeks.

The population of Trebizond has naturally declined considerably since before the war, and the number of inhabitants registered as Turks is misleading, since there is no other legal nationality for the domiciled Greeks and other Levantine minorities who have chosen to remain there. It is in order to evade the difficulties which these minorities would present, and not out of any belated clericalism, that the Nationalist Government only allows Moslems to enter the Civil Service and the commissioned ranks of the army.

With the decrease in population in the town itself as in the hinterland, the trade of the port of Trebizond has also declined. Last year there was some distress, as the nut harvest which is the principal export of the vilayet was only half the normal, and this was accentuated by

disastrous floods in the coastal region of Riza and Of. It seems clear that this distress was responsible for the serious banditry on the post road to Erzerum, and not the wanton activities of the Laz as the Turks are inclined to suggest. In fact, I should like to close my lecture with a generalization—that the means of existence are so precarious in the mountainous and less fertile areas of Eastern Asia Minor, and obviously more so in Kurdistan, that it is not a larger gendarmerie and a firmer hand on the part of the local government that is needed to help the country to settle down, so much as some scheme of state-aided economic development.

In closing the meeting, the CHAIRMAN thanked Mr. Vyvyan very warmly in the name of the members for his extremely interesting address; he said he had been particularly interested in the lecturer's reference to the scarcity of population in the great Armenian plain; he had heard lately of a scheme for bringing back the old Turkish population from Macedonia and Albania to the now de-populated Armenia and Kurdistan. Turkish authority held that there was a surplus population of three million which they hoped to establish there. Possibly, Lord Lloyd continued, they were rather too optimistic. What was going to induce these people to return to the life of an Armenian shepherd? But of one thing Lord Lloyd said he was sure: that the road from Erzerum over the Palentoken Dag to Bitlis and Van—a road he had often trod many years ago—was one of the most beautiful in the world. He thanked Mr. Vyvyan for his lecture. (Applause.)

THE FOLK-LORE OF 'IRAQ*

By E. S. STEVENS

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I HAVE been asked to speak to you tonight on the subject of folk-lore and, especially, folk-tales in 'Iraq. I can think of no more delightful subject, but it opens out such a wide field that I cannot hope to do more than give you a glimpse of the treasures which are awaiting the folk-lorist in what is almost a virgin field. Just as there is still below the soil of 'Iraq a wealth of archaeological material as yet untouched, so there is, on the lips of the people of a country which was up to the time of the War remote from Western influence, a folk-lore which must have its origin in the earliest ages of human history. 'Iraq has been called the Cradle of Mankind, and if this is the case, one would expect to find traces of some of the lullabies and stories which amused mankind in his childhood; for in every country folk-lore is more ancient than history; that is to say, it holds embalmed, like flies in amber, scraps of mythology, religion, custom and saga which are far older than the fable which clothes them. Intelligent analysis of folk-lore has only become a recognized science in modern times, but people have at last realized that, mixed with the dross of accretion, there may be mingled precious fragments which are of the utmost value to the student of history, race-migration, anthropology and kindred sciences.

The folk-lore of 'Iraq must come from many varied sources, for 'Iraq has been one of the world's highways and battlegrounds. It was once the great road to and from India, China and the Far East. Wave after wave of migration, conquest and settlement have surged over it. When history dawns we find Sumerian conquerors in possession of Lower 'Iraq, and following them come other conquerors, other settlers: Chaldean, Cassite, Assyrian, Persian, Arab and Turkish. Each race in turn may have contributed something of its religious beliefs, customs, sagas and traditions to the folk-lore of 'Iraq. And not only the conquering races, but others. Merchants used 'Iraq as the trade route from the Mediterranean sea-board to the Far East. Negroes, Egyptians, Indians and gypsies have added to 'Iraqi folk-lore and distributed it. Slaves must emphatically be taken into account, since even in Sumerian times slaves from the North and from Africa were imported. Slaves have always been great story-tellers, for part of a slave's duty is to entertain

* Paper read to the Central Asian Society on October 8, 1930, General Sir Percy Cox in the chair.

his owners. And lastly in Moslem times we have the yearly caravans of pilgrims passing to and fro and colonies of pilgrims in the holy cities, such as Karbala and Najaf.

It is not surprising, therefore, if the folk-stories and folk-lore of 'Iraq are of a very composite nature. Sometimes I am told tales which must undoubtedly have an Indian or Buddhistic origin, and sometimes stories which are not only close to, but almost identical in form and language with, those which the brothers Grimm and others collected from German peasants in the nineteenth century. And it is a little startling to find exact counterparts in Arabic of nursery rhymes from Mother Goose.

As soon as I concentrated upon this particular form of research I discovered how delightful the quest for folk-stories can prove. Not only did it bring me into touch with a great many interesting individuals, but it gave me an excuse for wandering about the country and experiencing the charming hospitality of tribal sheikhs and other persons. Now and again, of course, hunting folk-lore entails minor discomforts: for instance, if one sits, as an Irishman says, "very familiar" in a Beduin tent on the family mattress, one is bound to pick up something more than information.

There is, of course, one great *written* classic collection of Arab folk-tales—"The Thousand Nights and One Night"—"The Arabian Nights' Entertainment." Some of these I heard related by illiterate people in 'Iraq, and I think you will agree that it is interesting to find that oral tradition keeps very closely to the written word. But few of the stories which are told in 'Iraq today are of the type of those we read in the "Arabian Nights." They bear more resemblance to the tales which Grimm and others have collected in Eastern Europe.

The art of story-telling, an old one in the East, is declining in 'Iraq, and in the towns few, almost none, of the present generation possess it. Story-telling up till twenty years ago was a lucrative profession and a recognized accomplishment. Men story-tellers sat in the coffee-houses or *sûqs* and were paid, or received gratuities, for their recitations; women story-tellers were always welcome in the harems. Now, the cinema and gramophone have replaced the story-teller in the towns, and though in most families there is to be found an old slave, dependent, or relative who tells tales in the family circle, even these are becoming few, and the lore which has been handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation will gradually be forgotten altogether.

When wireless is added to the cinema and gramophone, the process will be accelerated, for the 'Iraqi is quick to profit by all such Western inventions, and before long the very tribesmen in the desert will be listening-in to concerts and possibly political propaganda broadcast from some Near Eastern Radio station.

The best story-tellers are women, mostly illiterate, but I have been

able to collect folk-tales and folk-lore from all kinds and classes of people: a Cabinet Minister, schoolmasters, Moslem and Christian ladies, their servants and slaves, and tribesmen and tribeswomen. I have collected material in Baghdad, Mosul, and the desert north of Mosul, but not, I regret to say, in Basrah or Southern 'Iraq. Mr. John Van Ess, whose most useful book "Spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia" you probably know, tells me that the south is rich in folk-tales, and that the practice of voodoo amongst the black slaves in Basrah deserves study.

By far the best narrator I found was a Baghdad Christian woman, a dependent rather than a servant in a wealthy household. Hearing that she was accustomed to tell stories to her employer and the children of the house, I managed to get her to come to me. She was an illiterate, one-eyed woman of between fifty and sixty, and a good actress, for she employed gesture and change of voice suitable to the characters she described. She had her stories, she said, from her grandmother, who was fond of relating them, and she also told me that these stories, heard when she was very young, were the only ones that she could remember accurately. Another very clever story-teller was a Moslem lady of tribal origin, who told her stories with skill and artistry. I have seen tears come into her eyes when she related some sad incident. Amongst the tribespeople I found a great reluctance to tell stories or to talk of jänn or other supernatural people in the daytime. To mention them is to summon them. I was questioning a woman one day, and she whispered, "I cannot tell you now, wait till it is dark. If one mentions them by day, they plague you by night." And there is a Baghdad saying, "If you tell a story by day, your trousers will be stolen." Similarly, when I was asking a Baghdad woman about the supernatural being called "Follower," or Tābi'a—a kind of shadow-self which never leaves its owner—she was so cautious and reticent that her mistress laughingly cried, "She is afraid to talk of her tābi'a for fear it harms her."

Now as to the form of the folk-tales.

At the beginning of the recital it is usual to utter some verselet. Moslems say:

Hnāk, ma hnāk,
Ya 'ashqān an Nabī
Ṣallu 'aleyh;

Here or not here,
O lovers of the Prophet,
Pray for him;

to which the audience reply in chorus:

Elf as Ṣalāt
Was salām 'aleyk ya rasūl
Allah.

A thousand prayers
And peace upon thee, O Prophet
of God.

Both Moslems and Christians employ the formula:

Kān u makān,
'Ala Allah at Tuklān.

It was and was not,
It was upon God the All-Powerful.

Conventional tags and verselets occur in the course of the story, and at its conclusion comes another little jingle in the vulgar colloquial, such as—

Kunna 'adkum wa jina *	We were with you and came back
Wad daff umgarg'a wal	And the tambourine rattled and
arūs hazīna.	the bride was sad.

or,	Hadha hechāya	This story
	Nuss (nuṣf) ha cheḏhbāya,	Is half-lie,
	Wa lo beytna qarīb	And if your house were near
	Kunt ajīb likum	I'd bring you a dish of beans and
	Ṭubeg hummus wa ṭubeg	a dish of raisins.
	azbīb.	

I classify the tales roughly into nursery tales and nursery jingles, animal fables, tales of the "Grimm's Fairy Tale" type, tales of the mythological type, tales of the "Arabian Nights" type, and lastly anecdotes told about supernatural beings by people who believe them to be true. For there is one great difference between fairy-tales as told to an 'Iraqi child and those told in an English nursery. The English nurse or mother does not believe in the existence of fairies or ogres, whereas the 'Iraqi story-teller very often does. To the vast mass of the population of 'Iraq, exceptions being only found amongst the small educated minority, the various supernatural beings which appear in tale and anecdote really exist. On the other hand, I have lived over ten years now in Baghdad, and I never heard a ghost tale. I do not say that they do not exist, but I personally never heard one, and when one hears of a house that is maskūn, or haunted, it is never haunted by the dead, only by jinn. I have asked some of the women the reason, and their reply is usually something like this, "Why should the dead return? When they are dead, they go to their proper place." Now this is very curious, as the Sumerians and Babylonians believed very firmly in ghosts and were very careful to propitiate them, and one would naturally expect to find some trace of this ghost-cult remaining today. But there is none, or almost none.

I will tell you something of the supernatural folk who appear in legend and story. You all know the jinni, who appears so often in the "Arabian Nights," and the ghūl and 'afrīt. But perhaps you may not have heard of other demons and ogres which haunt 'Iraq, such as the si'lūwwa, the dey-u, the dāmi, the umm es ṣubyan, the se'ir, the ṭantal, and the qarīna.

The si'lūwwa occupies much the same rôle in 'Iraqi legend as the witch or ogress in Western fairy-tales. She is a water-spirit, for she dwells either in the river, or in caves or woods near running water.

* These tags are in vulgar colloquial Arabic: 'adkum for 'andkum, hechāya for hikāya, umgarg'a for muqarq'a, etc.

Her body is covered with long hair, her breasts are pendent, reaching her knees, and when she wishes to suckle her children, whom she carries on her back, she throws her breasts over her shoulder. In shape she is a woman, but is represented sometimes as having a fish's tail instead of two legs. She is fond of human flesh, but, at the same time, she has a partiality for human lovers. She is mortal, like all the creations of Allah except the angels, and she fears iron. (By the way, this fear of fairy folk for iron is supposed to date from the times when metal instruments superseded flint instruments. Religion is always conservative, and no doubt the gods and demons insisted on the use of flint instruments long after bronze, copper, and later iron came into use. This conservatism of taste implied necessarily a hatred for iron.)

To return to the *si'lūwwa*. I am inclined to think that this demon is a composite myth made out of some ancient river-goddess cult and the anecdotes which African slaves have told of the great apes. I can tell you an anecdote which confirms this. One day I was speaking about *si'lūwwāt* to my head servant, a Bahreini, and said to him, "Are there such creatures near Bahrein?" He replied that there were, and that people were sometimes attacked by them in the desert. I asked, "Have you ever seen one?" He replied, "Yes." I asked him to tell me how or where, and to my surprise he answered, "In London, when I went there with Faisal Ibn Saūd." (The man had been attached to Faisal Ibn Saūd's suite when he visited London at the end of the War.) Pressed for details he continued: "Mr. Philby took us one day to a large garden where there were many animals. There were *si'lūwwāt* there, two of them, male and female, in a box. No one was allowed to come near them but one, an Englishman, who guarded them." I said, "What you saw were monkeys, Mubārak." He replied, "No, *khatūn*, monkeys we saw there too, but these were of the nature of man."

Another river demon is called the *ferij al aqrā'*. He is fond of playing tricks on fishermen and river-dwellers, but does not seem to be such a dangerous being as the *si'lūwwa*. Like her, he has either a fish's tail or weak legs. He resembles an old man, but his head is red and bald and the hair of his beard is green. A Shammarī tribesman once told me that a sheikh, camped beside the Euphrates, noticing that his mare, which had formerly been tireless and strong, became weak and dispirited, had some pitch smeared one night on her back. The next morning they found a *ferij al aqrā'* astride her, struggling in vain to flee away after his nocturnal ride. The sheikh's people fell on the monster and killed it with their knives. A woman in Baghdad told me a story of how her uncle was summoned from his bed in a house by the river one night by a wailing voice crying from the water, "Khatr Allah, I am drowning. Get me out." He went to the water's edge, and saw a boy, apparently drowning, and reached out his hand to save him.

But the appearance stuck out its tongue and disappeared beneath the river with a laugh, and he knew it must be the *ferij al aqra*.

The *dāmi* is a half-bestial ogress which haunts the outskirts of towns. Like Babylonian and Assyrian demons, its usual food is dirt, refuse and leavings of all kinds, though it has also a liking for human flesh. In 'Iraqi folk-tales it often takes the rôle assigned in European fairy-stories to the wolf. And while mentioning the wolf, I must tell you that this animal bears a curious reputation in 'Iraqi folk-lore. When a *jinni* or *jinniyah* sees a wolf, he or she is unable to sink into the earth and disappear and so the wolf is able to catch these fairy-folk and eat them just as he catches and kills humans. Sometimes a *jinni* pursued by a wolf will appeal to a man for help, and if the man kills the wolf and saves the *jinni* he is usually rewarded by some fairy gift. There is in Damascus today a man who claims to have received the fairy gift of seeing people who are far distant as a reward for shooting a wolf and saving a *jinniyah* whose name is *Najma*. He has many clients amongst simple tribesmen, who pay him a fee for news of their relatives at a distance. I have met tribesmen of the *Shammar* tribe who had done so. They say he talks with *Najma* by lifting a corner of the carpet and whispering into the ground, "Wiss, wiss, wiss." The wolf, say the Arabs, will be the last of all living creatures to die at the end of the world. A *Shammar* woman lulls her child to sleep at nightfall with this chant—

Bismillah,
Ism adh dhīb,
Al Khoṭīb,
'Ala galbak.

In the name of Allah,
Name of the wolf,
The invoked,
Upon your heart,

thus invoking the name of the wolf, as well as that of Allah, to keep away evil spirits. Wolves' claws and teeth and eyes are also used as talismans. Each has a special property, which I will not enumerate now. The next demon on the list is an unpleasant female demon who is always thirsting for love and affection. She tries to steal the love of a husband from his wife or sweetheart, and she is supposed, like the *lilith*, to kill babies or bewitch them. I have the text of a special charm written to keep her away. I will read you what a *Shammar* tribesman told me one evening while we were sitting in the sheikh's tent in the desert. I am afraid he was a liar, but the other tribesmen listened with their mouths open and believed every word. He speaks of a *jinniyah*, but that is merely a general term, and it is plainly the *qarina* which he meant.

Twenty-five years I lived in *Najd*, and whilst there I saw and talked with a *jinniyah*; wallah, she put her hand on my shoulder. One night I came out of the house of *Ibn Rashid* in *Hayil*, and was returning to my own house, a distance of about fifteen minutes, when I saw

by the light of the full moon a girl sitting by the way. She was very beautiful—more beautiful than any daughter of woman—and wore silken garments with bracelets, anklets and gold rings, and on her shoulders was a sheikh's "aba," white like the rays of the moon. She rose and followed in my footsteps and spoke to me, and said: "Peace upon you, O Ṣalah," by name, as if she had been my friend for years. I said to her, "Of what district are you?" She replied, "I am from the village of Nasya near Ibn Rashid's property, about two hours distant. I am your guest."

I answered her, out of hospitality, "Ahlan u sāhlan (you are welcome)," and she walked with me towards my house.

So I said to her, "O woman, I have fear for your reputation and mine. Walk at a distance of two minutes behind me to the house."

And she said, "La bas! What matters it? It is night; who will see us?" and indeed it was nine and a half hours of the night. In my hand there was a sword, and we walked shoulder to shoulder, but after a little she put her hand on my shoulder with her arm behind my head. Her hand was as soft and light as cotton, and she smelt sweet of flowers and sandalwood.

Said I to her, "O girl, take your hand from my shoulder." I was afraid that someone might see, for I was invited that night to an assembly of friends, and they were waiting for me in a garden, and if they had seen us they would have thought shame and ill about me.

So she took off her hand, and we walked for about two minutes thus.

Then I saw one of my friends waiting for me in the road, and I said to her, "O woman, go behind me, for a man is waiting for me in the road, and I fear he will see you."

She walked behind me for three minutes.

My friend came and wished me peace and said, "Come, enter, all your friends are waiting for you."

I said, "I am going to my house; I will change my clothes first and then come."

My house was at a short distance from that of my friend. When I entered it, I saw that the woman was walking in my footsteps behind me. My friend saw her and tried to seize her, but she sank into the earth, calling out, "O Ṣalah, O Ṣalah!"

My friend cried to me, "The woman who was following you was of the jann."

I said to him, "It is not true; the woman is from above the earth, and was no jinnyah."

And he brought the lantern into the shade in which she had disappeared, and moved it over the spot where she had sunk into the ground, and there, on the spot, was a piece of gourd, white, smooth and without dust. I was troubled and felt sick and afraid because she had put her hand on my shoulder. As for my friend who had tried to seize her, he became so ill that he nearly died.

I will not go further with the narrative, but he went on to describe how the qarīna appeared to him in his house several times at night, and made shameless love to him, even though his wife was asleep beside him. In the end he appealed to his maternal uncle, who knew how to exorcise evil spirits, and the uncle came. Ṣalah said:

"He brought his books and read spells and assembled all the sultans of the jann. He said: 'Fulān Fulāna, daughter of Fulāna (So-and-so, daughter of So-and-so), do not come to torment Ṣalah, or I shall injure you sorely.' This he said beneath the carpet, and she never returned to me from that hour."

The se'ir is not spoken of in Lower 'Iraq, but the tribes of the northern desert talk of him. He haunts desolate places and ruins, especially Hatra. A Shammar tribesman described it as resembling a very old man with a beard to his knees, but with very long teeth of iron and toe-nails of iron. He said it ate human beings.

The ṭantal is a town demon. It haunts streets and waylays passers-by, leaping on to their shoulders from behind, or otherwise molesting them. It is generally represented as being of immense height and hideousness. A Baghdad woman tells me that the tomb of the daughter of Hasan in Baghdad is haunted by a ṭantal, and that one evening, as her aunt was passing by this tomb, she saw before her a huge figure like an enormously tall man. It was a ṭantal. She stepped to one side; it stepped also; she could not evade it, step where she might. So she began to cry, "In the name of Allah," and it went.

The ghūl has a variant in Baghdad, for there is a ghostly animal which haunts graveyards and disinters the dead and eats their eyes. Occasionally he attacks the living and tears out their eyes too. He is called the "baz-baz al qubur," the "tomb-cat." I have sometimes thought that this must refer to some wild beast which disturbs the dead, but they speak of the baz-baz as if he were supernatural, and try to avoid mentioning his name except by a curious paraphrase. I have said that to mention spirits is to summon them, and similarly to mention an unlucky thing is to summon it: for instance, by night a superstitious person will not mention a serpent (ḥaya), but says, "ḥabl," a rope, instead.

I think I have time to give you an example of one or two of the folk-tales. I will begin by a children's tale which has a strong likeness to a well-known story in Mother Goose. It is called "Ḥikāyat al 'anūz wal ajūz," or The Story of the Goat and the Old Woman.

There was once upon a time an old woman who had a goat, and they lived in a little mud hut, and in the yard there was a well.

One day it began to rain, and it rained so hard that the roof leaked, and the old woman said to the goat, "My goat, we can't keep dry here, let us get into the well."

The goat replied, "I won't go down."

Said the old woman, "You won't go down."

Said the goat, "No."

Said the old woman, "Shall I call the butcher to kill you?"

Said the goat, "Go away!"

So the old woman went to the butcher and said:

"Imshi idhbah 'anūzi.

"O butcher, come and kill my goat,
Anuzi mā yirdha yinzal bil bir." My goat won't go down the well."

The butcher said,* "I won't go out in this rain; go away!"

Said she, "Shall I go and bring the smith to make your knives blunt?"

Said he, "Go away!"

Then she went to the smith and said, "Smith, come and make the butcher's knives blunt; the butcher won't kill my goat, and my goat won't go down the well!"

The smith said, "Go away! I won't go out in this rain!"

She said, "Shall I bring the river to quench your fire?"

He said, "Go away!"

So she went to the river and said:

"River, river, go quench the smith's fire,
The smith won't blunt the butcher's knives,
And the butcher won't kill my goat,
And my goat won't go down the well."

The river said, "Go away!"

She said, "Shall I call the camel to drink you?"

The river said, "Go away!"

Then she went to the camel and said:

"Camel, camel, drink the river,
The river won't quench the smith's fire,
And the smith won't blunt the butcher's knives,
And the butcher won't kill my goat,
And my goat won't go down the well."

The camel said, "Go away! I won't come in this rain!"

She said, "Shall I bring rope to strangle you with?"

He said, "Go away!"

Then she went to the rope and said:

"Rope, rope, come and strangle the camel,
The camel won't drink the river,
The river won't quench the smith's fire,
The smith won't blunt the butcher's knives,
The butcher won't kill my goat,
And my goat won't go down the well."

The rope said, "Go away! I won't come in such rain!"

Said she, "Shall I call the rat to come and nibble you?"

He said, "Go away!"

So she went to the rat and said:

"Rat, rat, nibble the rope,
The rope won't strangle the camel,
The camel won't drink the river,
The river won't quench the smith's fire,
The smith won't blunt the butcher's knives,
The butcher won't kill my goat,
And my goat won't go down the well."

The rat said, "Go away! I won't go out in this rain!"

* Mā aji bi hel maṭar!

Said she, "And if I bring the cat to come and eat you?"

He said, "Go away!"

Then she went to the cat and said:

"Cat, cat, eat the rat,
The rat won't nibble the rope,
The rope won't strangle the camel,
The camel won't drink the river,
The river won't quench the smith's fire,
The smith won't blunt the butcher's knives,
The butcher won't kill my goat,
And my goat won't go down the well!"

Said the cat, "Where is the rat? Lead me to it!"

The cat was about to spring, when the rat said, "No, no! I am going to nibble the rope!"

"The rope said, "No, no! I am going to strangle the camel!"

"The camel said, "No, no! I am going to drink the river!"

"The river said, "No, no! I am going to quench the smith's fire!"

The smith said, "No, no! I am going to blunt the butcher's knives!"

The butcher said, "No, no! I am going to kill the goat!"

And the goat said, "No, no, no!" And it went down the well and the old woman after it!

The next story is a fable, and it is quoted to show how often a man divorces in haste and repents at leisure. It is called "The Story of the Sparrow and his Wife," and was told me by an elderly Moslem lady in Mosul.

There was once a sparrow who was happily married and lived in a tree. One day he went out and bought seven grains of corn, for he wished to give a party. He brought the grains back to his wife, and then flew off to ask other sparrows to come to the feast. But he lingered on his errand, and when she had waited a long time for her husband to return, she was so hungry that she ate up all the seven grains, one after the other.

Just as she had finished, her husband flew back and his guests with him, and said to her, "Bring the seven grains, for we are hungry!"

She answered him, "Pardon! Oh, my husband, you were so long away that I became weary and faint with hunger, and I ate the seven grains!"

He was very angry, and then and there before his guests he divorced her, saying three times, "Woman, I divorce you!"*

Then she flew off to her people and the guests flew away to their houses, and the sparrow remained alone to repent his hastiness to his wife, for he loved her.

So after a little he flew to the tree where she lived with her family and perched on a bough.

The wife-sparrow called out, "Who has alighted on my father's tree?"

The sparrow answered, "It is I, it is I! little witch, little pecker!"

* To say thrice before witnesses "I divorce you" is a legal divorce.

Little feathered and billed wife, I want you back. I want you home."

But she answered him, "Go away! return whence you came!"

The next day he flew to her father's tree again, and she asked, "Who has alighted on my father's tree?"

He answered as before: "It is I, it is I! little witch, little pecker, little feathered and billed wife! I came because I want you back, I want you home!"

But she answered, "Go away! return whence you came!"

So it was each day.

But one morning the sparrow went to the sewing-woman, and said, "I want a green thread, a yellow thread, a blue thread, a red thread, and a lilac thread!"

And the sewing-woman gave him all five threads in five colours.

Then he took them in his bill and flew to the tree of his wife's father.

Cried she, "Who is it that has alighted on my father's tree?"

Answered he, "It is I, it is I! little witch, little pecker, little billed and feathered wife! I came because I want you back, I want you home!"

She made reply, "Go away! return whence you came!"

But he said to her father, "A red and a green, a yellow, a blue and a lilac I have brought. Will you give her to me, or shall I return without her?"

Then she uttered joy-cries and flew down to him, and took the threads in her beak and flew back with him to their nest. She wove the threads into it;* then they bought some more corn and gave a party to all their friends.

Lastly, if your patience holds out, a story of a pilgrimage to a shrine near Baghdad. It is called "The Honest Man."

There was once an honest man, upon whom fortune never smiled. His wife deceived him, his sons robbed him, and when his beard was white, he found himself without either money or honour. He complained of his ill-fortune one day in the *sūq* to a friend, who counselled him to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the two *Kādhims*, near Baghdad, as this had been known to bring children to the childless, wealth to the penniless, and success to the unfortunate. The old man decided that he would go, and taking his staff and a little bread, he set out the next day. He had not gone very far on the road before he came to a rocky place, and there was a lion, his head between his paws, roaring as if with pain.

The honest man was merciful, and cared not to see beasts suffer, so he stopped and asked the lion, "Why are you roaring, O Father of Little Five?"†

"Wallah!" said the lion, "I roar because my head pains me. For the past sixty days I can neither eat nor sleep for pain. And you, where are you going?"

* Threads of different colours interwoven are a charm against the evil eye. See Campbell Thompson's "Semitic Magic," p. 164.

† "Father of Little Five"—i.e., five claws. A folk-name for a lion.

Said the man, "I am going on a pilgrimage in the hope of mending my fortunes."

Said the lion, "And which shrine do you visit?"

Said the man, "The shrine of the two Kādhims."

Said the lion, "I beg you if, while you are there, you can learn how I may best cure my pain, you will tell me on your return!"

"Thankfully," answered the honest man, and he went on his way.

Presently he came to a lake. In the lake were many fishes, and they were all at play, diving and swimming, save one large fish, which floated on the water like a ship.

"Peace on you!" said the man. "Why, O fish, do you not dive and swim like your fellows?"

Said the fish, "Alas, I cannot! Some sickness has taken me, and I cannot swim below in the cool water but must float above in the sun. And you, where are you going?"

Said the man, "I am going to visit the shrine of the two Kādhims, so that they may reveal to me a way of mending my fortune."

Said the fish, "Friend, mention my trouble also, I beg you."

And the honest man promised not to forget it.

He went further along the road for a day or two and he came to a field, and in it he saw three men, digging hard so that the sweat ran down their faces.

"Peace be upon you!" cried the honest man, and they answered him, "And on you the peace!"

"The sun is hot," said the old man; "why do you labour so hard?"

"Our father left us this piece of land which he said would bring us great riches, and though we toil, as you see, with spade and plough as he bade, the land is salty and yields nothing. And you, where are you going?"

"I go to Kādhim to pray at the tomb of the Imāms, who will, God willing, reveal to me the way to fortune."

Said the brothers, "And Allah with you! Remember us also in thy prayers, uncle, so that our toil may be rewarded."

And the honest man promised to pray for them.

After some days of travel, he reached the city of Kādhimein,* and paid his visit to the holy tombs and made his prayer there. And the third day he fell asleep by the tomb of the holy Mūsa, al Kādhim, and it seemed to him that he saw standing before him a reverend man, who wore a green turban and had an aspect of authority. And he knew him for the Imām. And the Imām said to him, "Peace, my son! What can I do for thee, to put thee in the way of happiness in this world and in the next?"

And the honest man said, "Peace and prayer upon thee! Before I tell thee my troubles, holy one, permit me to relate the trouble of three men whom I passed upon the road." And he recounted what the three brothers had told him of their father's inheritance.

"That is easy," said the Imām. "They must dig very deep in the centre of the field and there they will discover a chest of marble containing a treasure. Thus will their father's words be fulfilled. And now, my son, tell me thine own trouble."

"I thank thee," said the honest man, "but I have yet another

* Near Baghdad.

promise to redeem. Further back, I saw a fish which suffered the greatest misery because it could not dive beneath the surface, but must swim like a ship in the heat of the sun. I vowed that I would ask thee concerning the matter."

"Know," said the saint, "that thou must call her to the bank and smite her on the head with my staff. She will then recover. And now, what is it that thou desirest for thyself?"

"Wait a little," said the honest man. "There is yet another matter that I promised to lay before thee. This concerns Abu Khumeys, the lion, who has suffered from a headache these sixty days and can neither eat nor sleep."

"His case is also easy," answered the Imām. "All that he has to do is to eat the head of a fool, and he will instantly be cured."

"And now," said the man, "I beg thee for myself, for lo! I prosper in nothing!"

"Go in peace," said the saint. "I have already told thee that which is necessary to end thy troubles."

With that, the vision disappeared, and the old man prepared for his homeward journey, his mind at rest about the future because of the Imām's kind words.

He soon reached the field in which the three brothers were at their fruitless labours. He hailed them, and told them what the saint had said concerning their heritage. As soon as they heard his words, they took their spades and dug into the centre of the plot, and behold! there was the marble chest, even as the Imām had said, and when they had opened it, they saw that it was full of gold and jewels. In the heat of their gratitude they said to the old man:

"You are the cause of our happiness, and therefore it is but just that you should be the partaker of our gain. Take half this treasure for yourself, old man!"

But the honest man replied: "Lā! ma yasīr! No, that cannot be! Far be it from me, my sons, to take that which your father intended to leave you! Enjoy the good fortune which Heaven has sent you, and I will go on my way!"

So he parted from them and walked on and on until he came to the lake. There was the fish, swimming disconsolately on the surface as before. Calling her to the side of the pond, he told her of the saint's message, and she begged him to use his staff, and placed her head upon the bank that he might smite it.

Thereupon he hit a shrewd blow, with the result that a blister in the fish's head broke, and a large diamond fell out on to the bank. The fish swam off, and with the utmost joy began to dive and plunge with her fellows.

"Stop, stop, my sister!" cried the old man. "You have left a costly diamond here on the bank where robbers can seize it!"

The fish put her head out of the water to say: "What is that to me? I have no use for diamonds!" And she plunged below again.

"Yet it were a pity to have it stolen!" said the old man, and he cast it after her into the middle of the pond.

Then he went on his way, and at last he came to the rocks where the lion lay roaring in his pain.

The honest man approached the lion, and said: "O Abu Khumeys, I saw the Imām and fulfilled my promise."

"Tell me all," said the lion.

And the honest man told him all his adventures, from the beginning to the end.

"What said the Imām concerning me?" asked the lion, with attention.

"He said, my brother, that you must eat the head of a fool, and your troubles will cease."

"And your troubles too, inshallah!" roared the lion, and he sprang upon the honest man, bit his head off, and devoured it.

With this tale I will conclude. (Laughter and applause.)

After one or two questions had been asked and answered Sir Percy Cox thanked Mrs. Drower for her delightful and witty lecture; it was a new subject which the audience had immensely enjoyed. (Applause.)

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CHINESE PERSONALITIES*

BY THE HON. W. W. ASTOR

IT would be both presumptuous and foolish on my part to try to add to the knowledge of this Society of the politics of China. All I can attempt to do is to sketch in a few details on the broad canvas with which you are already familiar.

Modern China dates from 1911, when the Manchu Empire broke up. After a short and unsuccessful attempt at working a democratic machinery, the power went into the hands of that remarkable man, Yuan Shi Kai, who had been prominent in the closing years of the

* Report of a lecture delivered before the Central Asian Society on Wednesday, October 15, 1930.

In opening the lecture the Chairman said: In the absence of our Chairman, Lord Lloyd, who has been detained at the last moment, I have pleasure in introducing Mr. W. W. Astor, who will speak to us today on "Chinese Personalities." Mr. Astor had the good fortune to be present at the two Pacific Conferences held at Honolulu and at Kyoto in 1927 and in 1929. In connection with those conferences he made many Chinese friends and visited China to get a first-hand impression of conditions in that country. He made the fullest possible use of his visit, and during the past winter and spring he spent several months in Manchuria, in North China, in the Yangtze Valley, and in the south, travelling into the interior by rail and boat and motor-car and aeroplane, and establishing personal relations of unusual intimacy with many of the leading figures in modern China.

We have had opportunities of hearing something of China from other travellers in recent years; they have told us of political conditions, and of the problems to be faced by us and by the Chinese in the development of the greatly changing East. But I do not recall any speaker who has been willing and able to tell us from his personal experience of the men who are shaping the destinies of modern China—of figures whose names are known to us from our newspapers, the young Marshal of Manchuria, the model Tsuchun, the Christian General, President Chiang Kai-Shek, and, perhaps most interesting of all, of Mr. T. V. Soong, the young Minister of Finance, whose able and courageous stand for a policy of public finance has attracted the attention of the world.

It would be difficult to over-estimate the importance of the human equation in a country where the machinery of administration has been working at low pressure for many years, and where personal government has been predominant in many areas. Our understanding of the situation in China must be largely dependent on our correct judgment of the men who control that situation. We shall now hear how they appeared to their English visitor at work and at play.

Empire, and who, to prevent the whole fabric of government breaking down, set up in different part of China "Tuchuns," or military governors. When he died in 1915 the Tuchuns fought each other for the control of China, and several of them still exist as powers and factors in China today. Meanwhile, in the south, at Canton, the Nationalist movement was started by Sun Yat-Sen, and culminated with the emerging of the Nationalist armies about 1926. They fought their way up to Peking, which they captured in 1928, and a National Government was set up at Nanking. In the north Manchuria had been practically autonomous since about 1922. It was in Manchuria that I began my visit to China in November, 1929.

After leaving Korea, one awoke on the South Manchuria Railway to a completely different atmosphere. Every station has a block-house, and along the line are Japanese railway guards. It is an interesting fact that although the Japanese by treaty right can have 11,000 men on that railway, they have only 7,000. At Mukden we saw the group of extremely modernist buildings which the Japanese have put up in the railway area. I was lucky enough on the second day of my stay there to be taken out to pay my respects to Marshal Chang Hsueh Liang, who lives a little way outside Mukden in a small villa, foreign style, which is surrounded with live wire, and closely guarded by plain-clothes detectives and uniformed bodyguards. The villa is a small house, unostentatious but comfortable. Marshal Chang Hsueh Liang is only twenty-nine; a slim young man with high-strung face, long black hair brushed back, and a small moustache. Particularly noticeable are his long tapering hands and delicate fingers. He dresses very simply in Chinese fashion. When I first met him Chang Hsueh Liang spoke to me through an interpreter, but as soon as he had made friends he spoke in English. We stayed to dinner that night, and ate at the top of the stairs on the first floor landing, dining on Chinese food. After dinner we adjourned to a small room for bridge. As I do not play bridge he gave me his family photograph album with which to pass the time.

The next time I saw Marshal Chang Hsueh Liang we went to play golf; then out riding. He rode a big Russian chestnut stallion, and as a special politeness he put me on a black stallion, with two revolvers on my saddle-bow. The Marshal wore English riding breeches, a pull-over, a bow tie, and a velvet hunting-cap. His guards followed on small Mongolian ponies, which showed a marked tendency to bolt at the least excuse.

Chang Hsueh Liang became Marshal and ruler in Manchuria in 1928. He is the son of the famous Chang Tso-lin, who began life as an irregular soldier, and became a practically independent Governor of Manchuria. The young Marshal is a person of considerable experience, and

has a very quick brain. He was with his father's armies at a very early age. He is very good at mathematics and at mental games and all those competitive parlour tricks in which the Chinese nation delights. He is a good conversationalist, a strenuous worker, very quick at picking up a point, and he had a distinguished record at school. His position is that of the controlling weight in the delicate balance of forces in Manchuria. Since 1928 he has taken to outdoor exercise for the sake of his health, and plays golf or rides every day.

I believe that the young Marshal desires to do well by the people of his provinces; in conversation he shows great common sense and moderation, and, as a mark in his favour, it is commonly agreed that he has been good to the White Russians, thousands of whom of every class have been stranded in Manchuria. His power rests on the fact that he controls a substantial revenue from the rapidly developing Manchurian area, and on the fact that the outlying districts of Manchuria have to rely on him for support against pressure from Russia or Japan. His support in Mukden itself is mainly in the younger element, and he is fortunate in having as an adviser an Australian, Mr. Donald, who for twenty-seven years has been in close touch with Chinese affairs. Mr. Donald is a man of straightforward, robust character, who has exercised a healthy and sane influence. The young Marshal's diplomatic adviser is Dr. Wellington Koo, who was at one time Chinese Minister in London.

I was at Mukden at the time of the Chinese Eastern Railway dispute, a most complicated affair, in which both sides were on very disputable ground. The quarrel seemed to break out quite unpremeditated by either side. In the subsequent war the Chinese found that the Russians have an effective striking force on the Siberian frontier, and that they are well equipped for air attack.

When I left Mukden to go up to Harbin the young Marshal gave me as a parting present the napkin ring I had used at lunch, a watch with his picture on the dial, the loan of a movie camera, and three packets of milk chocolate.

In Harbin one saw one of the great tragedies of our day—the position of the white Russians—men and women of every age and class who have been crushed between the Bolsheviks on one side and the Chinese on the other. When we eventually managed to get a train going south, which was rather difficult because everybody was moving in that direction towards greater security, we went back to Mukden and saw something of the South Manchuria Railway and its workings.

The young Marshal's relations with the Japanese are coloured by two factors, one the feeling over his father's death for which, rightly or wrongly, the Japanese are locally held responsible. The other factor is the many petty police incidents which are continually arising from the

presence of Japanese troops along the railway line running through Chinese territory. There are four different aspects of Japanese authority in Manchuria. There is the Consul-General at Mukden, under the Japanese Foreign Office; the Governor-General of Kwantung, who is under the Colonial Office; the Commander-in-Chief at Dairen, who is under the War Office; and the South Manchuria Railway authorities, who are under the Prime Minister. This explains the apparent divergences in Japanese policy in Manchuria. Everybody knows the scope of the development and enterprise of the South Manchurian Railway, one of the most remarkable being the great coal mines at Fushun, where there has recently been installed a shale-oil plant for refining oil obtained from the shale above the coal seam. This is not a commercial enterprise, the plant having been installed for the purpose of supplying oil for the use of the Japanese navy. That may prove a considerable factor in Japanese Manchurian policy.

The chief bone of contention between the Japanese and Chinese is in connection with the Kirin-Seishin Railway, in which there is a gap of thirty miles. The Chinese refuse to allow this gap to be linked up, the reason being that they are developing a rival railway system both on the east and west of the South Manchuria Railway. The railway problem of South Manchuria is well known, but there is an aspect which is not often mentioned but which is fundamental, the port problem. Apart from what goes to Dairen, the produce of this rich agricultural area is going out either through Seishin or through Hulutao, a port which the Chinese are developing as a part of their own transport system. Judging by the situation in Manchuria today, there appears to be a drift towards war. Certainly Japanese public opinion feels very strongly on the subject of Manchuria. A young Japanese friend of mine said to me once: "What is the use of the Chinese questioning our position in Manchuria? We are there like the English are in India." On the other side, there are Chinese who envisage no solution of the Manchurian question, but an eventual war. The Chinese have two possible courses, a policy of baiting the Japanese, or a policy of waiting on events. Chinese immigrants are coming into Manchuria at the rate of nearly half a million a year from China proper; this fact and the inevitable growth of Chinese nationalism and patriotism will certainly put the Chinese, if they wait, in a strong position. The more responsible Japanese are prepared to be reasonable and seem anxious to come to working agreements. The general conclusion which comes to one's mind is that the normal machinery of peace, the arrangement of arbitration treaties, League of Nations, Kellogg Pact, and so on, will not be sufficient to prevent a war in the Far East. It is no use trying to clamp a lid on the pot when the contents is boiling; the only way to avert disaster is to take the logs, one by one, from the fire. War in

Manchuria will only be prevented by patient work in removing the possible causes of war. The frank interchange of views between the Japanese and Chinese during the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations last autumn appeared to furnish a possible opening for the serious joint consideration of these questions.

The next contact I had with Chinese personalities was when we left Peking and went down the Peking-Hankow Railway with the intention of going up to Taiyuan-fu. We had the company in our train of a certain young Chinese officer, a graduate of Princeton and West Point Academy in America; he was dressed in plus-fours and, chatting over a bottle of brandy, said that he was going to be Chief of Staff in a little military revolt further down the line. The train incidentally was crowded with Government troops. I asked whether he expected to succeed. No, he did not, but he was going to oblige a friend! We left him to his adventure and continued our journey by the branch railway which runs up into Shansi. Only then does one realize how much Shansi is a mountain province, cut off from the rest of China and isolated from external influences. It lives by the export of coal. Its inhabitants are certainly different from those of the neighbouring metropolitan province, and are not popular amongst the people in Chi-li who, since they have been under the authority of Shansi, accuse the men of Shansi of being avaricious and of lacking magnanimity, which is usually a noticeable and pleasant trait in the Chinese character.

On arrival at Taiyuan-fu we put up at a hotel, run by the French, outside the walled city, and that evening we went in rickshaws by the gates in the walls through the Chinese city to the Yamen of Yen Shi Shan. Going through court after court we eventually arrived in the Governor's reception-room, and in strode the "model Tuchun," a man of about sixty—vigorous, polite, and expansive—a very attractive personality. He has much to his credit. Since the Revolution he has kept his province free from civil war, he has constructed roads, he has built up a simple machinery of administration, using a system of telephones; he has even taught his local magistrates to ride bicycles, and I was told that he had done a great deal for education. On the other hand, he is of the old school of Chinese, essentially unmodern in political ideas and doctrine. In spite of the regard in which he is held in his own province, it is fair to say that in the last year he has been a disturbing influence on the rest of China. You may say he wanted improperly to keep the Central Government officials out of his province and to keep it selfishly to himself, or you may say he wanted to keep up the old high standards and not to be interfered with. Whichever view you take, there is no doubt that last spring he plunged China again into civil war.

After leaving Taiyuan-fu we tried to go north, through a snow-

bound country, by car to Ta-tung and Kalgan. When we had gone a few miles out of Taiyuan-fu the road was blocked by a padlocked chain between two trees and a picket of soldiers! We asked what this place was and were told it was the ancestral home of the Governor Yen Shi Shan. Asked why there were chains across the road, we were told it was because Marshal Feng himself was there. Before leaving Taiyuan-fu we had been discouraged from asking permission to visit the famous Christian General, but any picture would be incomplete without mention of him. He was here because in December, 1929, he had rebelled, was defeated, and had taken refuge with Yen Shi Shan, who then kept him in "honourable captivity." Many Chinese discussed him with me. Feng is obviously a man of striking personality; his reputation among the Chinese is that of being a wonderful trainer of troops. He is a big, bulky man who lives plainly, dresses plainly, and indulges in no luxuries. He is a type of primitive Christian, of the country man's mentality, but an untutored mind raised to the highest degree of ability. His strength is that he is always very much in touch with peasant opinion. I realized the cause of his influence in a story which was told me in connection with his visit to Shanghai. There was a banquet in his honour and his health was proposed, whereupon he rose and said, "You have given me a very fine banquet with lots of food and drink. In my province men are eating grass." Yet he appears to lack political "nous," and in the opinion of other Chinese he is an impossible man to work with. He has a curiously unmodern mind, one might say a mind attuned to the Middle Ages, whose queer workings have produced his amazing record of a constantly changing front. The general Chinese opinion of him is that he is sincere in his motives, but ineffective in his methods owing to lack of understanding of modern conditions.

The other personality of the trio which led the last big northern rebellion against Nanking is Wong Ching Wei, whom I did not meet, but who has a reputation among the Chinese for being upright and is popular. It should be said that although his group is called the Left Wing of the Kuomintang, it is a mistake to identify this Left Wing with the Communists. Most of the Chinese students who go abroad go to America and not to Europe; and although in America they may get ideas of extreme social equality, they do not learn in the American Universities economic socialism or communism. That, I think, is a most important fact; the American university training has diverted the young Chinese Nationalists from the rocks of communism, and is steering them in their present path of rational reconstruction.

We went back to Peking, and made a short journey up to Kalgan, the entrance to China from Inner Mongolia. In the old days there was a flourishing frontier trade and a considerable foreign community at Kalgan. Now Mongolia has been drawn into the Russian orbit, because

Russia has offered safe and reliable means of transporting goods, the one thing that the Chinese farmer and merchant ask for. An indication of how much Mongolia has gone out of the Chinese orbit is the fact that the foreign community of Kalgan now numbers only three—a Postal Commissioner, a horse dealer, and a tobacco merchant.

We next went down south to Shanghai by Tsi-nan and Tsingtao. What struck one in the Yangtze Delta was how much Nanking and Shanghai were complementary rather than antipathetic. When you read the Press you get an impression that the foreigners in Shanghai and the Chinese Government in Nanking are perpetually engaged in cat and dog bickerings. What actually strikes you when you are on the spot is how much they depend upon each other and really respect each other. Indeed, the International Settlement in Shanghai is one of the foundation-stones on which the Nanking Government is built. There it keeps its gold reserves; there it invests its money and has established its Mint; there half of its Government offices are, and the leading members of the Nanking Government constantly go there for week-ends.

We flew from Shanghai to Nanking in a Chinese plane and landed at an aerodrome actually inside the walled city. Before landing we circled round and saw the famous tomb of Sun Yat Sen on the Purple Mountain and the great road which was cut straight through Nanking for the funeral procession.

I was in Nanking for two visits, one of four days, the other lasting a week, and I was fortunate enough on the second occasion to be the guest of Mr. T. V. Soong, the Minister of Finance, and to be twice taken to tea with Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek, the President. Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek lives in an unostentatious Chinese house. He is very much the soldier in appearance, and wears a simple khaki uniform. He has a shrewd, strong face. A dark moustache covers a rather big mouth. He speaks hardly any English, but has an unlimited capacity for listening. He is uncommunicative, but distinctly impressive. I got a fairly good idea of him as I sat in a corner of his office before tea, watching him work. He is obviously a man of great executive ability. Papers were brought to him; he dealt with them expeditiously. This man went out, another came in. The Admiral of the Chinese Navy, Admiral Chen, who served in the British Navy all through the war, came for an interview; a few short sentences and a decision was given.

Chiang Kai-Shek comes of a Chekiang family. Unlike most members of the Nanking Government, he was educated in Japan, after which he had some banking experience in Shanghai. Later he went to Canton and became the leader of the National army. He had the services of trained Russian or Japanese or German military advisers, but he has had a remarkable record of successive victories. His main characteristic is great physical and moral courage. He has shown both

stamina and the gift of leadership. Among some Chinese he is unpopular, but my own impression is that his reputation for being selfish and dictatorial is unjustified. At various times before the last outbreak he offered to resign if by so doing he could avert civil war.

Chiang Kai-Shek's wife is a very well-known personality of great beauty and charm. She was educated in America, where she spent ten years, and she told me that during that time she forgot how to speak Chinese, and that the only way she was able to pick it up again was by learning by heart passages and passages of the Chinese classics. Chiang Kai-Shek and his wife live very simply, and a good idea of the atmosphere in which they live can be given by repeating a simple thing she told me. She said that her husband had been sleeping very badly because he had to work very late, and in some nearby barracks bugles were blown at 5 o'clock in the morning. The only way in which he could sleep well was by leaving his own house every evening and going to sleep at her sister's house. That story hardly suggests a severe and inhuman dictator!

Chiang Kai-Shek's complement is his brother-in-law, Mr. T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance, who is the financial brain of the National Government. At Nanking he lives in a small, unostentatious foreign house which once belonged to an American dentist. Mr. Soong keeps a teetotal house when in Nanking and eats foreign food. He is thirty-seven years of age, tall, well-built, quiet. He is genuinely shy, and is not well known in foreign circles; but when you do get to know him you find in him a most delightful companion and a charming host.

What strikes one about him is his capacity for getting down to realities; he has a reputation as being persevering, courageous, a very able financier and resourceful of expedients to keep things going, considering the fact that the most he has ever controlled financially is half the province of China, and sometimes not more than two of them. The Financial Statement which he issued in March, 1930, will go down to history as an example of fearlessness and vision, holding a place comparable to that of the Durham Report on Canada.

Mr. Soong mentioned one question concerning England which is worth repeating, the question of smuggling from Hong Kong. Now that China has tariff autonomy and has put on a high tariff, it has become profitable to smuggle, and Hong Kong is being used more and more as a base for smuggling. If England is going to maintain the present extremely good relations existing with the Nanking Government, it is vital that we should come to some arrangement for stopping smuggling from Hong Kong.

The other Chinese minister well known to the public, and whom I had the pleasure of meeting, was Dr. C. T. Wang, the Foreign Minister, a combination of Y.M.C.A. secretary and man of the world. He came

in one morning to Mr. Soong's house, and we had a long conversation. The position of the Foreign Minister is not an easy one with all the internal and external problems now confronting the new Government. The episode of the unilateral abolition of extra-territoriality in December, 1929, may have been influenced as much by the need for a dramatic gesture in strengthening the domestic position of the Government as by the desire to impress the outer world. Dr. Wang is friendly, communicative, persuasive and moderate in tone, perhaps with a touch of the special pleader. He is anti-Communist, and has been harassed as regards the pressure from Russia. He is prone to rely on arguments about "infringements of sovereignty." The chief thing that struck me in conversation with him was the serious view he takes of Manchuria's external relations. Of course, he labours under great difficulties. He must make a good showing both for his department and his Government, and the long view is sometimes sacrificed for opportunist reasons. Every Monday morning there is a Sun Yat Sen ceremony at which he is expected to take the leading part. One feature of the ceremony is a speech in which he touches on his relations with foreign Powers; he is bound to produce some successful move each week. The small controversies which have gone on between the Nanking Government and the foreign Powers may be explained in part by the fact that Dr. Wang always wants some little success in reserve for production on Monday morning!

The Chinese Foreign Office at Nanking is an unpretentious building, whose small waiting-room is hung with flags of all the Powers, though I never discovered whether that was a permanent decoration or only put up for the New Year. It contains most of the staff of the old Peking Foreign Office, and it is an interesting fact that the permanent officials in the Nanking Foreign Office are not necessarily expected to be members of the Kuomintang. A secretary at the Chinese Foreign Office who took me to see the Headquarters of the Kuomintang was not a member of the Party and had never been there before. The Party Headquarters are separated in distance, and perhaps in thought, from the rest of Nanking. It is a huge building, painted bright blue and white, closely guarded and difficult to get into. Inside one meets a number of very energetic young Chinese, addressing each other as "Comrade." This is the hive whence the propaganda of the Kuomintang Party is conducted, where the examination of new members is directed, and whence local branches are supervised. It was an extraordinarily interesting sight, a relic of the times when the Kuomintang was a revolutionary Government and associated with Moscow. That association is now ended.

I will not go into the organization of the Nanking Government. When some time ago they wanted to draw up a chart of the various

organs of the Government for publication, five persons drew up drafts and they were all different. It is a most complicated system of "Yuans," Ministries, Commissions, Central Political Councils, Central Executive Committee, etc. This machinery is the legacy of the somewhat doctrinaire books of Sun Yat Sen.

The strict programme of these books is perhaps one of the handicaps under which the Nanking Government is labouring, because there are always a certain number of old-fashioned members of the Party, who discuss questions not so much from the point of view of wisdom or expediency, but from the point of view of orthodoxy and heresy as judged according to the letter of the works of Sun Yat Sen. Actually the rather complicated system works through the fact that nearly all the organs of the Government are composed of very much the same people. They are commonly supposed to go round Nanking in cars, with detectives precariously perched where one usually carries the spare tyre, and to meet in one place as one of the Yuans, in another place as the Central Executive Council, and so on. As far as I could see, the real work of the Nanking Government is done in private conversations and by a small group. The Chinese critics of Nanking say that too much power is concentrated in the hands of the Soong family, who are : Mr. Soong, the Minister of Finance ; his brother-in-law, Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek, the President ; his brother-in-law, Dr. Kung, the Minister of Industry and Commerce ; and the stepson of his sister-in-law, Mr. Sun Fo, the Minister of Railways. Whether this is so no outsider can judge, but in any case my impression was that the Soong family is an extremely able group. A more reasonable criticism is that the Nanking Government has attempted to centralize prematurely, rather than to reconstruct on a federal basis. A serious handicap of the Nanking Government has been the activities and local branches of the party, the "Tangpus" and their consequent unpopularity. It is rather as if, for instance, the Conservative party organization at Bournemouth attempted to run a Government parallel to the Bournemouth Town Council, dictated the decisions of the Bournemouth Bench, removed magistrates, and interfered in administration.

Yet, on the other hand, the Kuomintang does stand for some definite principles ; and if you asked most of the foreign merchants in China they would say that the National Government is the most modern and moderate of the alternative groups. One quite impressive thing I saw at a Chinese aerodrome early one morning. I happened to notice that the Chinese soldiers and the aircraftsmen were all going towards one hangar. I followed from curiosity. The morning Sun Yat Sen ceremony was taking place. They gathered in one corner of the hangar round a picture of Dr. Sun. They uncovered and bowed, and a young officer read out the Political Will of Sun Yat Sen. They bowed again. Then the

officer made a speech of great earnestness which my companion translated for me. He said that it was the task of the Kuomintang to try and put the country on its feet again ; that they had got past the era of revolution and were entering an era of reconstruction, in which all had to pull their weight. Their particular job was aeroplanes, and in so far as they applied themselves to their work in the aerodrome, in so much were they helping the reconstruction of their country. It is well, perhaps, to close on a hopeful note. I think that was one of the most hopeful things I saw in China. (Applause.)

In closing the lecture the CHAIRMAN said : Mr. Astor has dealt with the great governors and statesmen of China as companions and friends rather than as political figures, and this reminder of the humanity and the never-failing charm of Chinese personality is a healthy change from the drab records of military movements which constitute the bulk of our news from China. If there is one thing which struck me most outstandingly in his descriptions, it is the simplicity and the lack of self-indulgence in the lives of the handful of men who are working tirelessly for the unification and rebirth of China as a nation. There is an old Chinese saying that "the wise man is unconcerned at being unknown of men, but he is concerned to know men." Mr. Astor has been guided, perhaps unconsciously, by that idea in his visit to China, and he has enabled us to share his experience, for which we are grateful. (Applause.)

CHANGES AND DEVELOPMENT IN PERSIA DURING THE PAHLEVI RÉGIME

BY D. BOURKE-BURROWES

[Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on November 5, 1930, Lord
Lamington in the Chair.]

I THINK that anyone travelling right through Persia during the period immediately following the war, as I did, got the impression of a country suffering from weakness and internal decay, and even in danger of speedy dissolution. Since then the rise to power of one man has brought about many changes in Persia. I propose to try and examine some of the internal changes and developments in Persia since the accession to the throne of Riza Shah on December 16, 1925.

The present form of government is peculiar. By the constitution the monarchy is constitutional, and the government of the country is controlled by a single chamber elected for two years on the basis of manhood suffrage. Actually the Government today is an autocracy with an admixture of parliamentary and civil government, but with the tendency to concentrate all important business in the hands of a very small group. In 1928, by a series of manoeuvres, all parties were fused into one, and at the elections of the 7th Majliss nearly all Government candidates were elected, so that out of 125 sitting members more than 90 were under Government control. It seems unlikely that any great change will occur in the 8th Parliament now taking up its functions. In short, representative government seems to be decadent in Persia.

The authority of the Shah rests on the army. This new-model force was founded by a general conscription law passed in 1925, which has not been applied to the tribes; it may be said to be of the Shah's own creation. It is believed to number about 40,000 men with reserves. Foreign observers are favourably impressed with the discipline, endurance, and good behaviour of the modern Persian soldiers, but consider that the army is as yet scantily provided with such auxiliary aids as transport, engineering, and medical services. Recently, important technical developments have been initiated, such as a large armament contract placed in Czecho-Slovakia, an extensive high-explosive factory under construction near Teheran, and a proposed increase in the Air Force. Furthermore, a navy is being constructed in Italy for patrol and anti-smuggling service in the Persian Gulf, consisting of two gunboats of 1,000 tons each and four of 350 tons each. This navy is under Italian technical direction and instruction, and should be in commission

in the early part of 1931. It seems very desirable that all outstanding maritime questions with the British Government should be settled by then. Military expenditure amounts to over 39 per cent. of the Budget, and, with the prospective naval expenditure and other developments, will probably soon surpass this figure. The Ministry of War is, of course, under no sort of Parliamentary control.

The Persian army is at present organized only to maintain internal order and security, which means—to control the numerous and varied nomadic tribes, who probably comprise nearly one-third of the population. As far as can be judged, the Shah's policy up to date aims at the gradual suppression of nomadic tribesmen, and their conversion into settled villagers. This policy has been and is being enforced—not always wisely—by various coercive measures carried out by military officers. During this reign nearly every year one or more revolts have occurred, but by a blending of military action and diplomacy, the Central Government, on the whole, has more than held its own, and has effected considerable tribal disarmaments and has brought various refractory chiefs as hostages to Teheran. The most efficient contribution towards the solution of the tribal problem has been the construction of a fortified road across Luristan, which has always been considered to be the toughest tribal area in Persia. For the first time for centuries, I believe, travellers can cross Luristan with safety.

Many people who know Persia may totally disagree with the policy adopted by the Central Government. It can well be argued that these tribes, inhabiting remote tracts of country only suitable for grazing, contribute largely to the wealth and prosperity of Persia by their valuable productions. There are signs now that more moderate methods are being followed. As far as the general stability of the country is concerned, with the yearly increase in the road-system and motor-transportation and the improvement in military technique, the possibility of large tribal upheavals is yearly diminishing. What seems to be wanted now is just and tactful treatment by reliable agents together with employment of tribal labour on public works, especially roads, and the enrolment, if possible, of the more loyal tribal elements in some form of military service or militia.

The present Government in Persia is distinguished by a desire to initiate works of public utility, up to the present mainly in the form of communications. After the war the Persian nation received the free gift of a road-system, handed over by the Russians and the British. In March, 1925, a compound road-tax was introduced as a Customs surcharge which produces more than £700,000 annually. Half this money is being devoted yearly to the maintenance and extension of the roads, and there are now more than 6,000 miles of motorable roads in Persia. These roads, of course, are not to be compared in

quality with most European roads, and a motor tyre in Persia only lasts four to five thousand miles. With the roads came an extraordinary increase in motor-transportation. There are now, I believe, more than 7,000 motor vehicles of all kinds in Persia. It is easy to realize that this development has been the main factor in the modernization of the country.

The Government then directed its attention to the question of railway construction. In May, 1925, a so-called Sugar and Tea Monopoly was introduced, which is really another Customs surcharge, imposing heavy additional taxation on tea and sugar, both of them prime necessities of life in Persia. This tax produces over £1,000,000 yearly, and the proceeds are devoted to railway construction. In 1927 it was decided to build a standard gauge trans-Persian line from Bander Shah, a remote, desolate, and marsh-bound spot on the eastern shores of the shallow Bay of Ashurada, at the extreme south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea, over the Elburz mountains via Teheran, Kazvin, Hamadan, Daulatabad to Burujird, and thence across the Luristan mountains to Dizful; from there across the plains of Khuzistan via Ahwaz to Bender Shahpur, an equally desolate spot about thirty miles up the Khor Musa, which is a large tidal inlet near the head of the Persian Gulf. Here the land at high tide is covered with water to a distance inland of six miles, while at low tide it consists of a vast expanse of mud-flats. Contracts were sanctioned in April, 1928, for the construction of a trial northern section by a German group, and a southern section by an American group, with British and French participation. In April, 1930, as the result of prolonged quarrels about payments for work done, the Government cancelled the contract, but a fresh contract has been made with the German group only to complete the northern section. The late syndicate prepared estimates as part of the contract, and it is known that, including the cost of the work already done, the line should cost more than £38,000,000, and, with the harbours, at least £40,000,000.

Much could be said about this railway scheme—I will confine myself to a few general observations.

It is impossible not to comment on the manner in which the Persian Government plunged into this immense scheme after making totally inadequate preparatory studies. I have always been told, for instance, that it was estimated that the whole project would cost £15,000,000!

It would appear that, with the present income, the railway is likely to take thirty or forty years to build, and so it cannot possibly be constructed without foreign financial assistance.

Considering the cost, there is little or no hope of obtaining any interest on the capital invested. I was told on good authority that the Government intends to ignore all capital expenditure, all depreciation

and upkeep charges, and to take into account only the traffic returns and the cost of running. I imagine that this is quite a new view to take of railway finance!

In the north, it is to be presumed that one of the objects of building this line is to break the economic stranglehold which the Russians exercise over the rich northern provinces, by enabling Persian products to be transported to the Persian Gulf for export. But it does not seem credible that the two main products, rice and timber, after this long and expensive overland journey, could compete successfully in the markets of the world. In the south, I believe, it is hoped to carry much of the long-distance import traffic which now comes in via Baghdad and the Gulf ports. But if the Haifa-Baghdad line be built, it might well prove to be the cheapest route, conveying goods direct from the Mediterranean to the Persian frontier.

Expert opinion in the past has generally adopted the view that the natural economic direction for railways in Persia should be from east to west. Personally, I can only look upon this north and south scheme as an immense drain on the country's resources without corresponding benefits. There is only one suggestion to be made. Would it not be profitable to study the question of completing the southern railway section, linking it up with the motor road near Dizful, and of fitting an irrigation dam into the fine railway bridge which has been built across the Karun River at Ahwaz with a view to organizing an irrigation scheme in the plains of Khuzistan?

In connection with public works the municipal developments in Persia may be mentioned. Useful work has been accomplished in the towns, through Government agency, in widening the main streets and enforcing some sanitary measures. By a law passed on May 20, 1930, elected municipal councils have now been started in all large towns. These new councils have plenty of work before them. In Teheran, for instance, the road surfaces and pavements are still the worst of any large pre-war Asiatic capital, with the possible exception of Peking, and for years the question of putting in a piped water-supply has been discussed—without result, so far.

The importance of agriculture and stock-raising to Persia can be realized when it is remembered that, excluding oil and re-exports, 46 per cent. of Persian exports are of agricultural and 45 per cent. of pastoral origins. Progress has been made in the preparation of cadastral maps and in the registration of land titles, and on March 18, 1930, a Ministry of National Economy was established which is to promote all agricultural, pastoral, and industrial developments. It is difficult, however, as yet, to point to a single measure which has been of real direct benefit to these important interests. The field is so wide that there is a danger of the new Ministry "nibbling" at a lot of

projects without achieving anything of real importance. To start with, it would be well to study a few large and important projects such as (a) the irrigation scheme in Khuzistan, (b) the improvement of that important product, Persian wool, which, for various reasons, is becoming degraded in quality, (c) the organization of the new Agricultural Bank, which has just been founded as a branch of the National Bank.

Persia must be a kind of El Dorado, according to the utterances of many Persian publicists. Persians are constantly being reminded in the Press that they are walking on immense treasures which they will not stoop to pick up! That Persia possesses a great variety of unexploited minerals is well known, but that these minerals, with the present over-production and slump in world prices, can be successfully exploited for export in the near future seems to be quite another matter. In like manner the industrial horizon is filled with visions of factories, foundries, blast-furnaces, and whatnot!

This propaganda is fostering dangerous illusions. There is the possibility of the Government paying undue attention to showy projects of this nature to the detriment of Persia's real economic future, which must be associated largely with agriculture and the grazing industry. There is limited scope for the creation of some local industries, provided the question of Russian dumping be kept in mind. Thirty years ago a Belgian sugar-beet factory near Teheran was completely ruined by unfair Russian competition, and in March, 1930, the Tabriz match factory closed down for similar reasons. Instead of organizing Government mines and factories, as is contemplated, which will probably end in heavy losses to the State, foreign enterprise and capital should be encouraged. But, owing to the intense Nationalist tendencies now prevailing, it would appear that governing classes have no desire at all for foreign co-operation in Persia, while, no doubt, the influence of Persia's northern neighbour has been strongly against all capitalistic exploitation.

I will now try to review certain commercial and financial aspects. The outstanding feature of recent years in commercial matters has been the remarkable increase in Russian trade. Omitting all details, Russian trade is organized as follows: Soviet trade organizations import into Persia oil and products of primary importance which they sell, often at prices defying competition, and purchase for export Persian produce, notably raw cotton and wool. Persian merchants exporting raw products to Russia must take in exchange 90 per cent. in Russian goods, generally of secondary importance, and 10 per cent. in cash. All buying and selling valuations are fixed in Russia by the Soviet Government. The net results have been an immense increase in Russian imports, which now represent more than one-third of the total imports, and incalculable losses inflicted on North Persian producers and exporters.

Persia is generally considered as sound financially. The Budgets have been balanced; the National Debt is almost negligible; there is a strong balance of trade in Persia's favour if the oil industry is taken into the account. Some people's minds are troubled by the ever-increasing taxation which has weakened the purchasing power of the population and encouraged smuggling, imposed to finance imperfectly studied development schemes, and by the recent methods adopted to solve various problems. In May, 1927, a law was passed for the foundation of a National Bank. From 1928, German technical assistance was engaged, and this bank was started with a small capital of £140,000 for the purposes of developing commerce, industry, and agriculture. The bank carries all Government funds, and up to the present has confined itself to ordinary banking operations; but, in September, 1930, it was announced that an Agricultural Bank is also to be formed with an eventual capital of £800,000, which, if properly managed, may render immense services to the country. The National Bank's operations are now very extended, but there is a general feeling that public confidence in this institution would be increased if the annual balance sheets contained more precise information and were issued in an audited form.

At the end of 1929 and the beginning of 1930 the kran slumped. The reasons for this are ascribed to: (a) the large purchases of railway material abroad; (b) the heavy purchases of sterling in Persia by the Soviet trade organizations; (c) the keeping of the Anglo-Persian Company's oil royalties abroad instead of spending them on development work in Persia; (d) the fall in the world-price of silver. In February, 1930, the Government rushed through Parliament a law placing all foreign exchange operations under Government control, and appointing two commissions, the one to fix the rate of exchange, which has since been kept at sixty kran to the pound, and the second to control the sale of exchange and the importation of many kinds of merchandise, which were placed on a special list. The effect of these regulations has been to deal a heavy blow at Persia's already languishing commerce. Importation has been greatly restricted, with a corresponding loss in the Customs revenue, which now furnishes more than half the national income, while the arbitrarily fixed rate of exchange is so far removed from the true rate that exporters are discouraged from doing business, and the recent American collapse has greatly depressed the carpet export.

On March 18, 1930, a law for the establishment of the gold standard was hastily introduced. The new coinage is to consist of the pahlevi, an exact equivalent of the pound sterling, divided into twenty silver reals and also various smaller coins. A large gold reserve is to be maintained. It is believed that this measure is to come into force on March 21, 1931, but for some time the present kran will also continue to be a legal tender. Further details regarding conversion are not yet

known. On May 13, 1930, in consideration of a payment of £200,000 and a few smaller privileges, the Imperial Bank of Persia renounced its right to issue banknotes. Thus the Persian Government is now complete master of its financial house.

The present gold standard conversion project is bound to be very expensive. The Government estimates its cost to be £5,000,000, but independent experts believe it might well cost up to double this figure. Several gradual and cheaper proposals were rejected by the Persian Government. Until more details as to the finance, etc., are published, further comment is impossible. Many critics, including Persians, think that the kran should have been allowed to take its normal level, and that the Government should have concentrated on a prolonged and careful study of the ways and means of putting the currency on a more stable basis.

Foreigners in Persia are directly affected by the legal and judicial reforms introduced through the initiative of the present Minister of Justice. On February 17, 1927, Monsieur Davar took the bold step of introducing, as an emergency measure, a law granting him arbitrary powers to reform law and justice. He then closed all the law courts for two and a half months, reorganized the system, and appointed a fresh set of judges and magistrates, discarding the former clerical element and appointing, as far as possible, men with some kind of legal training. Within a short time a number of new codes and laws were brought into force. During 1928 foreign extra-territorial privileges were abrogated, and foreigners in Persia are now subject to Persian law and justice.

The rapidity of this change has naturally accentuated many difficulties. The new codes and laws, drafted with a minimum of assistance from foreign jurists, have to be constantly changed and revised, and it will be long before the judicial and magisterial corps can be completely filled with trained officials. So far, it is admitted that cases involving European interests have been fairly judged, but there is much dissatisfaction about the delays and the difficulties in obtaining execution of judgments.

Considering Persian aspirations, it is impossible to exaggerate the importance for the younger generation of education of the right kind. A glance at statistics shows that the Government only spends a little over 6 per cent. of the Budget on this subject, but this effort is largely augmented by the foreign schools and colleges. In seeking higher instruction Persian youth has so much to learn in such a short time that it should devote its energies to all kinds of technical and modern educational subjects and should sacrifice for the present poetry and philosophy, for which the nation was so justly famed in the past. It is hopeful to observe that the Government is responding in some measure

by sending abroad considerable numbers of Persian students, and at home by providing increased laboratory and other technical equipment, and I believe that the President of the American College at Teheran has raised a fund of \$100,000 for the construction of a new block of science buildings.

Social progress in Persia has moved forward in less spectacular fashion than, for instance, in Turkey. The clerical reforms introduced by the Shah have certainly given an impetus to the movement. Without the employment of any extreme measures the Church has been put in its proper place. All Mohammedan clergy are now registered, and only qualified persons are allowed to practise as ministers of religion, and to wear the turbans and robes. In this manner the land has been delivered from a swarm of fanatical reactionaries. All non-clerical Persian subjects are now bound by law to wear European clothes and the Pahlevi hat, which is merely a new edition of the French képi, but this measure has not yet been enforced in the rural districts. Questions regarding female education and emancipation are now attracting considerable public attention. When it is considered that more than 26,000 girls in Persia are receiving instruction of some kind, and that, in Teheran, there are Women's Clubs and newspapers, and that since 1928 women have been allowed into restaurants and places of amusement, it must be admitted that some progress is being made. The burning question, of course, is that of the unveiling of Mohammedan women in the towns. It is well to remember that in Persia the majority of women in the rural districts are unveiled—a fact which seems to escape the attention of some travellers along the main roads. In Teheran, after the Afghan revolution in the summer of 1929, a considerable reaction set in, but I was informed that recently the police there had received definite orders not to interfere in such matters.

There is one subject which, I think, excites general interest, and that is the future of Persian archaeology. Since Persia is a kind of natural corridor between Western and Middle Asia, the possibilities of interesting archaeological developments there seem to have been enhanced by the wonderful discoveries made in recent years to the west on the Euphrates and to the east on the Indus. In 1928 it was agreed that the concession whereby the French held a perpetual monopoly over all archaeological work in Persia should be cancelled, and that a Government service should be started with a French director, who was appointed for five years. Furthermore, that the French should have the exclusive right to work at Shush only where they had worked in the past, subject to a new law regulating the whole question of Persian antiquities in the future.

The Director, Monsieur Godard, arrived on November 24, 1928, and I understand that he has submitted to the Government several law

projects, none of which have been approved. For the present Persians appear to possess neither the necessary funds nor the technical knowledge to carry on serious excavation and research work, and, for some time to come, foreign co-operation is essential. It is to be hoped that this law will soon be passed establishing some definite policy for the future, and I was told that various foreign institutions are only waiting for a reasonable law to be passed to enable them to start work.

The present internal situation of Persia may be summed up briefly as follows :

(a) A higher national spirit is evident, which, however, sometimes tends to drift into channels of extreme nationalism.

(b) Despotism is dominant, but, on the whole, the general administration is more efficient and works harder than in the past, while beneficial reforms have been introduced.

(c) The increased stability of the Central Government makes for greater centralization and, consequently, for the unification of the country, while the growth of military power, together with improved communications, has established more law and order in the provinces and, consequently, greater security of life and property.

(d) In contrast with the lack of policy prevailing in the past, a definite programme of public works is being carried out. There is a tendency, however, to plunge into vast schemes of developments and of economic reforms without due consideration and study and without obtaining the best technical advice, with the result that immense commitments are being piled up, and there is also the danger of much money being wasted.

(e) While the general economic and financial condition of Persia is as yet sound, taxation is increasing at a rate which threatens to throw too heavy a burden on the shoulders of the masses and, consequently, to penalize trade and commerce.

(f) Persia is still a feudal country with a veneer of modernism ; as long as the governing authorities cling to the belief that all development can be financed directly out of revenue, so long will the possibility of Persia being able to emerge from her present state remain doubtful. Persia has set her foot on the first rung of the ladder of progress—it remains to be seen if she can climb any higher in the future. (Applause.)

After the lecture questions were asked about the new coinage, whether it was to be in gold or in notes, to which the lecturer replied that he believed that it would be mainly in the form of notes, with a gold reserve. As regards the Baktiari tribes, he believed they were now quiet, and that, since the pacification of the Qashgai in the spring of 1929, there had been practically no trouble with the tribes in that part of Persia.

In answer to a question regarding education, the lecturer stated that all schools were now under Government inspection. Jewish education in Persia has been pioneered by the British Church Missions to the Jews, whose school at Teheran was in a flourishing condition. But the most important organization was the Alliance Israelite Universelle, which had established Jewish schools, with higher instruction given in the French language, in all large Persian towns containing Jewish communities. The result of these efforts had been that Jewish education had made really remarkable progress during recent years. The influence of the French in Persia was mainly of a cultural, educational, and scientific nature, and to a less extent commercial.

Regarding civil aviation, the lecturer stated that the German Junkers Luftverkehr Company, which held a monopoly concession for five years, had worked with great success. From January, 1927, to October, 1929, the company's machines had flown over 1,000,000 kilometres and had carried 10,000 passengers and also air-mails and freight without a single serious accident. It should be noted that, for some time past, the company has been working without Government subsidy. It is natural that these results should have given the public in Persia great confidence in this method of travel, and in 1929, 75 per cent. of the passengers were Persians. It was hardly an exaggeration to say that both Persian and European passengers travelled in these little monoplanes with the same readiness that people engaged taxicabs in this country.

Lieutenant-Colonel KENNION, who was not able to be present at the lecture, asked whether the Persian Government was doing anything to protect the game in the country—an important matter which should be taken in hand. In reply to this, the lecturer is not aware that any legislation of this nature has been passed and enforced except that, in the early part of 1930, the Shah ordered that the hunting down and shooting of gazelles by motorists in cars, which is now very prevalent, should cease until the issue of further orders on the subject. As regards the game in the Caspian forests, the lecturer twice visited the Caspian country, and on the second occasion he crossed the entire Elburz range with a small mule caravan. As far as the central forests are concerned, he can state that nothing of this nature is being attempted. He thinks that the game preservation in these forests is bound up with the question of establishing a forest service, with a staff for forest conservation and development, which would also be charged with enforcement of game rules. A small forest school for the training of Persian youths has been established on the Demawand-Firuzkuh road in the Mazendaran province, and a French forest expert is to arrive shortly. One of the difficulties of initiating forestry lay in the fact that these splendid forests produce very little Government

revenue because, owing to the difficulties of transporting any material through the Caucasus, there is no export of timber, and even the exploitation of the valuable box-wood has ceased, or practically so.

Lord LAMINGTON, in asking for a very hearty vote of thanks for the lecturer, said there had been very remarkable improvements in Persia during the last few years. Less than twenty years ago he had made a journey across Asia, and only one route was not closed in Persia; the rest were all held by the tribes practising brigandage. He thought perhaps during the last year or two the Persian Government had been trying to go ahead too fast. They had taken up too many things at once, and would find it difficult to finance them. They would, perhaps, have been better advised to improve their roads and air service and to have started some irrigation schemes rather than to expend so much money on the railway; but that, after all, was their affair. He hoped that the British naval questions would soon be settled. The British had made the Persian Gulf safe from pirates, and had defended the coast of Persia from any possible enemy for over a hundred years. What a difference, continued Lord Lamington, there was between the state of Persia, even with the progress she has made recently, and India, where for many decades now roads, railways, and all forms of communication had been secure, and the great Indian firms had been so prosperous. (Applause.)

SOME BRITISH PROBLEMS IN PALESTINE*

BY MRS. LINDFIELD SOANE

RECENTLY I had the opportunity of visiting Palestine and going all over the country. It was just after the riots, when deep-seated feeling was more apparent than in more normal times. I therefore had the opportunity of realizing with great clarity some of the problems which lay before Great Britain as the Mandatory Power and on which, before there could be peace in Palestine, we should have to find a solution.

Let us first get to the very essence of the situation. Our deepest problems rise from the moral inconsistencies into which we have been placed, and which are having their repercussions upon the people. Let us get to the basic clause of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the principle, that the well-being and the development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant. Yet within the clauses of the Mandate and in the preamble, should immigration, the sale of lands, and the granting of concessions prevail, the ground is laid which means the foundation of a Jewish state and which would, in the end, make the Mandatory Power the means to bring about a Jewish Government and an autonomous Jewry in Palestine. Looking to the future, the Arab sees this, even more clearly than the British.

How, therefore, can we preserve the basic rights of the Arabs, who are the large majority of the population?

It is to the credit of the present Government that they have tried to do so.

It seems that the British have placed themselves between Scylla and Charybdis—the Scylla of Moslem opinion and the Charybdis of the world of Jewry.

The recent White Paper is an attempt to honestly recognize and safeguard Arab rights, and most of us must be astonished at the heated feeling shown in the world of Jewry.

I believe the White Paper does justice to the Jews as regards a national home, but makes it quite clear that Palestine can never be a Jewish state.

Were such a possibility to emerge, Great Britain would then have to face the united and organized opinion of the whole Moslem world,

* Paper given on November 12, 1930, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the chair.

expressed in the recent cable from India, representing 72 million Moslems.

The resolution was carried amidst scenes of great enthusiasm, and 52,000 people attended. The Conference declared that the Holy Land of Palestine was a trust to the whole Moslem world, and that they could not permit the entry of the Jews of the entire world to the exclusion and detriment of the original inhabitants, who had lived in perfect peace and harmony before the Balfour Declaration.

From my observations in Palestine over a wide area, the conclusion was driven to my mind that the Arabs did not think we were carrying out Article 22 in relation to them, or that their inalienable rights were being safeguarded.

I found everywhere acute discontentment and that lack of perspective and vision of the future which can only be when a nation rests upon a secure foundation.

The Arabs have all the ambition to be a nation, and are working for an Arab Federation and to preserve their great tradition of culture and those great Arab gifts which in the dark ages of the Western world kept alight the torch of learning and preserved in Spain eight centuries of civilization.

In the Arab mind today is a keen consciousness of the great tradition of his race and an almost inspired determination that the Arabs should again bring to the world their literature, their architecture, their surgery, their poetry, and their sense of the future. As Mandatory it should be in Great Britain's power to stimulate and allow this rising energy to go towards its objective.

Article 2 of the Mandate states that the Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions which, if fulfilled, would nullify the other part of the Article for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine.

I travelled amongst all classes of Arabs, interviewed Muftis, Shaikhs, and Mukters. I also went amongst the Bedouin, and I found from all my talks a deep consciousness of the Arab race which showed me that we were creating a problem for ourselves in referring to the Arabs in all important documents as non-Jews. The Arabs of Palestine are still 83 per cent. of the population, and Syria and Transjordan wholly Arab. It seemed to me passing strange to apply to this race, the Arabs over this wide strategic area, the terminology "Jews and non-Jews." Why not refer to the Jews as "non-Arabs"?

Would we, the Anglo-Saxon people, care to be referred to in all our State documents in our own country as non-Jews? Does this not show

that we ourselves, through lack of imagination, are not showing adequate insight into Arab psychology, and are creating a real racial problem which may in the future become acute?

It seemed to me most clear that as long as these Articles remain in the Mandate there will be no peace in Palestine nor contentment amongst the Arab peoples.

From Jerusalem I made several journeys to the Dead Sea, lying mysterious in its turquoise colour in a hollow 1,300 feet below the sea-level, situated between the Mount of Olives and Mount Nebo. The atmosphere was heavy and depressing, as if some overhanging conflict lay around it. It gives no breathing chance to either fish or vegetation, and turns all animal matter into colossal and endless masses of salt. Near here, according to legend, Lot's wife became a pillar of salt.

Six million tons of water from the Jordan pour into it every day, and a fierce sun through the centuries has promoted the process of evaporation. The gleaming rays evaporate daily 156,000,000 cubic feet of water.

Here lies mineral wealth of great value which has proved already a magnet to the chemical minds of all nations. It may safely be said that the supply of potash is inexhaustible. From the waters of the Dead Sea alone the amount of potash, so essential both to agriculture and to war, would supply the world with one million tons a year for 2,000 years. Up to 1867 there were 1,600 memorandums published on the Dead Sea.

I shall take this opportunity of quoting to you the most moderate figures of a British chemist: 2,000 million tons of potassium chloride (potash), 11,900 million tons of sodium chloride (common salt), 22,000 million tons of magnesium chloride (magnesium), 6,000 million tons of calcium chloride, 980 million tons of magnesium bromine (bromide)—and the quantities are constantly being increased by influx of Jordan and other streams. There is thus a concentration of chemical salts ten times that of sea-water.

In addition, the British chemist has estimated the gold as £5,000,000,000.

The story goes also that a French chemist, Professor Claude, went one day to the French President. "I asked Monsieur Poincaré for an interview," said Professor Claude, "for the purpose of submitting a suggestion to him." Professor Claude estimated the gold content of the Dead Sea at £10,000,000,000 and that in fifteen years a third could be extracted. "I know," said Professor Claude to the astonished Prime Minister, "that the Palestine Mandate belongs to Great Britain, but the English do not seem to take any interest in it."

There is gypsum, bitumen, and many minerals—no doubt their value will create another problem. Have we today the courage to take

before the eyes of all the nations the responsibility which this means and fulfil it with justice to all, giving back to the country an adequate share for its development?

Sir Herbert Samuel recently said that there was £800,000,000 worth of natural wealth in one small corner of Palestine.

The Arabs are well aware of this enormous wealth in their country, and therefore, seeking security, have, since their visit to England, adopted the finest and most thorough British plans.

Indeed, the Dead Sea is the key of the Middle East, and whoever holds it will hold the key of the development of that area.

Reflecting on the Dead Sea and how much wealth might prove a lure to those who thought of wealth, it occurred to me again that here lies yet another problem. Have we the courage to develop it on the scale of the British plans, to produce a million tons a year, which would break the present German potash monopoly and help our own farmers, with British agriculture in a decadent state, by putting potash on the London market at £4 10s. a ton, half the present German monopoly price?

As many in the audience know, during the War, potash rose to £60 and £80 a ton, and in America £110 a ton, a tribute we paid to the German monopoly.

Would it not seem common sense to develop an independent source of potash when one is in our hands? Yet here we seem to have tied them by Article 18 of the Mandate:

"There shall be no discrimination in Palestine against the national of any State Member of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under their laws), as compared with those of the Mandatory."

Which made me think of the witty remark which I had heard that the League of Nations was an institution for the purpose of inducing Samson to get his hair cut!

I had intended going a great deal into the land problem, but since the publication of Sir John Hope-Simpson's very able report, there is little left for me to say: but perhaps you would like me to emphasize the chief points established in the report, of which I have been able to make a careful study.

Palestine, as you all know, is generally stated to be about the size of Wales. Its total area is about 10,000 square miles.

It has a population of 946,000, of which 692,000 are Mohammedans. 160,000 are Jews, and 92,000 are Christians and others, of which the latter are mostly Arab.

As the question of immigration has been vitally before the public, it is interesting to make an analysis of Jewish immigration since 1919.

Of 101,400 total immigrants, 67,400 are from Russia and Poland, 4,400 are from Roumania, 3,500 are from Lithuania, 1,400 are from the

United States, 1,000 are from Germany, and *only* 400 are from the *British Empire*; the remaining 23,000 are from other countries, including Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Yemen, Turkey, etc.

Of the total number of immigrants, it is noteworthy that 67 per cent. are Russian and Polish.

It is interesting to note that in this connection immigration certificates are supplied in blank to the General Federation of Jewish Labour, and as the Report of the Commission on the Palestine Disturbances states, it is the practice of that body to have regard to the political creed of the several possible immigrants rather than their particular qualification for admission to Palestine. As I went about I found that this was a cause of much dissatisfaction to the Arabs.

I also found that when Russian, Polish, and Roumanian Jews leave their countries for Palestine they are de-nationalized, and even when found unsuitable they cannot be deported. During my visit, while there was ease of Jewish immigration, I found that there were 30,000 of the most enterprising Arabs, many of them in South America, being artificially excluded from Palestinian citizenship, and were in consequence suffering acutely from having no nationality.

From time to time I was able to visit what are known as the self-supporting settlements. But Sir John Hope-Simpson reports that for Nahalal, which is described as self-supporting, a sum of £10,000 is still required, for Ginegar £23,000, and for Balfouria £3,500. Only in the case of Kfar Yekesial can the colony be said to be self-supporting.

This colony contained in 1930 fifty-nine families; the total expenditure of settling fifty-nine families is therefore £134,329, an average of £2,277 per family. An Arab family can be settled on the land for £60.

I also visited what is known as the Communist colonies. They are run in an extraordinary way. Land is held in common, and couples live together in one or two large buildings, a room being allotted to each couple.

Very few of them marry, and those that do have no difficulty whatsoever in having the marriage dissolved. The children do not live with their parents; they are taken care of in another house by other members of the community. Sometimes the mothers have great difficulty in recognizing their children as they see them so seldom.

The work of the settlement for the next day is distributed amongst its members every evening after the meal. The employment of paid labour is against the principles which govern these communities.

A large number of Zionist colonies are in the Eneq. They tend more and more to be based on dairy produce, poultry, and fruit.

Sir John Hope-Simpson reports that the colonies have large herds of fine cows, but they have imported with them the germ known as Bang's

bacillus, and that consequently contagious abortion is present in a large majority of the stall-fed dairy herds.

The experts report that the sum of £300,000 is necessary for expenditure during the next two years if the colonies are to be a success. Indeed, it may be said that none of the Zionist settlements are self-supporting in a sense that they would be able to maintain themselves without further assistance.

Very few people in this country realize that the lease provides that the holdings held by Jews shall never be held by any but a Jew. If the holder, being a Jew, dies and leaves as his heir a non-Jew, the Fund shall have the right of Restitution, and further, if he is obliged to hire help, he must hire Jewish help only; failing to comply with this makes him liable to pay £10 for each default.

Do you realize that means that every time the owner of a Jewish holding employs an Arab he is fined £10?

We realize in this country too little the grave injury that such a policy does to the Arabs.

The land ceases to be land from which the Arabs can gain any advantage now or in the future. In fact, it is made inalienable to the Jew.

It is the operations of this policy that cause the Arabs to discount the profession of friendship and goodwill. This persistent and deliberate boycott of Arab labour is contrary to Article 6 of the Mandate, and Sir John Hope-Simpson reports it as a constant and increasing danger to the country.

He also states that it is not right to assume that the Vale of Esdraelon was a wilderness before the arrival of the Jewish settlers and it is now a paradise. A very large amount of money has been spent by the various agencies and great improvements have been made, and there is no doubt that new and improved methods of agriculture have proved very valuable; some of the villages are a great success, but the village of Afuleh, which is boomed as the Chicago of Palestine, is a sea of thistles. A plague of field mice, which had done extensive damage to both Jewish and Arab cultivation, was officially stated to be due to the fact that 30,000 dunams (7,500 acres) of Jewish land was derelict and covered with weeds. It is not fair to the poverty-stricken Arab, who has been removed from these lands, to suggest that he is useless and produces nothing from it. The Vale of Esdraelon has always been known as the granary, and is still considered the most fertile tract of Palestine.

No occupancy rights exist in favour of the Arab tenants in Palestine. As a rule he holds his land on a yearly tenancy, terminated by his landlord at will.

The problems we have touched upon have been economic, social, and

moral, and before I close it would perhaps be interesting to touch on the religious problem, which has found a somewhat acute expression in the controversy with which you are no doubt all familiar, which has raged around one of the most historic spots in Palestine, known as the Western Wall of the Mosque of Omar, and more familiarly known as the Wailing Wall.

The Wailing Wall is a small part of the Western Wall of the Harim-Es-Sharif, the Holy Islamic area, erroneously known among Europeans as the Mosque of Omar.

The area surrounding the Wailing Wall is, and has been for five hundred years, an inviolable Moslem Wakf. The Harim-Es-Sharif has been Moslem property for thirteen and a half centuries, and in the remote past it was the site of three successive Jewish temples. The structures of the Holy Area, including the walls, are Moslem; but it is believed that three of the lower courses of the masonry in the Wailing Wall are remnants of the last Herodian temple. Years ago Jews developed the practice of going there to lament over the destruction of the Temple.

Their lamentations, it should be noted, are for the destruction of the Temple of Solomon, of which no remnant remains at the Wailing Wall or anywhere else.

The Moslems have never objected to the practice of visiting the wall of the Holy Area. These walls may be visited by anybody—Jewish, Christian, or unbelievers.

The Jewish practice of visiting the Wailing Wall grew up under Moslem tolerance, and continued over such a long period of time that it became a long-established custom. But a long-established custom to visit the wall is a far different thing from the right of ownership or even the free usage.

The pretensions involved the introduction of chairs, benches, tables, lamps, mats, the Ark of the Covenant and the Scrolls of the Law, and a screen, so as, in fact, to create an actual open synagogue in a place of special sanctity to the whole Moslem world.

In conclusion, I think the British people must now face a difficult situation clearly, as on them alone will fall the full responsibility of all that happens in Palestine. It is clear that we must do justice to the Arabs, and we will also do justice to the Jews who are already there.

The recent trouble, and all that has emerged from it, must make it quite clear that Palestine can never be a Jewish state. The only home the Jews can have in Palestine would be a cultural home, which would create good relations with the Arabs.

The present troubles have been created by the dangers which the Arabs and the whole Moslem world see in a Jewish state. Remove the dangers and you remove what prevents friendship. Before the

Balfour Declaration the Jew and the Arab lived in perfect peace. It is quite clear that it is not possible to establish a Jewish state over an Arab country. The difficulty lies in the nature of things—of right and wrong; or, as Lord Islington so aptly wrote, "You cannot square a circle."

Above all, and in all my wanderings over the country, I could not help feeling what a great destiny and a great work the British people had to do in Palestine. (Applause.)

MR. MOON: More than forty years ago I rode through Palestine from north to south—i.e., I rode from Beyrouth to Baalbeck and thence through Damascus to Jerusalem and on to Hebron and the Dead Sea.

It does not seem to me that in the White Paper recently issued by the Government there was any intention or even idea of creating a *state home for Jews*. The last paper does not seem to go much beyond that of 1922, which said very distinctly that the Jews were no more to expect a Jewish state in Palestine, such as the English had in England, any more than the Arabs were to expect an Arab state such as is in Arabia.

As to the preference alleged by the lecturer to have been given to Jews as compared with others with regard to a concession for exploiting potash and other mineral resources of the Dead Sea, it was stated at a former meeting of this Society on the other side of the quadrangle that the riches of the Dead Sea were so doubtful that there had been but little competition for concessions to work them.

MR. SAUL MEYER: I must say as a Jew keenly interested in the Jewish work in Palestine that I have learnt a few extraordinary facts about the Jews this afternoon. The speaker, if I may say so, Mr. Chairman, says she has studied the Hope-Simpson Report very carefully. She cannot have studied it more carefully than I have. I cannot, of course, pretend to answer the many mis-statements which have appeared. I should have thought the fairness we have demanded would have been given us. I was astonished to hear the old difference between Zionists and the rest of Jewry introduced. Now that the Jewish Agency is established, the overwhelming mass of the Jewish people participates. The whole of Jewry is up in arms against the White Paper.

The Federation of Jewish Labour has felt very bitterly indeed the allegations which have been made about them, that political opinion is taken into consideration in selecting immigrants.

I should like to say a few words on the Hope-Simpson Report. By some strange freak the habitable and cultivable parts of Palestine available are estimated as 6,500,000 metric dunams in the Hope-Simpson Report. Our experts estimated the land at twice that figure. I will

tell you how that happened. The Beersheba and marsh lands were ignored by the Report because they were not considered cultivable by the energies and financial resources of the individual Palestinian cultivator. Those lands amount to some 400,000 acres. But it is to those lands that we are ready to go. Again, in the hill district the Report gives 2,500,000 dunams, whereas our expert gives 5,000,000 dunams. I will tell you how Sir John Hope-Simpson made that error. The Director of Surveys sent up an aeroplane to decide what land was cultivable. But you cannot tell cultivable land from uncultivable land from an aeroplane. Our expert took samples of the different soils, analyzed them, and estimated their potentialities.

Some of the colonies and settlements may not yet be independent, but it must be realized that we have not gone into Palestine for just a few years. We have gone to stay. And all Jewry is behind us ready to help.

The administration of Palestine is expected to keep the peace and administer fairly. I think we have a right to expect justice.

One of the most serious grievances of the Arabs is that there is not sufficient land to go round. But facts, as distinct from argument, give the lie direct to the Arab political leaders on the land question. The conclusion is that there is sufficient land for generations to come, and there is no reason why justice should not be given to my race as well as to the Arabs. The people of this country should at least be so chivalrous as to give us credit for the honesty of our intentions in Palestine. So long as no substantial harm is done to the Arabs, there is no reason why the Jews should not settle there. The land requires tremendous outlay to make it pay. We have gone there to work, and many think nothing of working twelve to fifteen hours a day. That is a matter which, I think, ought to receive the sympathy, if not the support, of all decent-minded people. We are entitled to carry on with our work in Palestine.

Replying to a gentleman who contradicted Mrs. Soane's statement that the Arabs felt insulted in always being referred to as non-Jews, and attributed that appellation to the Moslem and Christian discord as to who is to be mentioned first, JAMAAL BEY HUSSEINI said that in Palestine there is a complete national union between Christians and Moslems. The Christians of the Holy Land, about 98 per cent. of whom are Arabs, feel insulted when referred to by any national name other than that of Arab. During the nascent stage of the Arab movement of Palestine, political societies were formed under the name of Moslem-Christian Associations. Later on, it was thought that the name "Moslem-Christian" inferred two united races, and so the name of the organization was altered to "The Palestine Arab Congress." The Arabs do certainly feel insulted when referred to as "non-Jews."

This appellation, in my opinion, was made so that people away from Palestine, when reading formal documents about Jews and non-Jews, will understand that the country has a Jewish population with some non-Jewish residents. This is what one understands from the statements referring to the "British" and "non-British" of the United Kingdom, and French and non-French of France, as being mainly inhabited by Britishers and French with a small foreign element.

During the War, when the Balfour Declaration was being drafted, the slogan was: "Give the country without a people to the people without a country." People sympathized with Jews on this basis, although we all know Jews are enjoying complete freedom in most parts of the world, and they could not be qualified as a people without a country.

Replying to a Zionist who criticized the figures concerning lands in Palestine as quoted in the Hope-Simpson Report, Jamaal Bey Hussein said that Sir John Hope-Simpson, who compiled this report after an exhaustive inquiry of three months on the spot, was one of the most able and straightforward of His Majesty's servants, as testified by the Prime Minister. The League of Nations had previously asked him to control the immigration and settlement problems in Greece. He did that to the satisfaction of everybody, and he then gained an international reputation. When he dealt with the subject of lands, settlement, and immigration in Palestine, no sane person expects that his figures will be contested by people here in England who have never been in Palestine.

Mr. Meyer's statement that there are extensive lands in the district of Beersheba shows his lack of knowledge of Palestinian affairs. Great parts of these lands have been given to Jews, but were rejected owing to the fact that little rain comes down on that district, and so far there are no prospects of any irrigation possibilities.

In the hilly lands, which Mr. Meyer just referred to, the Jews have done very little owing to the fact that agriculture there is only paying to the Arab fellah, who works the land himself and by means of his spade only. The Zionist economic commission of 1927 have advised Zionist bodies not to touch the hilly lands, as they cannot be run on an economic basis.

Mr. WARD PERKINS: I wonder if the lecturer has any information as to the immigration from Palestine into England. I was informed by an unbiased onlooker that Jews from Eastern Europe cannot get into this country owing to immigration rules. They go to Palestine, and from Palestine they come into this country as Palestinians. I have not been able to confirm this information, neither have I been able to gather the figures of such immigrants. I wondered if the lecturer could do so.

The CHAIRMAN here closed the meeting with a very hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and speakers. He regretted the hall was no longer available.

Mr. MEYER, who had no opportunity of replying through lack of time, writes that the Jewish Agency has never been offered the Beersheba region, and that settlement there depends not so much upon difficulty of irrigation as upon the danger of attack from lawless Arab nomads. With regard to Mr. Husseini's statement that Jewish colonization takes place in the plains and not in the hills, Mr. Meyer writes :

"There are 350,000 acres of habitable but uninhabited land still available in the four northerly plains. When Sir John Hope-Simpson writes of 'congested' areas, he is referring to the hill districts—*cf.*, Report, p. 144, 'Arabs from the congested areas in the hills.' In this connection, it is important to note that Sir John has failed to take account of some 600,000 acres of hill country which could be cultivated" (Report, pp. 78-79, p. 14).

DAMASCUS TO HAIL

By ELDON RUTTER

[Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on November 19, 1930. The Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd in the Chair.]

Introducing the lecturer, LORD LLOYD said: "We are, I think, particularly fortunate to-night in having got Mr. Eldon Rutter, whose journeys in Arabia must be familiar to most of us. It is no exaggerated praise on my part if I say that I believe that after reading his book and hearing his lecture most of us will include him with those famous travellers, Burton, Doughty, Gertrude Bell, and others, for no one has travelled with greater intrepidity, or written with more understanding, humour, and sympathy of the Arab peoples, than our lecturer to-night."

THE LECTURER: One afternoon at the end of October last year I set out from Damascus with the intention of journeying to Hail.

My definite objects were two: firstly, to experience the life of the wandering Arabs; and, secondly, to live for a time in a purely Wahhâbi community—if possible, in one of the settlements of the Ikhwân, the religious brotherhood of Nejd. I accomplished the first of these objects and partially accomplished the second, as I managed to remain for some time in Hail, the inhabitants of which town now follow strictly the teaching of the Wahhâbi Code.

I was already known to the Arabian King, Ibn Sa'ûd, and before starting I decided that I would apply to him for a written passport, signed by himself, to enable me to travel without hindrance.

I have been unfortunate in finding a war going on whenever I have travelled in Arabia. It was so when I travelled in the Hijâs; and now, in Damascus, I learnt that Ibn Sa'ûd was in pursuit of the rebellious Ikhwân under Faysal ed Dawish.

I went to see Yâ Sin er Rawwâf, Ibn Sa'ûd's representative in Damascus, and he duly sent on my request for a passport to his master. After I had waited more than a month, the reply came that I must go to Jidda, and communicate with Ibn Sa'ûd, who would return to Mekka for the Fast of Ramadhân, through the Minister for Foreign Affairs. I foresaw that if I complied with this I should not only be delayed, probably for several months, but that if and when I did get permission to go to Nejd I should be hampered with an escort. I would rather not go at all than be taken round to see just so much of the country and the people as my bodyguard thought fit to show me. I came to the conclusion that the only thing to do was to set out without a passport, and try to get to Ibn Sa'ûd himself. It was rumoured

in Damascus that he was on his way to Hâil, from which town he intended to conduct the campaign against Faysal ed Dawish. I laid my plans with the object of getting to Hâil, and left the rest to Allah.

The fact that my journey must now take on the nature of an escapade did not trouble me; in fact, it made the proposition even more attractive. Nearly all the important travelling in Arabia by Europeans has been in the nature of an escapade, anyhow. It cannot be otherwise among a people so hostile to strangers as the Arabs. Even the most enlightened among them suspect that the stranger hides some cunning design hostile to themselves.

I had bought two riding-camels of the breed "El Hurr," and these were being kept in readiness, near the village of 'Atayba, by a Bedouin of the Rwalla tribe.

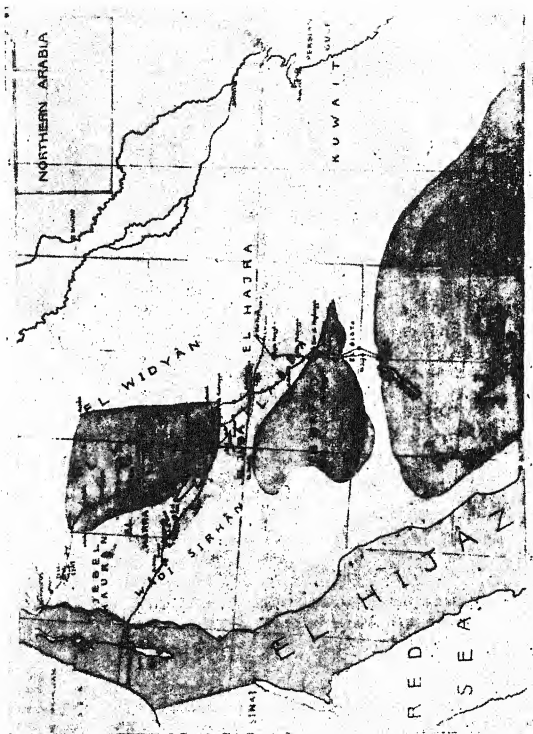
Accompanied by my travelling companion (*khawir* or *rafiq*), Sahan ibn Busaytan of the Flita branch of the Rwalla, and his cousin Hebnât, I left the southern gate of Damascus, Bâb Shaghur, in a battered motor-car. After ploughing for twenty miles through dust from 6 inches to a foot deep, we came to the village of 'Atayba, which lies a few miles beyond the eastern limit of the fertile Ghûta plain. Behind us, Damascus was still seething with excited sympathy for the Palestine Arabs. Most of the shops were shut, and mobs of Muslims were marching about the city crying out, "Down with the Balfour Declaration: Palestine for the Arabs!"

It was after sunset when we reached 'Atayba, so we slept for a couple of hours on the sand outside the Ruwayli's tent. It was not long before Sahan awoke me, and I saw the heads and long necks of my two camels silhouetted against the stars above me.

The camel is a beast with very few ideas and no aspirations, but anyone who has ridden them much can scarcely fail to give them credit, and even admiration, for their courage under hardship. Though less obvious, it is really very little inferior to that of the horse. A well-bred riding-camel, if it is not made desperate by reckless flogging, will go on literally until it drops with exhaustion.

My two camels were in very good condition. I had paid £20 Turkish for each of them. The taller and faster of the two, a seven-years-old nâga named Ash'ayla, might with advantage have been a little fatter at starting; but she had a good hump, and had been well rested. The smaller one, Is-haym, rising five years, was distinctly round and fat.

We loaded the animals and moved off. My companion had purchased presents in Damascus for most of his relatives. There were bags of sweets of startling colours for the children; antique-looking boots—some red, some yellow, and some black—for the men; long cotton gowns dyed with indigo and white zebuns for the women; and also



a number of horse-shoes—iron plates with a small hole in the middle—for Sahan's pony Marzûq. My camels had to carry all this gear, besides my own provisions of rice, flour, burghol (boiled wheat), tea, sugar, and kamar-ed-dîn (a sort of linoleum made of squashed apricots). Being heavily laden, we travelled slowly.

At dawn we came under the extinct volcano, Ed Dakwa, where we stopped long enough to make tea and eat our breakfast of kamar-ed-dîn and bread from Damascus. A number of smaller craters were scattered over the barren plain to the south-east.

I had decided that, instead of going down the Wâdi Sirhân, through the salt villages and El Jauf, I would avoid all villages and settlements, and strike out direct for Hâil, crossing the Hamâd and the eastern edge of the Nafûd. Travelling quickly by this route, I should run little risk of being stopped by Wahhâbi officials, and might hope to ride into Hâil without anybody in authority being aware that I was in the country. In Hâil I hoped to find Ibn Sa'ûd.

Taking this route would mean much hard riding and a good deal of sleeping in the open, not to mention a probable shortage of water, but with the pent-up energy which two months of coffee-drinking and unprofitable palaver in Damascus had done nothing to relieve, I was anything but repelled by that prospect.

As we sat under the volcano eating our breakfast, my companion was anxious to move on. The Rwalla tribe had "seen lightnings" in the sky, and had begun their great annual trek across the Hamâd. The Hamâd is a limestone steppe, about 200 miles long and the same distance wide. It can only be crossed after the rains have begun to fall, as it is absolutely waterless in the dry season. In winter great pools of rain-water gather in shallow depressions which lie in different parts of the plain. The pools all become dry again by April or May, and by that time the Rwalla have returned to their summer quarters on the Syrian border.

As we moved on my companion constantly looked behind him and to the south. "Keep close, Ahmad," he said to me. "There are many robbers about here—Ahl el Jebel. They will cut your throat." The Ahl el Jebel are Druzes, who constantly make raids on any small parties of the Rwalla or other travellers who pass through the district near their mountain.

We pressed on, stopping only for half an hour at midday, and again at sunset. I had not yet become accustomed to camel-riding again, and I was feeling horribly stiff. I would have given almost anything to couch my camel and lie down to sleep. We had been riding continually for nearly twenty-four hours. I do not know whether my eyesight was affected by lack of sleep or what the explanation was, but towards midnight, as we still rode on, it seemed to me that the moon-

less sky was like fine lace hanging, torn to shreds, in the heavens, with bright jewels caught in it at intervals. Two or three shafts of white light seemed to come from behind me, lighting up avenues through the jewelled hangings in the sky.

It was nearly dawn when we halted among some scrub, and lay down to sleep. We had been on the move for over thirty hours.

The following evening we came to the first rain-pool, at a place called Ahdilla. Hundreds of Rwalla camels were drinking at it as we came up. The next day we came up with Sahan's people. As we rode towards his tent, a young woman came out and walked quickly towards us. Sahan dismounted, and they embraced warmly, kissing each other on the mouth. She then ran to take the halter of his camel, and walked on behind him, answering his questions as they went. Responding with a blessing to his words of welcome, I followed him into his tent. As I went in, I saw a woman grinding corn in a hand-mill at the other end of the tent. Sahan gave her no greeting, but called to her abruptly, "O Sa'ada, bring coffee!" The first woman was his sister, and the other was his wife.

We were now in the midst of the Rwalla, and every day we moved on with them in a south-easterly direction over the vast limestone plain of the Hamád. Sometimes we camped near a rain-pool, at other times we marched as long as three days before coming to water. Some of the pools were several miles long, others were only a few yards. A few of them had obviously been dug by human labour, as old heaps of waste earth lay all round them, but none of the Arabs knew who had dug them. They supposed they must be the work of a tribe which they call the Bani Hilál, who, they say, inhabited the country in ancient times.

The water was invariably muddy. I had brought a few limes with me from Damascus, and I found that when I squeezed some of the juice into our tea, it precipitated the mud to the bottom. The heat turned the skins of my limes as hard as wood, but the juice remained undiminished as in a bottle.

The Rwalla travelled very slowly, allowing their immense herds of camels to graze as they went. I could often see the slowly moving droves on either side of me spread out over a front of more than twenty miles. At other times they would be shut off from sight by low hills, so that it seemed that Sahan and I and his family were alone in the wilderness.

A score of different small plants grow on the Hamád. The best for camels at this time of the year were two sorts called Rûtha and Shih, green plants somewhat resembling heather in character.

This travelling with the tribe was exceedingly interesting, but much too slow for my liking. After a week of it, I tried to induce Sahan to

turn his back on the delights of home, and to ride on alone with me to Hâil. He avowed himself eager to do this, but brought up abundant reasons for not doing it. Finally, I saw nothing for it but to go on with the tribe until we reached the southern end of the Hamâd, where they were to encamp for some weeks.

In due course we arrived there, and on a certain day it was agreed upon between Sahan and I that we should start the next morning to cross the Nafûd to Hâil. When the morning dawned we saddled up and I was on the point of mounting, when Sahan came up and asked if he might have a few words with me in private. We went to a little distance from the tent, and sat down on the ground, and then he began to tell me that he feared for his life if he should be seen in Hâil. He told me that he had been imprisoned and manacled hand and foot with chains some years before by the Governor of El Jauf, but he had escaped. If he went to Hâil now, his head would be cut off the moment he appeared in the town. If I liked to wander with the Rwalla and go back with them in a few months' time to Syria, then "Welcome." If I insisted on going to Hâil, then he would find me another raftq, but no Ruwayli would adventure himself at Hâil.

Knowing the fickleness of the Arab mind I was prepared for anything. But it was most important to make sure that Sahan got me another companion. I said to him, "As you like. But I must now leave your tent, since you wish to desert me. I will take my two camels and go in as a guest with somebody else." As I had anticipated, he at once begged me to remain with him till he found me a raftq. My leaving his tent for such a reason would throw shame on him in the eyes of all who saw it. This was all I wanted, so I said that if he found me a companion so that I could start the next day, I would remain in his tent till then. A couple of minutes later he mounted his camel and rode away, leaving me in the tent.

In the afternoon he came back with a youth of the Sharârât tribe named Gubayyil el Guwwâdi. I liked this youngster, and before sunrise we rode off together. As we rode, he said, "Sahan says you want to ride fast." I said, "Yes, by Allah, I want to push on." I was too near El Jauf to feel quite comfortable.

We slept that night in his tent at Amghar, under the edge of the Hamâd, and the next day set off eastward. This and the following day I made the two longest rides of my journey, covering about sixty-five miles each day. There was no water on the whole distance of 130 miles. We rose before sunrise, and marched at the walk while it remained dark. At sunrise we began to trot. Two hours later we stopped for a quick breakfast, and then rode on at the trot until an hour before sunset. We ate a handful of dates and some dough-bread at midday without dismounting. Halting an hour before sunset, we had eaten our evening

meal of boiled wheat, dates and tea by the time the sun had disappeared. We mounted again without delay, and rode on in the dark at a walk for about three hours. Then we couched our camels and slept till about a couple of hours before sunrise.

Gubayyil had agreed to come with me only as far as Btr Hazil. I was sorry to part with him so soon, but he would not go on to Hail with me because he had a wife with the Shammar tribe encamped near Hazil. Against that attraction I stood no chance of holding him. He left me in the tent of an Arab of the Shammar, one named Ta'isân ibn Rimâl. This man agreed to accompany me to Hail.

Btr Hazil is a collection of about a score of wells, cut in the limestone rock in an area measuring about 100 yards each way. The height above sea-level is 1,550 feet, being more than 1,000 feet lower than the average elevation of the Hamâd. The well-mouths are reveted with limestone slabs, deeply scored with rope-grooves. The water is 30 feet below the surface. About two miles to westward of the wells there is a line of low red sandstone hills.

I had now to cross the Nafûd, a desert of sand dunes, sparsely covered with small plants and shrubs. There are only three wells on the route, which is over 100 miles of heavy going.

A couple of hours after Ta'isân and I set out, a heavy storm broke over our heads. Lightning flashed above us, and the thunder crashed, while a howling gale blew sheets of rain before it over the barren wilderness. Not a tent or a tree was anywhere in sight. We rode on through the raging storm, soaked to the skin. After a time it cleared, and we managed to light a fire of brushwood and dry some of our clothes.

It took us five days to cross the Nafûd. Sometimes we slept in tents of the Shammar, and sometimes in the open. The country consisted of undulating masses of yellow sand. As we got near the southern edge of it we passed a few large isolated dunes, 400 or 500 feet in height. At last we came in sight of the granite mass of Jebel 'Aja. Its black cliffs drop sheer down to the plain from a height of 5,000 feet, and it is altogether a grand sight. Near it lies a small hill called the Samra, and at the foot of that lies the town of Hail.

We had heard from the Shammar Arabs that Ibn Sa'ûd was not in Hail, but was out after Faysal ed Dawîsh. Ibn Masâ'ad, the Governor of Hail, was also away on the same errand, but the kâdi, Ibn Belayhid, whom I had known in Mekka, was living in the town.

We halted behind a low basalt hill, and I put on my best clothes. Then we rode over a low rise. As we came to the top, a sight of peculiar charm burst on our view. From the foot of Jebel 'Aja there spread away in front of us a wide plain as flat as a paved courtyard, covered with a bright pink grit. This was a coarse detritus of red granite which had been carried by flood waters out of a ravine in Jebel 'Aja,

and distributed over the plain. On the distant edges of this pink desert stood a number of violet hills and mountains. Immediately before us stood a mass of clay buildings, one of which was higher than the rest and looked like a fort. This was Hail. Behind the town stood a mass of palm-groves of a bright viridian, and beyond these rose the black hill Samra. It was a striking and curious sight, rendered all the more so by its appearance of utter lifelessness. The time was mid-afternoon, and not a soul was to be seen. There was a timeless air about the place, such as broods over scenes of undisturbed Nature. Hail seemed like a city marooned among the sands, all the inhabitants of which had died.

We rode up to the first houses, and turning a corner found ourselves before the house of the Emfr. A number of servants and slaves were sitting on a clay bench in front of it. I handed Ta'isān a note for the acting governor, requesting a private audience, and then followed a servant to one of the hovels which are allotted to travellers. It was not long before one of the Emfr's men came to conduct me to his master.

I found the Emfr, Ibrāhīm ibn Naftsa, seated on a reed mat on the roof of the kasr, or palace. (Its principal use is as a storehouse for the Government provisions, clothing, saddlery, etc.) He invited me to be seated; and after I had told him who I was and what was my object, he consented to forward my letter to Ibn Sa'ūd, who was then at a place called Esh Shauki, not far from Kuwait.

He then instructed one of his retainers, named Mash'al, to lodge me in his house. This man had been reared in Constantinople, and I lived very comfortably in his house. I lost no time in going to see my friend the Kādi, whom I found as affable as ever.

In the days of Ibn Rashtd, before it was annexed by Ibn Sa'ūd, Hail had been the centre of a considerable trade between Irāk and Kuwait and the villages and Bedouin tribes of Central Arabia. I found that all this had stopped, for Ibn Sa'ūd had prohibited all communication between his territories and Irāk. No traveller or caravan was permitted to travel that road. This was considered to be a reprisal against the State of Irāk, which was said to be aiding Ibn Sa'ūd's enemies, but it was a measure which did more harm to Arabia itself than to Irāk. Many of the people of Hail had fled to the more comfortable realms of King Faysal.

Communication with Kuwait was also forbidden, and all imported supplies were brought over the deserts from Jidda, or from 'Ujair, lower down the Persian Gulf.

The population of Hail was plainly on the decline. Numbers of houses in the northern quarter of the town were in ruins, and a considerable tract of land to westward of it, known as El Wusayta, which had

once been a mass of palm-groves and clover fields, was fast reverting to the red desert.

Hâil still remains the centre of the camel-saddle industry, and some very fine saddles are produced there. The wood of the tamarisk tree is used for the framework, and numbers of these trees grow in the plantations around the town.

The water-supply for the town and orchards is raised from wells by camels drawing up leather buckets by means of ropes over pulleys. In most places the water lies at a depth of more than fifty feet.

All the officials and followers of the Emîr are from the province of El Aaridh, the centre of Wahhâbism, and ten years of Wahhâbi rule has turned Hâil into a town of fanatics. All the officials, whether they be retainers of the Emîr or clerks, are armed with rifles and swords, and all are ready at a moment's notice to ride out and fight for Ibn Sa'ûd. The old clay forts of Hâil have been thrown down, and a new stone fort has been erected on a small hill commanding the town. There are said to be three modern guns mounted in this fort. The houses of the town are all built of clay, and, with the exception of the Emîr's house, they are only one storey high.

I had been in Hâil about a fortnight when I was summoned one morning to the Emîr's house. I found him seated on his carpet with a crowd of retainers. He invited me to sit down; and after an exchange of compliments he said, "There is nothing worth seeing in the Kasim. Ibn Mas'ad commands that you shall be given provisions and go back to Damascus." I told him I proposed to await Ibn Sa'ûd's reply to my letter. He said, "We did not send it to Ibn Sa'ûd. We sent it to Ibn Mas'ad, and he sends back word to say that he has orders that no foreigners from Syria or Egypt or anywhere else are permitted to come to Nejd, except by way of Jidda."

I declined to leave Hâil until I got a reply from Ibn Sa'ûd. That ended the discussion, and I returned to Mash'al's house. The next day I was again summoned to the Emîr's house. As I went in I noticed my two camels ready saddled at the door. Ibn Nafisa now begged and commanded me to leave the town, but I refused. When he rose and left the room, I too rose and went towards the gate of the courtyard. At the gate I was stopped by some guards, armed with swords. They said, "You remain here."

I slept that night in the public coffee-hall. The next day, soon after sunrise, I was again summoned to the Emîr. He was sitting with his followers on the clay bench outside the house. As I came to the open gateway, I saw a motor-car standing in the lane outside. Around it, in a half-circle, stood about thirty retainers armed with rifles or swords, and behind them stood nearly the whole of the male population of Hâil.

Ibn Nafisa was sitting in the car beside the driver. He invited me to get in with him.

I realized that the position now held a certain menace. I was unfortunate in arriving at Hail just when the crisis in the Ikhwan rebellion was coming to a head. It was being rumoured in the town that I was an English spy from Irāk. Only the previous evening, as I sat in the captivity of the Emir's house, Mash'al had come to see me, and had told me with grave looks that there were men in the town who were saying that to slay me would be a sure passport to Paradise.

I smiled broadly at Ibn Nafisa, and got into the car. Two of the armed guards got in with me, and the car moved away. They drove out into the desert for about five miles, and then we came up with Ta'isān and one of the Emir's retainers, a Bedouin named Shāhir, formerly belonging to the Harb tribe. They had three camels with them, two of which were mine.

The car stopped, and the guards lit a fire and made coffee. The Emir and the rest of us sat down and drank a parting finjān. I then mounted Ash'ayla, and, accompanied by Shāhir and Ta'isān, I rode away.

I did not want to return by the way I had come, but express orders had been given to Shāhir that I was to go no other way. I did not know this at the time, as Ibn Nafisa had told me that I might choose my own route. After a little friendly conversation with him, I offered Shāhir the two camels and £20 to pilot me to Ibn Sa'ūd, El Medina, Mekka, or Jidda. He refused, and I learnt later that he hoped to get my money, and probably the camels too, without disobeying his orders.

We came to a tent of the Shammar before nightfall, and went in to spend the night there. After eating, I lay down in the shadows to sleep. The others still sat round the fire with our host. Presently they began to talk about me, saying that I was a very dangerous character, a shaytān (devil), and so on. Shāhir said, "We asked Ibn Nafisa if his blood and property were lawful spoil, and he said, 'Yes, take his money, but don't kill him.'"

That seemed to me to be rather interesting. If they found any difficulty in taking my money, there was nothing in their instructions to prevent them from provoking a quarrel and killing me in self-defence.

The next day Shāhir, who wore socks and boots, remarked that I must surely feel the cold badly, as I wore only sandals. When we stopped to prepare our evening meal, he took off his socks and handed them to me. I refused to deprive him of them, and his face then became menacing and he began audibly to tell Ta'isān that he would get my money by force. I knew he had offered me the socks merely as a sort of confidence-trick, so that he might find out how much money I had and where I kept it, and generally pave the way to acquiring it himself.

As we marched across the Nafūd and Labba, Shāhir continually

threatened to abandon me, to shoot me, to steal the camels, and to do various other antics if I did not give him money. The thought of finding yourself abandoned to solitude is unpleasant when you are in an empty, waterless desert, with no living creature in sight from one horizon to the other. It is impossible to travel in these deserts unless you know them well. Shâhir himself could not have found his way if Ta'isân had not been with us. By putting on a loud, hearty tone of voice and a careless manner, I managed to keep the two of them well in hand. After over a week of slow marching, however, I began to get impatient with their continual threats and menaces. One evening, as we sat round the fire, Shâhir said, "Ahmad . . . we shall not move from here till you give me your money. If you do not give it, we shall leave you here." I had given them a good run and was getting rather tired of the game, so I said, "Good, my lad, I will show you my money." I emptied my belt in front of him. There were two Turkish sovereigns in it and a draft on a man named Fahd el Khâlid at Hâil. I had purchased this draft from my friend Muhammed el Bassâm at Damascus, but Fahd el Khâlid had refused to honour it when he found that I was not regarded with favour by the Emîr.

When Shâhir saw the two sovereigns, his jaw fell. He was so staggered at the evaporation of his dreams of wealth that he forgot to ask for the £2. Later on, I heard him say to Ta'isân, "By Allah, I feel remorse about that man. I have insulted him with the greatest insults, but he never answered me with a word."

The next day his remorse gave place to a strong desire to possess the two sovereigns, but that desire was in vain.

My companions now wished to get rid of me. It was not long before we came to the first tents of the Rwalla, and there I got a guide named Dam'an to take me to the nearest Rwalla tents in the Hamâd.

Many people who do not know them hold the fallacious opinion that the desert Arabs are thoroughly reliable towards their guests, and that they carry out their obligations even at great inconvenience to themselves. On my second day with Dam'an, as we were riding along, he suddenly said, "My camel is weak. It cannot go any further. I shall have to go back." It was the usual trouble: he wanted money. But I always made a point of never paying my guides until they had brought me to my destination. This, of course, was agreed to by them in all cases, and it is the usual custom among themselves. I said, "No, I am in your protection, and you cannot go back until you bring me to a tent of the Rwalla." He went on grumbling, and began to fall behind. Presently I looked back and saw that he had couched his camel and had let my spare animal wander away and graze. I rode on without appearing to take any notice. Presently I looked back again and saw

that he had got his camel up and was leading it back the way we had come, leaving my second camel to its own devices.

I rode back; and taking the halter of Is-haym, I turned and rode on my way. I had nothing to worry about. I had water in my goatskin, and the landmark of Jebel Amghar was faintly visible to westward. I felt quite confident that I should come to Arab tents in a couple of days. I rode on at a fast walk.

Nearly an hour later I heard the sound of a camel-rider coming up behind me at the trot. I did not look round, and presently Dam'ân rode alongside. He said, "Peace be upon you." I replied, "And upon you be peace, and the mercy of Allah."

Then we rode on in the most natural way, as though nothing had happened. But presently his "honour" began to trouble him. He put his hand into his belt and pulled out an old purse, showing it to me. He said, "I dropped this, and was looking for it." I said, "Praise be to Allah that you have found it." His conscience was appeased, and he felt a noble Arab once more.

When we got to the Rwalla encampment I was obliged to sell Is-haym for £8, as I had practically no money. I procured another guide and struck across the Hamâd to the volcano called El 'Amûd. This is a magnificent crater, looking like a stupendous mass of rusty iron. The plain all around it is strewn for miles with blocks of pumice-stone and lava. The whole of the tract of territory from El 'Amûd to the Wâdi Sirhân is dotted with extinct volcanoes.

By the time I reached El 'Amûd, Ash'ayla had become very thin. She had no hump, her back was as flat as that of a donkey. Near El 'Amûd we couched our camels before the tent of Farhân ibn Mi'jal, the Shaykh of a branch of the 'Anayza. I thought Farhân a charming fellow. Affable and broad-minded, he stood over six feet in height, and was decidedly handsome. When he heard that I was going to 'Amman, he said he did not think it likely that Ash'ayla could last out that distance, as there was no pasturage left west of the Wâdi Sirhân. It had all been eaten up. He offered to exchange Ash'ayla for a naga of his own. The beast looked strong and was in excellent condition, so I consented.

I now set out to cross the volcanic tract to the salt villages in Wâdi Sirhân. My guide was a Bedouin of the Bani Sokhr, named 'Enâd. He must have been over fifty years old, and had wounds all over his body, but his energy was remarkable. On the second day my new camel knelt down at midday, and we had difficulty in getting her to go on. The next day she knelt in the morning, so we drove her along with nothing on her but the saddle. The following day we were obliged to leave her, as nothing would induce her to get up. I had been foolish to part with the gallant Ash'ayla. 'Enâd behaved splendidly. He had

two camels with him, both of which were heavily laden with dates from El Jauf. He insisted on my mounting one of them, and he put my baggage on the other.

We passed the last of the volcanoes, and came to the salt villages. The rain-water drains down over the salt rocks and collects in great shallow pools in the depression of the Wâdi Sirhân. The sun having evaporated the water, a residue of salt is left behind. This is dug up and carried on camels to all parts of Arabia.

We pushed on next day to a place called Nabq, where we found a number of Druze refugees living in Bedouin tents. We were well received by them, and slept in the tent of Muhammad Pasha 'Ezz ed dîn. The following day I met Sultân Pasha el 'Atrash at his camp at El Hadthâ. These Druzes were living in abject poverty, but they were living an organized life. It was a strange sight to see about thirty children sitting in a Bedouin hair-cloth tent chanting the Korân. I had never before seen a Bedouin tent used as a school.

A few days later 'Enâd and I rode into 'Ammân. I associate 'Enâd with Gubayyil the Sharâri as the two most worthy and likeable Bedouins whom I met on my journey.

Closing the meeting, LORD LLOYD said: "I am sure you will all agree with me that we have listened to an extraordinarily interesting lecture. To a great many of us who remember some parts of Arabia long before Mr. Rutter started travelling, his references to the different places come as music to our ears. It is amazing how little that Arabia of which he has been speaking has changed. There are many questions which I should have liked to ask, but the hour is rather late. We, the Central Asian Society, wish not only to congratulate him on his book, but to thank him for his kindness in coming here and giving us so delightful and interesting an evening."

BRITISH AND RUSSIAN RELATIONS WITH MODERN PERSIA

BY ROSITA FORBES

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[This paper formed the basis of a lecture given to the Central Asian Society on December 3, 1930, Lord Lamington in the Chair.]

DURING the last five or six years Persia has made remarkable, in some cases almost incredible, progress towards the Westernization which has always been Reza Khan's goal.

The country has been opened up by means of a number of important roads. The introduction of European dress has established a standard of neatness hitherto unknown, and by abolishing the differences which used to exist between the costumes of the various districts, has enabled a man to think of himself as a Persian, rather than as a Shirazi, an Isfahani, or a Kirmani. Tehran is being embellished with new public buildings, wide avenues, and well-arranged municipal gardens. The provincial capitals, centres of the network of lorry traffic which has altered the whole appearance of the country, are being rapidly modernized by the introduction of broad, well-lighted streets, garages, and the embryo of a hotel system. Camel and mule caravans are relegated to the desert or to the still inaccessible mountain regions, and American cars have taken their place on the new highways.

Young Persia is being educated on Western lines as fast as the Department of Public Works can build schools and as the English and American Universities in Isfahan and Tehran can turn out teachers to run them. In this direction progress is still hampered by lack of technical instructors, but each year the Government sends 100 students to Europe to receive a specialized education, and it has engaged several French professors for Persian schools. Health is gradually improving, but there is still a dearth of fully-qualified doctors, and unsanitary conditions in the villages contribute to the high death-rate.

Had it not been for the troubles in Afghanistan, Persian women would by this time have been unveiled. As it is, the chudda is not obligatory in the more enlightened towns, and the wives of Ministers and public officials are beginning to discard it. Except among the tribes, the majority of the girls are sent to school, and it is these comparatively educated young women who will lead the next generation's revolt against the veil.

But the greatest achievement of the present Government is in the realms of public security. Ten years ago each province was the natural prey of the tribes, whose powerful chiefs made and unmade dynasties according to their own convenience. Kuzistan enriched the Bakhtiari raiders and Shiraz the Kashgais. Azerbaijan was at the mercy of Kurds and the Shahsevand tribe, Khorasan of Turcomans, and Kirman of Baluchis. If anyone had been asked if it were possible to break the power of the independent Khans, he would have answered with a decided negative, yet the Pehlevi Government has accomplished this apparently herculean task with an army of 35,000, recently increased to approximately 60,000. It has disarmed all but certain sections of the Kurdish and Kashgai mountaineers, and with the exception of sporadic disturbances on the new road through Luristan, it has put an end to the toll regularly levied for more than 3,000 years on the lives and goods of travellers.

For the first time in recent history the Persian army is without foreign instructors or officers. It is well armed, clothed and mounted, and the scale of pay is sufficient, though graft still interferes with its distribution. Created for the definite purpose of maintaining a centralized national Government, independent of tribal support, it has proved adequate to the task demanded of it. Its loyalty is unquestioned, and, backed by a fairly efficient force of road police, the Amnia, it has proved the most important instrument for modernist and nationalist propaganda. For the presence throughout the country of powerful military elements has fostered, in addition to a sense of personal security, one, scarcely less important, of individual pride.

For centuries Persia has been intimidated by her more powerful neighbours, and the quality of human material on which the Pehlevi Government must inevitably base its rapid and drastic reforms has degenerated through the feeling of inferiority induced by foreign influence.

The Persian character is a curious blend of optimism and intense suspicion. Informed that he must accept the European interpretation of progress, the Iranian remembers the continual exploitation of his country at the hands of the West, and the better his education the more Chauvinistic he becomes. At the present moment the consciousness of so much new military and political activity is breeding in him an unnatural arrogance which spoils his instinctively charming manners; but it has its good side, for it makes the gentle and hitherto none too courageous Iranian realize that he is an individual with nothing but his own self-consciousness to prevent his being the equal of a European.

The Persian is naturally among the most intelligent of Eastern races. The hospitality of Iran is famous, and the Iranian is philo-

sophical, subtle, adaptable, and keen-witted; but if conversation is his sport, prevarication is the art in which he takes most interest. He is fundamentally lazy, and procrastination is his most cherished habit, but on special occasions he is capable of sustained hard labour that would stagger the European. Brilliantly intuitive, but sensitive as a child, his exaggerated vanity, whether personal or national, will not bear criticism. At this moment, when it is essential that Persia should benefit by the experience of Europe, in order to achieve the splendid goal she has set herself as the bulwark of a stable and progressive civilization against the inroads of the disruptive elements in Russia and Afghanistan, her Government is characteristically unable either to trust or to follow the advice of the expensive foreign specialists it employs.

No Persian has confidence in his fellows; consequently there is no possibility of satisfactory local administration, for everything must be referred to Tehran, and the system of internal espionage, which is the worst legacy of the past, finds expression in the "Gawaz," without which permit no traveller can leave or enter a town. Business is delayed and endless possibilities for graft afforded by this attempt to control the movements, officially in the interests of conscription, of all citizens. It serves no purpose, for it only interferes with legitimate travellers, who waste hours explaining their business to illiterate officials, while those whose motives will not bear investigation have no difficulty in evading publicity by leaving the town otherwise than by the main gates, and hailing any form of transport they choose out of sight of the Amnia. Fortunately the majority of Persians are infinitely patient and equally law-abiding. Probably there is a smaller proportion of the population in prison here than in any Western country, and if, in spite of the energetic efforts of the present Government, graft is still rife, it has assumed the dignity of a code. In England we pay our judges and public officials very high salaries, and expect from them a corresponding standard of honesty. In the East such functionaries are rarely paid a living wage, and it is a generally accepted fact that they will eke out their salaries by a reasonable scale of bribery. If they go beyond what is considered just in view of the position they are obliged to maintain, protest and retribution follow. The Pehlevi Government has instituted a Commission of Inquiry which has doubtless had a salutary effect in reducing corruption, but even if it were possible to ensure the scrupulous honesty of all its members, its files would either be stolen or burned, as was recently the case at Meshed, if its inquiries were pushed too far.

Now that the pacification of the country is complete, and its continuation ensured by an army which is to be increased, by means of conscription for a period of two years to a total strength of 100,000, the

chief concern of Persia is her relations with England and Russia. In considering these, it is as well to remember that her population is far from homogeneous. The south-west speaks only Arabic and the north-west Turkish, which appears again among the Turcomans of Khorosan; Arabs, Baluchis, Kurds, Armenians, Jews, Zoroastrians and Nestorians all have different religions, and all represent different racial problems. Moreover, Persia has lived in fear of foreign dominion. The unratified treaty of 1919, evolved by the late Lord Curzon and Sir Percy Cox, would have enforced what was virtually a British Protectorate, and from this Persia considers that she was saved only by the Russian advance in the Caucasus. It is natural, therefore, that she should be chary of making any concession which would impinge on her hardly acquired independence.

Determined not only to be mistress in her own house, but to extend her authority over the road which leads to it, Persia wishes to undertake the responsibilities for lighting and policing the Persian Gulf, in which nine-tenths of the shipping is British. By the Turko-Persian frontier commission, 1913-14, the latter is only entitled to a small anchorage outside Mohammerah, and while Persia owns a river frontage of approximately fifty miles on the Shatt el Arab, the whole of that waterway is left in the hands of 'Iraq.

At present, the port of Basra is responsible for the upkeep of the Shatt el Arab and for the maintenance of the lighthouses on both sides of the Gulf, which she patrols by means of four sloops. By the Slavery Convention of 1883, Great Britain has the right to search Persian as well as Arab dhows suspected of carrying human contraband, and by the way she carries out a difficult task, she renders inestimable service to Persia. For it is well known that, under the ægis of Barket Khan, a Baluchi chieftain, whose stronghold is in the inaccessible mountains near the south-eastern frontier, an average of 200 slaves annually are still shipped in Persian dhows from the coast of Mekran.

It is stated by members of the Government that Persia loses a yearly revenue of £200,000 by the smuggling of tea and sugar in the Gulf. In order to prevent this illicit trade, she has ordered from Italy two small cruisers and four gunboats, and has sent between twenty and thirty young Persians to be trained as naval officers at Leghorn, but as there are neither suitable docks nor harbours along her coastline, and the ships will have to be sent to India for repairs, their upkeep will more than counterbalance any decrease in smuggling.

Persia has entered a claim before the League of Nations to the Island of Bahrein, from which she was evicted by the Arabs in 1789, and which the British have administered in co-operation with the local Sheik since 1810, when they used it as a base for the anti-piracy campaign which freed the Gulf for commercial shipping. She is also

concerned with the Duzdab railway which runs for sixty miles into Persian territory, but is operated from Quetta by a British administrative and an Indian staff.

With regard to the air-mail route to India, which at present traverses the Persian coast of the Gulf, the Pehlevi Government is of the opinion that, should the existing contract, which expires in less than two years, be renewed, it might prove an excuse for the institution of vested British rights within the zone over which Persia is anxious to maintain exclusive control. It views with misgiving the possibility of another form of Gulf Police centred on a succession of aerodromes with foreign staffs, and in case of war it feels that troops might be landed to defend the air route to the East. It is natural that the Persian Government should prefer an airway across the plateau, which would connect her main towns, and taking this into consideration, it would be wise of Imperial Airways to consider the possibilities of such a route. It was for this purpose that they were granted the existing temporary contract, which is unlikely to be renewed. Their only alternative would appear to be the construction of aerodromes on the Arab side of the Gulf.

All such questions, involving as they do the relations between neighbours sharing a long communal frontier, are capable of amicable settlement since the interests of Great Britain and Persia are fundamentally the same. The latter's difficulties with Russia come into a different category.

By the trade agreement of 1928, which ended the Soviet embargo established two years earlier, more than half of the goods exported by Persia across her northern frontier were paid for in kind by tea, sugar, ironware, glass, crockery and piece-goods, and it was left to Russia to decide what form her own exports should take. In this way she was able to force on her neighbour much that she did not require, besides which, by imposing a fictitious value on the rouble, which is approximately 9½ to the pound sterling in Russia and 35 in the bazaars of Tehran, she received higher rates in exchange than those to which she was entitled.

This agreement has now lapsed, and a large section of public opinion is in favour of a law to prevent the passing of any but reciprocal treaties, while the extremists demand an embargo on Russian imports. The latter policy would seriously impoverish the north, which, owing to cost of transport and the distance from Iraq or the coast, cannot, as yet, afford to seek other markets.

Before the war Russia dominated the Persian market and she is gradually reassuming her ascendancy. Cotton goods, tea, and sugar represent 50 per cent. of the total Persian imports. Last year British imports showed a decrease of 33 per cent. and Russian an increase of 70 per cent., while the import of German tools and machinery doubled.

One instance will serve as typical of what is happening all over Persia. Two years ago a British agency in Tabriz used to import 300 cases of Coat's thread. Now their average has decreased to an annual 30 cases because the Russians are underselling by 33 per cent. Russian beer sells in Azerbāijan for 1s. 4d. a bottle and German beer for 2s. 6d., but in a case of the former it is usual to find about 40 per cent. is bad.

On the other hand, the growing activities of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. have reduced the price of Russian petrol, which 3½ years ago in Azerbāijan was 12s. per 4 gallons, to 6s. 4d. for the same amount. The Soviet Government are prepared to sell their goods at prices which forbid the possibility of competition, and by trading direct between the State and the consumer they are putting out of business a whole class of Persian shopkeepers and middlemen. Discontent is rife among the northern merchants. There have been many bankruptcies and suicides, but Persia is to a certain extent at the mercy of her great neighbour, for her richest provinces are at the gates of the Caspian. The natural market for the rice, cotton, and dried fruits, the caviare, hides, nuts, and carpets, grown or made in Gilan and Mazandaran, is to be found in Russia.

The recent Bill making the purchase of foreign sterling the monopoly of the newly-created National Bank, which has not sufficient capital to cope with the demand, was possibly aimed at the British-administered Imperial Bank of Persia as much as at Russia's policy of dumping goods in Persia against payment in kran, with which she was able to purchase foreign credits. If this was so, both purposes have been fulfilled. The Imperial Bank has sold to the Government its right of printing currency notes, and it has come to an agreement with the National Bank, whose directors are Germans, with contracts which will probably not be renewed at the end of three years.

As the natural value of the kran, after the recent fall in silver, is approximately 105 (silver point) to the pound sterling, and it is artificially maintained at 59½, it is impossible for Russia to obtain satisfactory payment for her exports, and she is not, at the moment, underselling to her usual extent through private channels the goods which she barter for Persian imports, and which are very often smuggled back again across her own frontier to be sold for a higher price in the Caucasus and Turkestan.

But what amounted to a ban on foreign sterling has hit the merchants far harder than was contemplated, for Persia is not self-supporting so far as manufactured goods are concerned. Trade at present is at a standstill, for the list of luxuries whose import is forbidden, except by special permission of a Committee sitting in Tehran under the presidency of the German Director of the National Bank, includes such varied items as animals, alcohol, silk, cotton, lace, furniture

cosmetics, crockery, carriages, motors, mirrors, games, toys, wood, and playing cards. Raw materials, such as the yarn on which the whole carpet industry depends, can only be procured after negotiating for a percentage of the money now set aside each month, by agreement between the two Banks, for the import of necessities. Of this amount, 15 per cent. is in future to be allowed for the import of luxuries.

By March, 1931, it will be illegal for Government officials and employees to wear any but Persian cloth, but at present industry cannot possibly be sufficiently increased to supply the needs of a population of between ten and fifteen millions.

It is hoped to build factories and cotton mills. Ginning plants have already been set up, but the projected schemes for manufacturing paper and metal rails have had to be abandoned. The state-owned coal-mine near Tehran supplies sufficient fuel for the capital, but this industry will have to be entirely reorganized and vastly developed if it is to cope with the needs of the new railway. Any other industries that might be instituted in Persia are likely to be jeopardized at the start by the Russian cut-throat trading.

By introducing a gold standard, Persia hopes to be able to cope with the fall in the value of the *kran*, but she is adopting the most expensive method of changing her currency. Before the recent fall in silver, it was estimated that it would cost her $4\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling to establish a gold standard. For this purpose she is using the Persian Oil royalty, which at present amounts to about a million sterling, and which has been allowed to accumulate in London, thus creating a gold reserve. But as its omission from the national assets seriously affects the budget, this artificial situation has been responsible to some extent for the depreciation of the currency. *Krans* are to be bought in by the Government at their present artificial rating up to March 21, 1932, and after that at their bullion value. In their place a token coin—the *real*—is to be issued. It will have the value of three *krans*, but unless the Government is scrupulous in regard to printing no more notes than are justified by their gold backing, the *real* will presumably go to an immediate discount.

There will be a gold "*Pehlevi*," value £1, nickel dinars in 5, 10, and 20 pieces, and copper 2-dinar pieces, as well as the suppositionary silver *reals* at 20 to the pound sterling.

It is largely on the projected railway, which will eventually join the new port of *Pehlevi* on the Caspian with *Bander Shapur* on the Gulf, that Persia relies to free herself from dependence on the Russian market. But it is questionable whether it would not be better to spend a tithe of the amount on the construction and maintenance of really good roads, so that proper transport companies could be organized, freight rates fixed, and an end put to the competition of privately

owned lorries competing at wholly inadequate charges all over the country.

Aviation is already doing well, and before the new railway is finished, it may well find a serious competitor in the air service, for which Junkers have a monopoly, granted in 1927. Since then they have flown 625,000 miles and carried 10,000 passengers. It is interesting to note that, whereas in 1927 only 10 per cent. of the passengers were Persian, last year the number had increased to 75 per cent.

The railway, however, is, after the army, the dearest project of the Shah. Doubtless it will serve a valuable strategic purpose, for by its means troops can be distributed through the areas where they are most needed; but the estimated cost of the completed line is £40,000,000, a terrible drain on the yearly budget of nine million sterling. It is essential for Persia to have reliable communications with the south, yet the Government has set its face against all foreign loans, for fear they should be the first step to financial control. It is proposed, therefore, to build the railway entirely out of revenue. For this purpose the annual million from the Government monopolies on tea and sugar has been set aside, but if the line is to be completed in eight years as is hoped, much more will have to be found, and it is obvious all over the country that the limit of taxation has been reached. It would appear that a line from Tehran to Tabriz, and thence in connection with Turkey to the Mediterranean coast, would, at a fraction of the cost entailed by the Trans-Persian Railway, which means the construction of two new complete ports, offer a suitable exit for the products of those provinces now in the commercial thrall of Russia towards the Western markets.

Persia is certainly to be congratulated on the road which, when it is opened at the end of the year, will connect Azerbaijan, via Kurdistan, with the Iraq railway line between Kirkuk and Mosul, but in her efforts to abolish the spectres of a Soviet trade monopoly and a foreign loan, it is to be hoped that a Government which has done so much in so short a time, and in the face of so great difficulties, to raise the standard of living and widen the outlook of its people, will not find itself in the position of Cisyphus, for ever rolling the burden of increasing taxation towards the peak of an unnecessary political isolation.

PERSIAN PAINTING

By J. V. S. WILKINSON

LECTURE given to the Central Asian Society on Wednesday, December 17, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the Chair.

Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson of the British Museum was good enough to lecture to the Society on Wednesday, December 17, at very short notice, in the place of Sir Abdul Qaiyum, whose duties at the Round Table Conference prevented him from speaking on the N.W.F. and the Trans-Border Country.

MR. WILKINSON, after outlining the peculiarities and limitations of Persian painting, and the disadvantages under which it laboured on account of the religious ban against it, gave a most interesting lecture, illustrated with lantern slides, on the history of the art in Persia.

He accepted the division into four successive schools or periods : (1) the Abbassid period in which there was nothing specifically Persian ; (2) the so-called Mongol art following on the fall of Baghdad in 1258. A period in which Persian artists definitely turned eastwards for their inspiration ; (3) the Timurid art of the fifteenth century, in which the national style was finally evolved ; and (4) the Safavid painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, leading to a gradual decadence.

The lecturer pointed out that Persian painting could not live long outside the country of its origin, and even this fact alone entitled it to a claim of being a national art.

Lord ALLENBY in thanking the lecturer in the name of the Society said how very much he had enjoyed the lecture, and how much the audience had learnt from the very clear exposition of the history of Persian painting. He had been specially interested in the continued use of Persian legends which were painted again and again throughout the centuries. They had all learnt much which would help them to appreciate the pictures in the Persian Art Exhibition and in understanding those which they already knew. (Applause.)

THE POSITION OF THE INDIAN STATES

BY SIR AKBAR HYDARI

LECTURE given to the Central Asian Society on December 12, 1930, the Right Hon. LORD LLOYD in the Chair.

SIR AKBAR HYDARI: Before such an audience as this I feel it is not necessary for me to go into the origin of all the independent, semi-independent and feudatory States which have their recognized position in the Constitution of the Indian Empire. But I may remind you that they have not one common origin, but various origins.

Some of them were in existence long before the Mughal Empire, some, perhaps, even before the first Muhammadan invasion of India. These stood to the Mughal in very much the same relation in which they stand now to the British Raj. Some were carved out of the ruins of the Mughal Empire by powerful officials of that Empire, or by bold adventurers. Some, like the Hindu States of the extreme south, never came under the Mughal rule at all except to the extent of occasionally paying tribute, and that only during a period of less than half a century, in the reigns of Aurangzèyb and his successor, Shah Alam I. One (our Hyderabad) is simply the old Mughal Province of Deccan, the Province of the South, shorn of the Carnatic, the Northern Circars, and many other districts over which its ruler once had sway, surviving under its own satrap or hereditary Viceroy.

The way in which the Viceroyalty of the Deccan came to be hereditary—a principle abhorrent to the Mughal Empire in its prime—is this: The first Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah, who had been a general of Aurangzèyb, as Subahdar or Viceroy of the Deccan, had to visit Delhi after the death of Shah Alam, Aurangzèyb's able son, in the days when disintegration had begun. What he saw there—the scramble for power at the expense of the Empire—made him resolve that his Province, at any rate, should be preserved from ruin, and on his return he proclaimed the independence of the Deccan.

By this proclamation he did not abjure allegiance to the Emperor, but simply freed his Province from subordination to the Delhi Government. The occasion was this:

When Nadir Shah raided Delhi, Nizam-ul-Mulk had gone to the assistance of the Emperor in time to stop the ravage, and Nadir Shah, admiring the grand old man, offered him the Imperial throne of India as his tributary. The Nizam's answer is well known: "For others the present occupant of that throne might be no more than a worthless

and half-witted profligate who could be swept aside. For a Muslim nobleman of India, though he might be all that, he was none the less the grandson of Aurangzeyb, the son of Shahjehan, the son of Jihangir, the son of Akbar, the son of Humayun, the son of Babar, the descendant of Timur Leng. Not one of them would dare to sit upon that throne instead of him."

It was not from allegiance to the Emperor, but from subjection to the Delhi Court that the Nizam proclaimed the Deccan independent on his return to Hyderabad.

The anecdote is a digression, but it is a digression with a purpose, and the purpose is to strike at the very outset of my address to you the keynote of that peculiarly intense and unshakable loyalty to old ties of duty and engagements which is characteristic of the Indian States and which is proof against all disappointments and "departmentalism" in their devotion to the Crown.

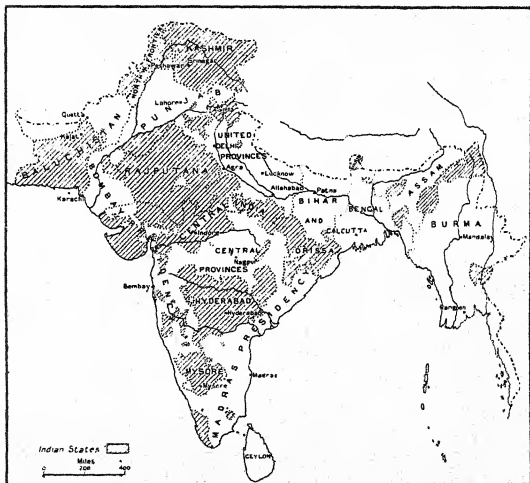
The Indian States came into the British Empire of India at different periods and on different footings in the course of the struggles for supremacy between divers elements which followed on the weakening of Imperial authority, and in which the British, at first but a factor among others, gradually emerged not merely as the strongest factor, but as the executive hand of power to whom the Mughal Emperor had delegated, either formally or tacitly, all his executive functions. This is an important point to remember. It accounts for the loyalty of the States at the time of the Mutiny, to the *de jure* (as they held) as well as the *de facto* rulers of the country, rather than to the titular Emperor, whose powers had already long since passed entirely to the British.

With the disappearance of the Emperor and the annexation of all that still remained of the kingdom of Oudh, the greater part of India, where Muslim influence had been predominant, passed directly under British rule, while the Hindu sovereignties, many of which had been subordinated to the Muslim power, not only remained, but emerged into new prominence.

The Hindus welcomed British rule and sought British education at once, whereas the Muslims, thinking themselves wronged, at first assumed a sullen attitude towards Western progress. Thus the Muslims lost considerably in power and prestige, and the Hindus gained proportionately by the establishment of British in the place of Mughal rule. That is why Muslims all over India look with such affection on the only Mughal Province which survives today under a Muslim ruler, and feel a pride in its position as the premier Indian State.

The great Indian States came into the British polity first as allies of the East India Company in the course of the struggle for possession of the Mughal heritage, in which the English claimed a special standing as deputed agents of the Mughal Emperor. The great Indian States

came in on equal terms by treaties of alliance with the British Crown. When the allies went to war, the territory conquered was often divided between the Company and the Allied States in approximately equal parts. The Allied States were treated not collectively, but individually, as separate countries. The first move in the direction of collective treatment was the clause, inserted later in many treaties, by which the Indian ruler ceded to the British the right to control the State's external policy. This was in some cases coupled with an undertaking



on the British side to place a fixed number of troops at the disposal of the ruler for the purpose of defence and the preservation of internal order; while in some treaties, where there was no stipulation for the control of foreign policy, the *quid pro quo* for protection was an allotment of territory or money payment.

Still, although the similarity of these clauses in a number of treaties showed a settled policy, the States were treated individually as separate countries. There was a time when their rights and political importance were not fully recognized, with the result that the application of the doctrine of lapse led to the disappearance of several of them.

Then came the Mutiny, when the loyalty of the Indian States

saved the British Empire in India. "If the Nizam goes, all goes," runs the famous message. The Nizam held fast to his alliance, as did other Indian rulers, and the British were enabled to put down the Mutiny.

For a few years after the Mutiny there were evidences of a change of attitude toward the Indian States. Queen Victoria's proclamation as Empress of India and all subsequent Royal proclamations guarantee the rights and privileges of the Indian Ruling Princes as secured by treaty. But though the treaties might be clearly individual, and the problems of the different States might be widely different, since they were all dealt with by the one authority, there was a tendency to put them all together in a single category—a tendency to devise a uniform method of dealing with all of them, which might be considered authorized by the terms of some treaties, but was certainly not authorized by the terms of all of them.

In return for the undertaking to preserve internal order and maintain the dynasty in each State an obligation of intervention in case of misgovernment was claimed, and every case of intervention made a precedent. The body of Precedent became Usage, and from Usage evolved an interpretation of Paramountcy, which was recognized even by many political officers as going far beyond the scope of the treaties.

And here may I make another short digression? I hold no brief for the political officer, but I often think that the difficulties of his position are not understood. It may be that the day of the political officer, as we have known him, is passing, but I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the great service that many of his department have rendered during the last hundred years to the Indian States. I am speaking from experience at least of a quarter of a century of the officers of the political and the lent officers with whom I have worked in Hyderabad, and I can say that I have found them in most cases fighting the battles of our State with as great—and in many cases even greater—force and success as even the officers of the State.

By these remarks, therefore, regarding interference, I merely indicate a cause of grievance which is recognized. Subsequent to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and in accordance with the expressed wishes of the Princes, it was decided that no Prince should be deprived of his sovereignty or of any of his privileges without investigation, if he wished it, by a Commission, on which the Ruling Princes were to be represented. This was a distinct step in advance, and one that met with general approval.

While speaking of the position of the Indian States, I cannot avoid mention of another subject, which particularly touches us in Hyderabad. Few people outside the Nizam's dominions can have any idea how

deeply Hyderabad has felt the treatment accorded to the State in the course of the century-long negotiations on the subject of the Province of Berar.* I do not propose to go into the rights of the claim here, but I wish to state that nothing said, done, or written hitherto has altered our view of the case.

British political thought in the last half-century inclined to regard the Indian States as picturesque anachronisms, as something of a nuisance, as a hindrance to the general progress of the great peninsula. Their interests have been regarded as secondary to those of British India, and seldom consulted when the interests of British India chanced to clash with theirs. I am leaving out all those recent experiments which have wrought so great a change in British India. The Government of India Act, 1919, since it guarantees the rights and privileges of the Princes, leaves the position of the States unchanged. The one great event that has to be chronicled from the point of view of the Princes is the inauguration of the Chamber of Princes, which was opened by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught in 1921. Hitherto the Princes, though treated by the Government on one plan, and all subjected to the same usage, had been kept apart. Now they came together and discovered that they had some common grievances.

The foundation of the Chamber was welcomed by many rulers, but, in those of the larger States, it aroused a measure of apprehension, since it was coupled with the oft-repeated aspiration that the States would thereby be brought into closer touch with British India. The idea that the States could only benefit by being brought into closer touch with British India, and could always learn from British India, was and, I

* The territories which now form the Province of Berar, of an area of 17,767 square miles and a population of over 3,000,000, came to the Nizam by the Partition Treaty of Hyderabad, 1804, at the close of the second Mahratta War. By the Treaty of 1853, primarily for the purpose of providing for the regular monthly payment of the contingent troops, the Nizam agreed to assign certain areas, including Berar, "to the exclusive management of the British Resident for the time being at Hyderabad, and to such other officers as may, from time to time, be appointed by the Government of India to the charge of those districts," the surplus revenue to be paid to the Nizam. By the Supplemental Treaty between Her Majesty the Queen and H.H. the Nizam, 1860, Art. 6, "The Districts in Berar already assigned to the British Government under the Treaty of 1853 . . . shall be held by the British Government in trust for the payment of the troops of the Hyderabad Contingent." The surplus was still to be paid over, but without any rendering of accounts.

On December 18, 1902, by a "Memorandum of Agreement" between the British Government and the Hyderabad State, the Assigned Districts were leased in perpetuity to the British Government at a fixed, perpetual, annual rent of 25 lakhs of rupees.

In 1923 the present Nizam addressed to the Viceroy a reasoned claim for the restitution of Berar, which, in 1926, was answered by a somewhat blunt refusal.

believe, still is quite a common one. It never seems to have occurred to anybody that British India could have anything to learn from the States. One of my objects in this lecture is to show that the States have something vital to contribute to the political and social life of India in the future.

I come now to the latest developments. The gesture of the Indian States in coming forward at this juncture with a definite proposal for a form of government for all India is at once a gesture of faith in their own countrymen, a gesture of loyalty to the British Crown, and a gesture of self-assertion, showing that "Indian India" has its own patriotism and intelligence as well as "British India," and that the Indian States must also be heard when the fate of India is to be decided.

The condition of affairs in British India now is such, it seems to me, that the British Government must revise its judgment as to the position and the relative importance of the Indian States in the great Indian polity. They are proving themselves to be a great factor of stability. In these days of impatience and unrest their steady influence is of the greatest value to British India.

While all around them is unrest their subjects in general are contented. This is not a question of natural frontiers, the frontiers between the States and British India being quite unnatural, often accidental, boundaries. Nor is it because their people are backward and not politically conscious. There must be something in the Indian States which satisfies the people and so makes for contentment.

I can point at once to one great source of satisfaction—in the personal relation which exists between the people and the ruler. Then the Court is a centre of Indian culture, where Indian literature, especially poetry, art, theology, are fostered and find generous patronage; where Indian manners are appreciated; where Indian courtesy is not considered out of date—in short, where cultured Indians feel at home. There is certainly much more than that, but I am only indicating certain sources of contentment, and one is that the Indian States stand for an Indian polity. The problem is to synthesize that Indian polity with the considerable measure of Western ideology that has become essential for modern efficiency.

Already we have borrowed from you much that we considered manifestly advantageous. The States now recognize the reign of Law. His Exalted Highness the Nizam, who has for many years had a Legislative Council, has governed his dominions since 1920 through an Executive Council. The judiciary has now been made independent of the Executive, and we have adopted Western methods of administration; but, the whole of the administration being in Indian hands, much greater attention is paid to Indian culture, naturally, than is the case where the whole administration is in hands other than Indian.

Thus it was left for His Exalted Highness's Government to try a great experiment in education. I can assure you that it was considered a great and even a dangerous experiment when it was first mooted, and is even now considered so in some quarters. You will laugh when I tell you what that great, that dangerous, experiment was. It was to impart university education to Indian students in an Indian language. That experiment, with which I am proud to have been identified, has proved successful in the Osmania University in Hyderabad, and that without lowering the standard of English, which has been made a compulsory subject of study throughout all the courses of the university.

But administration is only one aspect of the problem of modernization. The other, to which you in the West assign such importance, is the development in the people of a sense of responsible citizenship. We are not blind to that aspect of the problem, but we think the system in British India has been modelled too exclusively on English institutions, the result of centuries of development in surroundings entirely different from those in my country. To illustrate my point—how slavishly those institutions have been copied: I would ask if you are aware that the Speaker of the lower house of legislation in India wears a wig similar to that worn by the Speaker of the House of Commons. Not only are we expected to copy your modernization, we are even expected to carry your anachronisms on our heads.

It is not surprising, therefore, that some of us approach the problem of responsible citizenship in India from a different point of view and hope to find a solution more in keeping with conditions in my country. We attach more importance to the representation of interests than to the representation of localities. The essential is a strong and efficient Executive composed of experienced administrators assisted by some machinery that will ensure touch with all interests and sympathy with the people whose affairs are in its charge.

I must apologize for having touched a graver subject than I meant to approach in this lecture.

I have already spoken of our adoption of Western methods of administration. Let me add that it has made for real and rapid progress. Indeed, the progress made by Hyderabad in all departments during the reign of the present Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan, can compare with that of any country during the same period.

Although my theme today is the Indian States in general, I have from time to time referred to Hyderabad more particularly because that is the State with whose condition I am most familiar, but whatever I say applies equally to most of the other Indian States.

You will allow me, as one whose chief concern has been in recent years the finance of the State, the satisfaction of quoting here some

figures from the Budget of fourteen years ago, and comparing them with some figures for the year which has just expired.

In the year 1916 the budgeted amount for education was one of one million and two-thirds rupees. For 1930 the budget estimate for education was seven and four-fifths million. In 1916 the budgeted amount for public works was four and a quarter million rupees; in 1930 it was eleven and a half million. For 1916 the estimate for medicine and sanitation was a fifth less than a million rupees; in 1930, two and a quarter million. In 1916 the estimated amount for agriculture was at fifty thousand rupees, and in 1930 almost twenty times that amount. Co-operative credit in 1916 was estimated at fifty-six thousand rupees, and in 1930 at three hundred and forty-seven thousand rupees.

I have referred only to our expenditure on the nation-building departments. I have not wearied you with any account of the large reserves we have built, of the purchase of a railway at a cost of eight million pounds from our resources. All that I want to impress upon you is that these reserves are without any taxation other than what has been in force in the State and with which the people are familiar for over a century—namely, land revenue in accordance with the settlement on the same lines in British India, Excise and Customs (Karorgiri as it is called on account of the crore it has brought for years and years past). We have no income-tax or death duties or super-tax or any other of the implements of taxation in the hands of modern financiers.

The figures speak for themselves. And Hyderabad, though we are doing our best to make up the lost ground, is still a good way behind States like Travancore in the matter of education, for example, in which some of the Indian States are ahead of British India. Please do not think of the States as unprogressive merely because they may be undisturbed politically. Political disturbance and progress ought not to be identified.

Today the Indian States are full of hope. They think that, for the first time since they came into relation with the British Crown, they are being given an opportunity collectively, and in the case of the greater States individually, to explain their attitude, their hopes, and their fears.

There are some details of treatment in the past, covered by the convenient and general terms of "usage" and "paramountcy," which still rankle in the minds alike of rulers and of subjects, but it is with no desire to make capital out of them that the States have come to the Round Table Conference. As a matter of fact, H.E.H. especially asked us not to rake up old grievances that might prove of any inconvenience to the Government here in the work of the Round Table

Conference. They are here as the faithful allies and staunch supporters of the Crown. They come as supporters to your Empire, believing it to be the best and most efficient League of Nations, asking you to strengthen their position, not to weaken it. At the same time we desire to co-operate with our fellow-countrymen in British India in reaching an honourable solution of the problems before us. Only let us both develop on our own lines united by allegiance to the Crown, so that, in whatever federal system of government we may evolve for the furtherance of our common aims and the regulation of our common interests, the experience, prestige, and dignity of our old India may be a steadying influence of service to your young India, and the fervour of your young India may be for us a stimulating and reviving influence. That is my idea of the position of the Indian States in the future polity of India. (Applause).

Sir LOUIS DANE said that so eloquent and well thought out a lecture as the one they had just heard could not go without some few words of recognition, and, although he did not feel himself very competent to undertake such a task, he might be able to replace a more able man as such had not come forward, as he had been Foreign Secretary under both Lord Curzon and Lord Minto, and had had a good deal to do with Hyderabad, where he had more than once enjoyed the most princely hospitality of the late and present Nizams.

For the benefit of those who had not visited it, he described Hyderabad as a wonderful country of vast artificial lakes and imperial palaces, and an atmosphere reminiscent of the "Arabian Nights." It was now, however, swiftly becoming more civilized, and they had heard of the wonderful progress which was being made in material ways, including the acquisition of railways and the accumulation of large reserves, all of which had been done without any extra taxes having to be levied. This last fact must make us envious here and in British India, and proved his oft-repeated assertion that for India an Indian State well administered was the best form of government. He said that from the earliest times India had been governed in more or less independent small States, sometimes under the ægis of an Empire—such as the Gupta, Maurya, Moghul, or British—and this was the only form of Swaraj that India knew. As far as Hyderabad went, at any rate, the natural resources had been built up in such a way that it was evident that the administration was suited to the country, and, in consequence, heavy taxation was unnecessary.

Hyderabad, however, had very special conditions, and was different from almost all the other States. Most people considered it as natural that Burma should be, as is now proposed, practically separated from India, because it is more or less outside India, and because of its size

and population, which is not Indian in character. Yet the population of Hyderabad was practically the same as that of Burma, and in the eighteenth century this State treated on equal terms with the East India Company. Hyderabad had never been conquered by the British, neither had it been freed from some oppressor and then restored to its old Government, nor yet sought for protection by treaty from the British from aggressors. That was why Hyderabad was always regarded as a State on a very different basis from that of the others, and was the reason why the ruler enjoyed the title of "His Exalted Highness, and the Faithful and Loyal Ally of the British." Such a State could not be coerced, and it was fortunate that the Nizam had willingly entered the Round Table Conference. If he had decided to stay out or secede, the settlement of a new Constitution in Southern India would have been difficult.

With reference to the Berar question which Sir Akbar had mentioned, he could only say that the present modified leasehold conditions had only lasted for about thirty years, and Mysore was restored to an old long-forgotten dynasty after fifty years of British rule. It was argued that it was impossible to restore to a State territories which had run for many years on Western lines, but, Sir Louis pointed out, this had been done successfully, and for one obvious reason at least such an argument could not be employed now.

With regard to the present State of Benares, Sir Louis said that the idea had been conceived by Lord Minto of reconstituting that State in about 1906 so far as the area held by the Maharaja was concerned. This he had carried out, and, although many had thought that such an action would cause serious trouble, it had worked very satisfactorily and the State had developed in a wonderful manner. As his great-grandfather was living at the time with Warren Hastings, who had been responsible for the annexation of Benares, so he, Sir Louis, had felt it fitting that he should have been able, in some small degree, to be instrumental in restoring it.

Fortunately it has now been realized that it was impossible to create a free constitution for India as a whole without giving to the Indian States an important and, perhaps, even a preponderating voice. For the land held by the States was a great proportion of the total area of all India, and, when Burma is separated, will cover more than half of the sub-continent. The population was not as large as that of British India, but though this was the age where the "voice of the people is the voice of God" and universal suffrage the democratic ideal, yet this would not work in India where a thousand men in one part of India might not be worth a hundred in another.

Lord LLOYD then rose and, with reference to Sir Akbar Hydari's speech, said that Sir Akbar Hydari had certainly said many profound

things in a short time. Even in so rapid a review of Native State affairs, Sir Akbar had touched upon great problems like those of interference versus non-interference, representative versus responsible government, as well as some measure of his views on paramountcy. Lord Lloyd thanked Sir Akbar for his generous tribute to British officers and the great work that they had achieved for the States. He said that although he had not had the advantage of knowing Hyderabad State well, he had yet visited parts of it and had seen enough to know, not only there, but in the large number of States that used to be connected with the Bombay Presidency, how great were the difficulties of political officers and what a great record of achievement should stand for all time to their credit.

Lord Lloyd was glad that Sir Louis Dane, with his great experience, had intervened with such interesting remarks. Lord Lloyd would not attempt to follow Sir Louis Dane's discussion on the vexed question of the Berars, not because he did not hold a view on the question, but because the subject was too large to be discussed on the present occasion. One thing they could all agree about was that Hyderabad State was to be congratulated in having so capable a Chancellor of the Exchequer as Sir Akbar Hydari, whose work for the finances of Hyderabad was well known to all. Without being specific, he felt certain that there were many countries who would be glad to exchange Chancellors with the Hyderabad State.

Lord Lloyd then thanked Sir Akbar for his expressions of confidence and hope for the future, and especially for coming to the Central Asian Society at a time when he was so fully occupied with other important matters.

A vote of thanks was heartily carried.

Sir AKBAR HYDARI then said: "I am deeply grateful for the thanks which you have expressed so heartily. I am sorry that it is not to someone more worthy of the Society under whose auspices we have met tonight. I have heard a great deal of the Central Asian Society, and the work it has been doing, and when the invitation first came I was rather overawed, and more so when I came to know that such a distinguished representative of the English administration was going to preside over the meeting as Lord Lloyd. His governorship in Bombay we will long remember, and we shall associate it with the great works of public utility which he was able to effect."

Sir Akbar then expressed his appreciation of all the kind things which Sir Louis Dane had said about Hyderabad. He remembered the latter when he had come as Foreign Secretary during Lord Minto's visit to his city, and was then much impressed by the sympathy which Sir Louis had shown with regard to any problem which they had discussed together.

Referring to the vexed question of Berar, Sir Akbar said that he was quite satisfied with the attitude he found at present prevailing with regard to the Indian States, and that that attitude only confirmed what he had always held as to the essential element of justice and fair play in the British character. "Any question which you can place before an Englishman," he said, "strongly and reasonably, you have always hope that it will receive a satisfactory solution in the end."

"In that faith I have always worked," he went on, "and in that faith I have lived, and in that faith I shall work, here as elsewhere; and, ladies and gentlemen, of one thing you may be sure, that the aim of anybody who works for Hyderabad will be to strengthen the ties of Empire, and to retain for ever the agis of the British Crown under which India has made the progress which is the envy of the world." (Prolonged applause.)

ARMENIA AND THE ARMENIAN COLONIES

ARMENIA is a relatively large country, extending over the highlands which rise between the Black and Caspian Seas on one hand and the Mesopotamian plains on the other, between the two branches of the Euphrates river and the watershed of the Araxes.

In the course of centuries, Armenia, until the Great War, had maintained her national physiognomy with a relatively large degree of purity. The Armenians wholeheartedly embraced the cause of the Allies and helped them to the best of their ability. They hoped that their country would revive again and live a free political life as had been promised to them by the victorious Allies. But it so happened that circumstances shattered these hopes, and the Armenians and their country remained with their terrible wounds. In the course of the Great War the Armenian population of Turkish Armenia was exterminated on the bloody trails of deportation. With the fall of Imperial Russia, the Turkish armies invaded Russian Armenia and made great devastations, and although Turkey could not do there what it did on its own territory, its action in Caucasian politics was distinctly harmful to the Armenians.

As a result of these circumstances, the name of Armenia applies today to but an insignificant part of that large country—namely, to that region known as Soviet Armenia, which is a part of the Soviet Republics.

SOVIET ARMENIA

So-called Soviet Armenia does not cover, as it seems to many, the same territory as pre-war Russian Armenia; it really comprises less than one half of the latter. The other has been seized by neighbouring countries—namely, Turkey, and with Turkey's help, Georgia and Azerbāijān.

It should be noted that when the Bolsheviks established their power in 1917, the peoples of Transcaucasia—that is, the Armenians, the Georgians, and the Tartars of Azerbāijān—who were unwilling to accept their domination, proclaimed a few months later, on April 22, 1918, the independence of Transcaucasia. At that very time the Russian army which was occupying Turkey abandoned the front with a view to returning to Russia in order to participate in the distribution of the lands, and the Turkish troops were threatening to attack Transcaucasia. The Georgians and the Tartars, under the pressure of the

Turks, and perhaps because they were unwilling to fight them, declared thereupon that they were retiring from the Transcaucasian Union and forming independent countries—Georgia and Azerbāijān.

Thus the Armenians remained alone to face the Turkish armies. Their two neighbours, the Georgians and the Tartars, not only did not help them, but took advantage of the extremely delicate situation of the Armenians and occupied adjacent districts which geographically and ethnographically belong to the Armenian highland. The Georgians occupied the province of Akhalkalak, peopled by Armenians, as well as the Armenian part of Borchalu. The Tartars took the Karabagh district and the Armenian portion of the Gandzak (Gandja). (See map.)

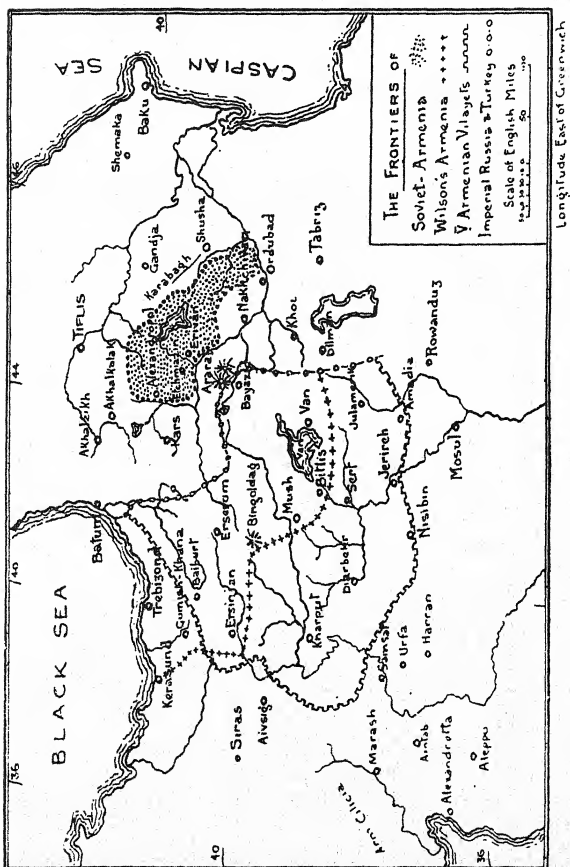
The Turkish troops met with desperate resistance from the Armenians. The two great battles at Sardarabad and at Karakilis checked their advance. They only succeeded in maintaining themselves in those lands which the new masters of Russia, the Bolsheviks, had abandoned to them by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk—that is, the province of Kars and the banks of the Araxes in the District of Erivan.

With the victory of the Allies, the Turks were obliged to evacuate the territories they had seized, while Armenia's frontiers with Georgia and Azerbāijān remained indefinite and open to controversy.

Soon after these events the Turkish Nationalist movement began, and the Turks again attacked Armenia, taking advantage of the Allies' indifference, and occupied once more the territories which they had previously taken—namely, Kars and the southern part of the Erivan District along the Araxes. At the same time the Bolsheviks attacked Armenia from Baku and occupied it. Although they promised to re-establish the frontiers of Armenia, they failed to keep their word, and abandoned to the Turks the territories which the latter took. They likewise let Georgia and Azerbāijān keep the disputed areas they had occupied.

Transcaucasia has an area of 195,000 square kilometres, whereof 67,000 square kilometres constitute Armenia in its natural frontiers; Armenia, therefore, covers about one-third of Transcaucasia's total area, but, as a result of the events which have just been mentioned, the actual area of Armenia is but 28,000 square kilometres—that is, less than one-half of what belongs to her.

According to the census made by the Soviets in 1925, the population of Armenia is 867,000, whereof 748,000 are Armenians. In the Armenian territories taken by the Georgians live 110,000 Armenians, and 200,000 in the Armenian districts included in Azerbāijān. Thus there are more than 1,000,000 Armenians living in Armenian lands. There are about 200,000 Armenians scattered throughout Georgia and 100,000 in Azerbāijān. Thus the total Armenian population of Transcaucasia numbers 1,360,000.



The Armenian population of Transcaucasia before the war numbered 1,786,000. If the results of the Bolshevik census be admitted as correct, the Armenian losses number nearly 400,000. I must say that the other peoples have also had losses. The total population of Transcaucasia, which before the war was estimated at 7,000,000, is now 5,500,000. There has thus been a loss of 1,500,000. The Georgians have lost nearly 80,000. Before the war they were as numerous as the Armenians—that is, 1,784,000. Now they number 1,703,000. The losses of the Tartars are likewise great—nearly 1,000,000. Assuming that the Soviet figures are true, the Tartars numbered 2,300,000 before the war, whereas they now number only 1,300,000.

The Armenians have thus received an insignificant territory of 28,000 square kilometres in Transcaucasia, with a population of nearly 900,000. They were thus deprived of the result of their efforts throughout many centuries.

Transcaucasia enjoyed peace during a whole century under Russian rule and made great progress both material and intellectual. There were two large centres, Tiflis and Baku. The former was the Viceroy's capital, the administrative, military, judicial, and educational centre. The second was the centre, on an international scale, of the petroleum industry. In both cities, numerically as well as from the point of view of actual importance, the Armenians held the first place. When the Empire fell and Transcaucasia formed a separate federation, which later was split up into national units, Tiflis and its formidable riches went to the Georgians as their historical capital, while Baku fell to the Tartars. The Armenians retired to Erivan, abandoning the intellectual and material treasures which the Armenian bourgeoisie had accumulated in these two cities. These cities, Tiflis and Baku, were famous not only in Transcaucasia but even upon the all-Russian scale, and it was only due to the energy and activity as well as to the spirit of enterprise of the Armenian bourgeoisie that they had reached such a degree of development.

Abandoning all this, the Armenians retired to Erivan, an obscure provincial town whose population barely totalled 30,000, whereas that of Tiflis was nearly 300,000 on the eve of the Great War, whereof 200,000 were Armenians. Erivan was the only Armenian city left in fair condition by the Turks. Kars was devastated and occupied, Alexandropol and Shusha were robbed and destroyed. The new Armenian Government had thus to organize a capital city, build more or less adequate Government buildings, or transform the existing ones to fulfil the most essential administrative, educational, judicial needs, etc.

Under the existing order of things in Armenia there is no field for private initiative, and the development of the country is accordingly

difficult. Progress is extremely slow. The District of Erivan, it will be remembered, was one of the theatres of war operations. The Turkish invasion has completely upset the economy of the country. It was an enormous task to reorganize and to reconstruct the devastated country.

The same political and social régime which dominates Russia also dominates Armenia and the other Soviet lands. But militant communism upon its entry into Armenia should have been disillusioned upon seeing that there was no harvest for the Communist reapers. In other words, there was no bourgeois class in Armenia and no great private fortunes, no manufactures, no banks, no such great buildings or mansions as in Tiflis or Baku, whose owners, the Armenian bourgeoisie, excited the jealousy of others in Imperial days even in the Government and public circles. There was nothing to rob, nothing to put in common. There were but a few factories, the most important of which were the wine and brandy making establishments. There were also lacking in Armenia the so-called working classes in whose behalf it would be possible to talk and to act as is the case with the Bolsheviks. This explains why life in Armenia was relatively calm during the first period of Communist rule at a time when the bourgeois classes of Baku and Tiflis were subjected to extreme persecution from the local communistic Governments. It was not because the Armenian Communists were milder or more human than their other colleagues, but because, as I said above, there were no classes which could be robbed, no people so wealthy as to be shot, nor individuals so able as to warrant their being exiled. The leading bourgeois were in Tiflis and Baku. Only the middle and lower classes had taken refuge in Armenia, as well as teachers, writers, and scientists who were dangerous neither by their works nor by their material condition.

The second period of Bolshevism was and still is terrible. After having destroyed the bourgeoisie, the Bolsheviks began to persecute the agricultural classes with a view to introducing collective economy. I refer to the so-called five-year plan. It is contrary to human nature to compel the rural classes by forcible means to give up all that belongs to them for the sake of communistic economy, and this policy brought untold disasters to the rural classes everywhere.

Armenia, as an agricultural country, was subjected to the same ordeal, and its economy was completely disorganized. Agricultural conditions in Armenia differ from those in Russia. It is perhaps possible to create extensive agricultural units on the uniform Russian plains and to divide them in equal portions for communistic or collective operation. But this is impossible in Armenia, which is a country divided up by high mountain ranges and deep valleys, where every plot of land has its particularity and where climatic conditions differ widely. About 30 per

cent. of the area of the country is not proper for any kind of culture, as it is made up of mountains, rocks, lakes, salty expanses, etc. Of the remainder, forests and woods cover up 10 per cent., and 40 per cent. are alpine pasture lands. Hardly 20 per cent. of the land is good for agriculture. As to climate, Armenia may be divided into three zones: the first is at an altitude of from 500 to 1,000 metres above sea level, the second from 1,000 to 2,000 metres, the third from 2,000 to 4,000 (Mount Ararat is 5,100 metres high). The first zone comprises the Araxes valley, where cotton, rice, grape-vines, fruit, and vegetables are grown. Wheat is grown in the second zone, while cattle are raised in the third.

As previously stated, the area of Armenia within its present limits is 28,000 square kilometres; 20 per cent. of this is equal to 5,600 square kilometres or 560,000 hectares. About one-half of this is reserved to wheat-growing and yields not more than 230,000 tons of wheat. Cotton is grown in about 50,000 hectares and yields 28,000 tons. The grape yield is approximately 53,000 tons (before the war the province of Erivan, including the districts of Nakhichevan and Surmalu, yielded 90,000 tons). The present Government plans to increase the wheat yield to 340,000 tons, cotton to 35,000 tons, grape to 76,000 tons. Tobacco culture has only been begun by the refugees from Turkish Armenia. The latest tobacco crop amounted to 342 tons. It is proposed to increase it to 1,625. Rice has not improved. Before the war the crop yield was 10,000 tons.

The total value of the country's agricultural products, including dairy products, is valued at 71,000,000 roubles. It is proposed to increase it to 105,000,000.

Let us not forget that Armenia's mineral resources are considerable, among which are the long known and exploited copper mines of Allaverdi and Kapan, which yield annually about 5,000 to 6,000 tons of refined copper. This copper, together with a number of other products, is at the Central Government's disposal, in exchange for which Moscow completes Armenia's annual budget. The annual budget is valued at 16,000,000 roubles.

Thus the economic condition of Armenia is by no means brilliant. Under Imperial Russia the economic centres of Transcaucasia were Tiflis and Baku. The Erivan province—that is, present-day Armenia—was a backward region where no economic enterprise was encouraged nor even permitted. Without local industry, the country was incapable of meeting its population's needs by its own products. Even the wheat crop was deficient, and the deficit was covered by imports from the Northern Caucasus. The population was accordingly obliged to migrate to other centres where it worked, particularly to Baku and the Transcaspiian regions. This is impossible nowadays, and the people

live in poverty, the more so because the new masters of the country have cut off the wings of all individual initiative.

The Communist Government of Armenia is endeavouring to improve the country's economic situation, but its efforts have not thus far yielded any results. This is undoubtedly due to the general situation, as Bolshevik ideology and Government conceptions are inhibitive of progress.

Bolshevik leaders in Armenia as elsewhere give particular attention to popular culture. They seek to develop self-consciousness among the people through their schools and propagandists. These efforts would have been worthy of unreserved praise were it not for the fact that they are inspired by the most narrow-minded party spirit and prejudice. Armenia too is literally flooded with Marxist literature, innumerable tracts and bulky volumes, which are of interest to restricted circles and have no appeal to the people at large.

National educational institutions are not lacking in Armenia. There is now an Armenian University at Erivan, an institute of arts and sciences, a veterinary institute, a conservatory of music, theatres, and numerous schools. The University has the following seven faculties: Economics, Technology, Medicine, Pedagogy, History and Philology, Natural Sciences, Physics and Mathematics, Political and Social Science. During the first years there were 900 students, but their present number is less. The theatre is noteworthy, as will be seen from the accompanying photograph.

Culturally, Armenia would have made far greater progress if the narrow-minded and partisan spirit of the Bolsheviks did not govern educational matters. Thanks to the national spirit which has awakened in all parts of Russia and which is encouraged by the Central Government, Armenian intellectuals have returned to their country, and Erivan has now a large number of trained specialists. The intellectual life of the country would have received a big impetus from these forces were it not for obstacles that the governing class has set to their free development.

THE ARMENIAN COLONIES

The Armenian colonies consist almost entirely of Armenians from Turkey and are a result, not of local conditions, but of the hostile policy of the Turks. In the course of the last fifty years the Armenians suffered untold persecutions in Turkey. More is known in Europe about the suffering of the Armenians than of any of their qualities. It is not necessary to dwell on this sad fact. The last war caused such a catastrophe to the Armenians that previous disasters have been completely overshadowed.

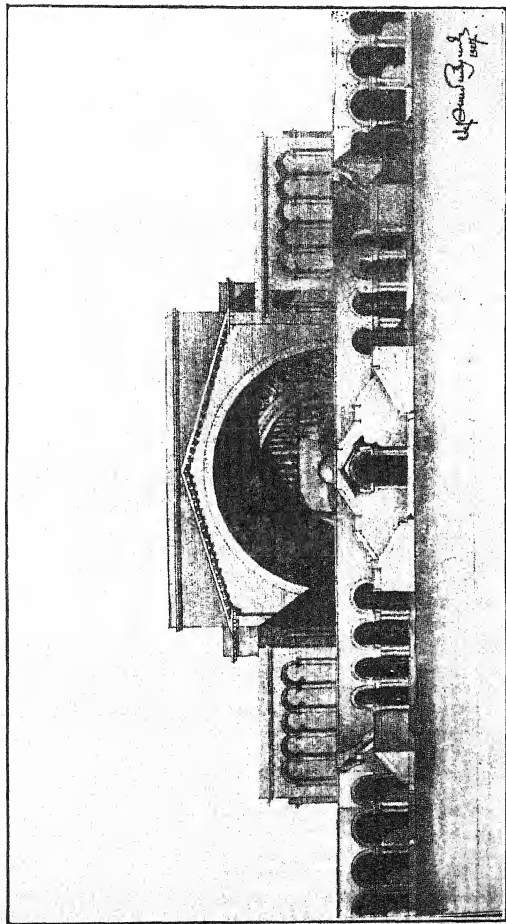
The question of reforms in Turkish Armenia, which had arisen and which was laid on the table of international diplomacy in 1878, was the cause of many calamities because of its having long been left in suspense, and instead of improving the situation only contributed to poison the relations between Turks and Armenians. In 1914 an agreement was reached between the European Powers, and a solution was at last found for the problem. Under a plan dated February 8, 1914, the Armenian vilayets were divided into two sectors—the first comprised the vilayets of Sivas, Trebizond, and Erzerum; the second Kharpout, Diarbekr, Bitlis, and Van. Even inspectors in charge of these sectors were appointed: Hoff, a Norwegian, and Westanenk, a Dutchman. It seemed as though a new and peaceful period was opening for the Armenians in Turkey upon a basis of harmonious co-operation with the Turks. But the Turkish Government, although it approved the plan, could not resolve itself to accept it, and the war which then began provided an occasion to repeal the plan and to solve the Armenian question once and for all by destroying the Armenians.

I do not intend to insist upon the awful events of this recent past which is still in the memory of all. Let me only mention the fact that the Turks deported the Armenian populations, not only from the districts which were included in the plan of reforms, but also from the other Turkish provinces. They forcibly deported them to the Mesopotamian deserts. It was not for the purpose of peopling these deserts that this was done, but merely for the purpose of completely annihilating the Armenians on the way. In those dark days two-thirds of the total Armenian population were destroyed. Only one-third escaped.

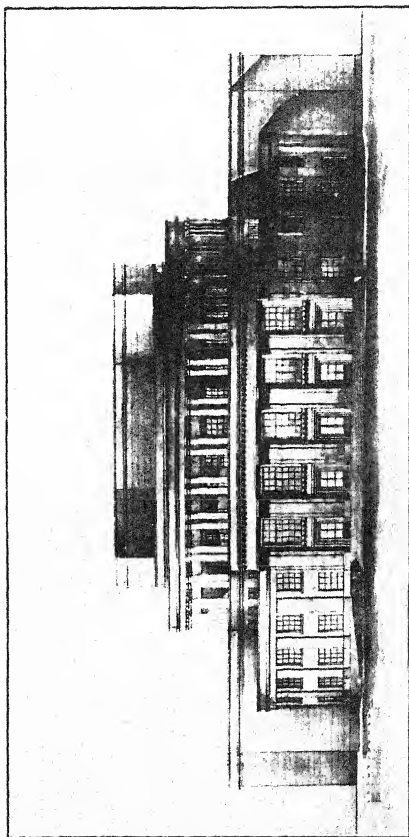
The total Armenian population of Turkey was estimated at 1,800,000. It would appear that in the Armenian vilayets during the war, particularly in Erzerum and Van, the Turks were not as numerous as the Government claimed they were.

When the Russian armies invaded Turkey and occupied the country up to Van, about 250,000 Armenians took refuge in Russian Armenia when the Russians retired. Of these, nearly 50,000 died of famine or cholera. The Armenian population of Constantinople, numbering about 150,000, was also saved. Of those who had been deported to Mesopotamia, 300,000 remained alive. Thus, of 1,800,000 Armenians, only about 650,000 were saved.

After the war, when the peace treaties were being negotiated, the Allies again took up the Armenian question. Special articles were introduced in the Treaty of Sévres, whereby the Allies recognized Russian Armenia as an independent republic, to which were to be annexed the Turkish vilayets of Erzerum, Bitlis, Van, and Trebizond



THE NEW THEATRE IN ERIVAN



NORTH SIDE OF THEATRE

either in whole or in part, according to the decision of Woodrow Wilson, then President of the United States, to whom had been entrusted this task. The Sévres Treaty was signed on August 10, 1920. The same year, on November 22, Wilson accomplished his mission, attributing to Armenia a part of the above-mentioned vilayets equal in area to about 90,000 square kilometres (see map).

But this decision could not be enforced. Hardly a month after Wilson's decision, the Nationalist Turks, led by Mustafa Kemal, invaded Armenia in order to force her to renounce the Sévres Treaty. Turkey, having abandoned without protest over 500,000 square kilometres of territory in Syria and Mesopotamia, refused to give the Armenians 90,000 square kilometres. The Bolshevik forces came to the aid of the Turks and also invaded Armenia. It appears that there was a secret agreement between the two countries, and the result of this was that Armenia was once again divided up between Russia and Turkey. The Armenian Republic was incorporated in the Soviet Union without the provinces of Kars, Surmalu, and Nakhichevan, which went to Turkey. The latter also retained all the territories attributed to Armenia by President Wilson. The district of Nakhichevan, which was the most fertile district of the province of Erivan, was organized into an autonomous district distinct from Armenia and placed under the suzerainty of Azerbāijān.

The Russo-Turkish agreement was signed on October 13, 1921. A week later the Franco-Turkish accord of Angora was signed, whereby the French returned Cilicia, which they were occupying, to Turkey. The remnants of the deported Armenian populations of Turkey had gone to Cilicia after the war, hoping that the country would remain under French mandate. They were now obliged to move once again. In a few days nearly 200,000 Armenians left Cilicia and were dispersed all over the world, principally in neighbouring Syria. Hardly a year after this happened the terrible disaster of Smyrna, where, as a result of the defeat of the Greeks by the Turks and the capture of that city by the latter, nearly all the Armenian population was massacred, only a very small proportion succeeding in fleeing. The Allies ratified these Turkish successes in the Lausanne Treaty, and the Armenian question was entrusted to the League of Nations, as it were, for safe keeping until further order.

Thus, as a result of a series of unpropitious and disastrous circumstances, the political emancipation of the Armenians remained in suspense, and their condition became much worse after the war than before. Today the Armenian vilayets are devoid of Armenians. There are hardly 50,000 Armenians throughout Asia Minor, without counting the Armenians who have had to become Mohammedans and slaves. There are 88,000 Armenians in Constantinople according to Turkish

statistics. Thus there are hardly 138,000 Armenians throughout Turkey, whereas there were 1,800,000 on the eve of the war, without counting over 200,000 Armenians who left Turkey under Abd-ul-Hamid's reign.

The Armenian refugees followed the same paths as those who had gone before. The most hospitable land was Syria, where the Armenian population of Cilicia, numbering about 150,000, fled. There are now 100,000 Armenians in Syria, the others having gone elsewhere. There are 4,000 in Palestine, 10,000 in Iraq, 25,000 in Egypt, 110,000 in the Balkan States (Greece, 50,000; Bulgaria and Roumania, 30,000 each), 60,000 in France; England, Belgium, and Germany, 5,000; North America, 150,000; South America, 25,000—altogether about 500,000, or, counting those in Turkey, 650,000 or 700,000.

If we leave aside the Armenians in Western countries and only consider those in the Near East, we have: Turkey, 140,000; Syria, 100,000; Iraq and Palestine, 15,000; the Balkans, 110,000—a round total of 350,000. If we add to these the Armenians of Persia, whose number is not less than 70,000, we have 425,000 Armenians, the majority of whom are refugees.

The Armenians who had left Turkey under Abd-ul-Hamid have since settled, and many have become citizens of the countries where they live. Their material condition is more or less satisfactory. They have made progress in all branches of activity, from simple workmen to liberal professions (medical doctors, attorneys, writers, scientists). Many are engaged in trade; some own large firms.

As to the new refugees, their condition is far from satisfactory. An important proportion are peasants, who can only engage in agriculture but have no lands. Thus there are nearly 30,000 in this condition in Syria whose plight has not been settled. There are also 10,000 unemployed artisans. The rest have managed to get along.

I must mention with great gratitude that in almost all European countries, as well as in North America, there have been many individuals and public organizations which have offered their philanthropic aid to the Armenian people. I should have liked to dwell upon Armenian organizations which are continuing materially and morally to assist their needy countrymen. It must be said that the flow of new refugees followed the paths of their predecessors, and many stopped at the points where others had settled, particularly in North America, where their compatriots, whose position was relatively good, did everything they could to aid their brothers. There were unions of people from the same cities or the same districts (Aintab, Sivas, Malatia, Erzerum, Van, Erzinjan, etc.) whose purpose was mutual assistance. These unions have been and are still of great assistance. According to American statistics more than \$250,000,000 are sent by foreign-born residents to

their people abroad. Thus, the Italians, who number 4,000,000, send \$46,000,000, \$11 dollars per head. The Greeks number 500,000; they send \$26,000,000—that is, \$52 per head. There is no particular mention of Armenians, but authorized persons state that they send at least as much as the Greeks. Thus the 140,000 Armenians of the United States send about \$7,000,000.

The new refugees have also formed a whole network of local unions or have joined existing unions. These unions have lately decided to found cities in Soviet Armenia bearing the names of their respective towns, as New Kharpout, New Arápkir, New Malatia, New Eudokia, etc. One of the purposes of these local unions is to preserve their local customs and tenets, and generally their particular characteristics.

The Armenian Church proves to be the great national organization for the Armenian colonies. This is the greatest moral and spiritual link which binds together the scattered remnants of the Armenian people. It maintains national individuality with its age-old tenets. The Armenian Church of Syria and Palestine has two ancient heads, the Catholicos of Cilicia and the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The former, whose see was at Sis, has now followed his flock to Syria and stays at Antilas in the Lebanon. When the Bagratide dynasty fell towards the middle of the eleventh century, its near relatives unfurled the flag of independence in Cilicia. The Catholicos also moved from Ani, the ancient capital, to Cilicia, and finally settled at Sis. A great national assembly decided in 1441 to transfer the see to Ekmiadzin where had settled St. Gregory the Illuminator, the founder of the Armenian Church. A local Catholicos remained at Sis at the request of a part of the clergy, as head of the Cilician Church.

There is an Armenian Patriarch at Jerusalem, who is the spiritual head of the Armenians of Palestine. The Armenian convent at Jerusalem is famous for its rich collections of Armenian manuscripts. The Patriarch, Mgr. Elisha Tourian, died just recently. He was a famous ecclesiastic and a great scholar. The fiftieth anniversary of his priesthood was celebrated just before his death. The presents which were given to him upon that occasion have been reserved by him to provide funds for the publication of ancient authors. It was likewise on the occasion of this jubilee that the cost of the construction of a library in the Armenian convent at Jerusalem was undertaken by his compatriots.

The other colonies—Egypt, Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Western Europe, and America—constitute distinct ecclesiastical sees under the leadership of bishops. These sees are further subdivided in various degrees. The bishops are elected by the people of each see and receive their investiture from the Catholicos at Ekmiadzin or the Patriarch of Constantinople. The religious bodies endeavour to construct chapels and churches, to train qualified priests, to cater for the spiritual needs

of the people, to preserve the national traditions, and to foster love towards the national Church. They also maintain schools and provide assistance to the needy through philanthropic organizations.

Of the public institutions the largest is the General Armenian Welfare Union, founded by Boghos Nubar Pasha, who died recently. This Union was organized in 1908 in Cairo; and the Central Administration has recently been transferred to Paris. Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian has just been unanimously elected its new Chairman. It has numerous branches, nearly 150, spread all over the Armenian colonies from Calcutta to California. The annual budget of this organization reaches £70,000 sterling, a large proportion of which proceeds from legacies and from investments. The Union has been particularly helpful to Armenian orphans from Turkey and continues to be so. It has organized dispensaries, supports schools, etc. The largest legacy which is administered by the Union is the so-called Melkonian fund, the income of which goes to the support of the Armenian secondary school at Nikosia, Cyprus. An important fund known as the "Œuvre des Boursiers," which was created by Nubar Pasha, and which is managed by the Brussels University, is also worthy of notice. Its purpose is to provide scholarships for Armenian students in universities and technical schools. Nubar Pasha has likewise organized a national library under the management of the Welfare Union, and also an Armenian House at the Cité Universitaire in Paris for the maintenance of fifty Armenian students. Upon the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Welfare Union it was decided to perpetuate the memory of Nubar Pasha by founding a new city in the neighbourhood of Erivan which is to be called Nubarashen (= Nubaropolis). This project is in course of realization.

The Welfare Union is the organization whereby the wealthy classes abroad assist their needy compatriots through legacies and contributions. This union groups those forces of the bourgeoisie which have not yet severed their ties with the nation, its worries and its aspirations.

The Armenian democratic elements are grouped into political organizations. These are numerous, but the so-called Dashnakist party is the most important because of its popularity. This organization has very numerous branches all over the Armenian colonies. The Armenian Bolshevik Government and the Armenian Communists both in Armenia and abroad direct their efforts particularly against the Dashnakists, and seek to disorganize them by all means, as they are the only serious and strong opposition group. Troubles and dissensions in the Armenian colonies are due only to this conflict, otherwise these colonies are peaceful. The prestige and attraction of the Dashnakist party can be attributed to its political platform: to keep alive the political cause of the Armenians, and to direct every effort to the

realization of the ideal of a united Armenia, that is of a free, independent country, consisting of Russian and Turkish Armenia within the limits traced by President Wilson in accordance with the Sèvres Treaty.

The most effective means to maintain the national spirit and consciousness of the Armenians are without doubt the schools and the Press. All organizations co-operate in the creation of schools. Wealthy Armenians also give their financial aid for this purpose. The Armenians have always been noted for their eagerness for education. For instance, in Aleppo there are no less than 5,000 pupils of all grades in numerous schools.

Among secondary schools the most noteworthy are the Mouradian College recently opened at Sèvres near Paris by the Mekhitarist order and the Rafaelian school which that order maintains in Venice. These two schools are maintained with the income of legacies made at the beginning of the last century by two wealthy Armenians of India whose names they bear. I also mentioned the Melkonian school at Nikosia, Cyprus. Other schools are the new Armenian lyceum at Beirut, Syria; the Patriarchal school at Antilas in the Lebanon; the Nubarian school at Alexandria; the Boghos Gulbenkian school at Aleppo; and others in Sofia, Athens, Salonica, Cairo, etc. Boy Scout organizations must not be overlooked. These organizations participated in the Jamborees in England in the past two years.

The purpose of all these schools is to preserve the national language and the national spirit. The Armenian Press, which is rich in periodicals, serves the same purpose. The Armenian colonies abroad have nearly 100 publications: daily, weekly, monthly, and others. Of these, quite a few are important and are of large national interest; others are less considerable and fulfil local needs.

The political cause of Armenia is the principal subject of these publications, the return to the fatherland around which centre all aspirations. Leaving aside an insignificant proportion of wealthy Armenians who have long lived abroad, have become citizen's of the countries in which they live, and no more think of the fatherland, the great majority of Armenians live in the hope of returning one day to their land. These consider their present condition as but temporary, and they hope and believe persistently that their wishes will be realized.

Should political circumstances change, the majority of the Armenians would go back to their country. At the time of the Great War, when the Armenians had great hopes, thousands abandoned the quiet and secure conditions they had built for themselves abroad in the course of years, and joined the allied armies as volunteers. The Armenian is closely attached to his land, and has accepted all kinds of untold sufferings in the course of centuries for the sole purpose of

living with the memory of his forebears. Today he looks upon his fatherland with longing and sorrow.

It is a mistake, spread by foreigners, to say that the Armenians like to migrate abroad in order to find better fortune. The continual protests of the Armenians, who could not but be unhappy under the Mohammedan rule, have left the impression upon occasional travellers that the Armenian is eager to abandon his land and live more safely and better elsewhere. The fact is that the Armenians have never willingly left their land. Even the Armenian merchants who used to frequent the Western European markets in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Venice, Marseilles, Amsterdam, preferred to return to their native home to rest. Collective and large-scale migrations have always been accomplished by force. In the course of centuries, Armenia has been the theatre of endless wars. Let us leave aside the ancient times and let us only consider the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Every time there has been a war between the Turks and the Russians or the Persians, there have been forcible deportations on a more or less large scale for diverse purposes and reasons at the command of the Turks, the Persians, or the Russians. The latest deportation, which took place during the Great War, is one of the most terrible in all history.

The degree to which the Armenian is attached to his historical home and the great price he attributes to that tie have been forcefully described in a beautiful story which I want to quote here. The story is so beautiful and so original that it has captivated even a Byzantine historian, who has borrowed it from an Armenian writer and has reproduced it in his work. I speak of Procopius of Caesarea, who wrote a history of the Greco-Persian wars in the sixth century, a translation of which is available in the Loeb Classical Library Series.

Here is what Procopius says:

"There was once a truceless war, lasting two and thirty years, between the Persians and the Armenians, when Pacurius was king of the Persians, and of the Armenians, Arsaces of the line of the Arsacidas. And by the long continuance of this war it came about that both sides suffered beyond measure. . . . Pacurius sent certain of his trusted friends to Arsaces and invited him to his presence. And when Arsaces came to him he showed him every kindness, and treated him as a brother on an equal footing with himself.

"The Magi bade Pacurius cover the floor of the royal tent with earth, one half from the land of Persia, and the other half from Armenia. This the king did as directed. Then the Magi, after putting the whole tent under a spell by means of some magic rites, bade the king take his walk there in company with Arsaces, reproaching him meanwhile with having violated the sworn agreement. Accordingly Pacurius straight-

way summoned Arsaces, and began to walk to and fro with him in the tent in the presence of the Magi. He enquired of the man why he had disregarded his sworn promises and was setting about to harass the Persians and Armenians once more with grievous troubles. Now, as long as the conversation took place on the ground which was covered with the earth from the land of Persia, Arsaces continued to make denial, and, pledging himself with the most fearful oaths, insisted that he was a faithful subject of Pacurius. But when in the midst of his speaking he came to the centre of the tent *where they stepped upon Armenian earth, then, compelled by some unknown power, he suddenly changed the tone of his words to one of defiance, and from then on ceased not to threaten Pacurius and the Persians, announcing that he would have vengeance upon them for this insolence as soon as he should become his own master.* These words of youthful folly he continued to utter as they walked all the way, until, turning back, he came again to the earth from the Persian land. Thereupon, as if chanting a recantation, he was once more a suppliant, offering pitiable explanations to Pacurius. *But when he came again to the Armenian earth, he returned to his threats.* In this way he changed many times to one side and the other, and concealed none of his secrets. Then at length the Magi passed judgment against him, and Pacurius confined him in the *Prison of Oblivion*, since he could by no means bring himself to kill a man of the royal blood."*

The secret, mysterious attraction of the fatherland is wonderfully pictured in this beautiful story. The Armenian people today thinks like its old king Arsaces. It has strained every muscle to preserve its national character despite foreign environments, in the everlasting hope that it will return one day to its land. King Arsaces, the story says, ended his life in the Prison of Oblivion, being unable to bear his fetters. The Armenian people is today in a sort of such prison, in the prison of oblivion of the civilized world.

Christianity has grown deep roots of hope and faith in the Armenian's soul, and this helps him to maintain entity abroad until the gates of the fatherland open again. He hopes that he will not end his life in the prison of oblivion of the Great Powers who are responsible for his sufferings.

* The Loeb Classical Library: "Procopius, History of the Wars," Book I., 5. English translation by H. B. Dewing.

NOTE

A TRIP IN NORTH PERSIA, OCTOBER, 1929

By CAPTAIN P. J. W. McCLENAGHAN, M.C.

AN announcement in the Tehran press that the Persian Government has cancelled its agreement with the Syndicate of Railway Construction in Persia reminds me of a very pleasant trip I did from Isfahan in October, 1929. The object of the trip was to see Mazanderan, the easternmost Caspian Province of Persia and the northern section of the Trans-Persian Railway, and then take a coastal steamer to Pahlevi (old Enzeli), returning to Tehran through Gilan.

After much preliminary discussion, it was in 1927, I think, that the Persian Government decided to construct a Trans-Persia single line railway joining the Caspian Sea with the Persian Gulf. A desolate spot on the south-eastern shore of the Caspian was chosen as the northern terminus and named Bandar Shah, while a point at the head of Khor Musa was selected as the southern terminus. A description of the depressing task of surveying the Khor Musa harbour is to be found in the April, 1929, number of the JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY. I have never read a description of Bandar Shah, so I shall try in due course to give some idea of what this out-of-the-way spot is like.

It was to have a look at the northern section of the railway, which was to be opened by H.M. the Shah early in November, that I left Isfahan by post van at 8 p.m. on October 10. Travelling all night with twenty-minute halts at Murchekkur, Meimeh and Dilijan (near the ancient home of the Agha Khan in Mahallat), and a two-hour halt in the sacred town of Qum, we arrived at Tehran at 10.30 a.m. on October 11, having covered the distance of three hundred miles odd in fine style. This route is preferred to the old caravan route via Kashan, which is more direct, but does not possess such a good road. Work is now being done on the Kashan route, which may be in general use in the near future.

At Tehran I was fortunate in getting the promise of a front seat in a lorry scheduled to leave for Sari at 4.30 p.m. the same evening. Knowing the ways of Persian garages and the Persian's idea of punctuality, I arrived at the garage with my kit at 5.30 p.m., and we eventually left at 7. I shared the front seat of the lorry with the driver, a Syrian who spoke fluent French, and a rather stout Barfarush merchant. Both proved to be excellent company, so I was not badly off. We travelled till midnight, when a halt was called at a rather ramshackle *qahveh khaneh* in a hamlet called Saidabad, some fifty-five miles from the capital. For this part of the journey the road ran east from Tehran, and climbed most of the way along the foot of the Elburz range.

After the usual *qahveh khaneh* meal of fried eggs, tea and bread, my Barfarush friend invited me to doss down in the same room as himself. I naturally accepted this offer, but was rather taken aback when he conducted me to a small room with no means of ventilation but the door, in which four or five unconscious forms were discernible. However, the night was chilly, so I spread my valise as near the door as possible and hoped for the best. Having had no sleep the night before, I soon went off, and recovered consciousness to find all my fellow-guests standing or kneeling on their bedding and vying with one another in producing the most sonorous "Allah-o-Akbars" and

"Bismillahs" which form part of the formula of the morning prayer. As soon as all this was over I went out into the frosty morning to enjoy a fine view of the mountains. Mount Demavend, round which we had skirted in the night, was just visible in the clouds. By 7 a.m. we were on the road again, and reached Firuzkuh after a three-hour run through barren and hilly country. Just north of Firuzkuh, near the junction of the Khurasan and Mazandaran roads, is an excellent *qahveh khaneh* where they produced a really first-class meal of chicken stew, eggs and fresh bread. This establishment is seldom empty, as all traffic to and from Mazandaran and Meshed stops here. The result is that the menu is more varied than that of less frequented halting-places.

From Firuzkuh, the road climbed again, and a short two-hour run brought us to Tangi Abbasabad, a narrow defile about three and a half miles long with precipitous sides. Along this defile one crosses the watershed and starts the descent to the Caspian. Once the descent starts the contrast in scenery is extraordinary. From Firuzkuh to the Tangi the road runs through the typical barren and dry country of the plateau, but once through the Tangi, it enters thickly wooded country and tropical vegetation. The three-hour run down to Aliabad was along a well-laid and well-kept road through fine mountain scenery. I had been told that this road was dangerous, but found that this is not the case. Certainly the gradient is steep in places, but nowhere did it cause any trouble to a fully loaded 30-cwt. lorry going in either direction. The road is broad and well cambered. Aliabad is a small and dilapidated-looking village at the foot of the mountains and some twenty miles distant from the Caspian. Here the road forks, one fork leading west to Barfarush, the mercantile capital of Mazandaran, with Meshed-i-sar as its port, and the other leading east to Sari, the political capital and seat of the provincial government, etc. We took the Sari road, and soon saw signs of the railway, as the "band" or embankment had been completed almost as far as Aliabad, with the important exceptions of metalling and culverts. The country was now flat and low-lying and covered with dense tropical vegetation. The atmosphere was damp and muggy. Sari was reached just before sunset. It does not strike one as a prosperous town, and in fact little trade is carried on there. However, a certain amount of "town improvement" work has been carried out lately, and a public garden has been laid out in the large square around which the governor's residence and the government offices are grouped. But things may change if Bandar-i-Gaz, through which the railway runs, ousts Meshed-i-sar as the chief port in the south-east Caspian. At present all the trade passes through Barfarush (some twenty-five miles distant), which boasts of two banks, the Imperial Bank of Persia (British) and the Bank-i-Milli or National Bank. The latter is a state bank run by Germans, and branches have now been established in all important towns in the country from Duzdap to Tabriz.

Sari possesses two hotels, both run entirely on Persian lines. I patronized the "Azerbaijan," as there I managed to obtain accommodation on a sort of roofed verandah on the second storey, which was cool and airy, and much preferable to sharing a room with three Persians, as I should have had to do in the other hotel. The food was palatable, the staple dishes being cutlets, with lots of good vegetables, and chicken stew, not to mention *mast* (a sort of sour curds) and plenty of Persian bread.

After a really good night's rest I set out at 9 a.m. next morning to find the Railway Syndicate offices. They turned out to be on the other side of the town, so my walk there gave me an opportunity of seeing the sights. The bazar is an ordinary affair, and the thing which strikes one most is the cleanli-

ness and neatness of the streets, which are well paved with smooth round stones from the Tajan river close by. As I had an introduction to Mr. X., the chief engineer of the Syndicate, all was plain-sailing at the office, and I was at once issued with a pass to travel to Bandar Shah and back by rail (at my own risk). As it was still early in the day and the construction train did not leave for Bandar Shah till the day's work was over in the evening, I walked out to see the building operations on the Tajan river. This is the first serious obstacle which the railway encounters. The river-bed is some 300 yards broad with perpendicular banks of soft earth about 30 feet high. Here a wooden pile bridge was in course of construction. It was hoped that this bridge would be completed in time for H.M. the Shah's expected visit early in November, so that he could declare the railway officially open up to Sari. The bridging operations were rather interesting. Wood piles 35 to 40 feet long in groups of six were being driven into the river-bed by means of a steam pile-driver. These piles are of fine timber brought from Russia to Bandar Shah by sea, and thence by rail to Badaleh (the point up to which the line had been constructed), from which they were carried on 3-ton lorries to the bridge site over a bad unmetalled road. Their carriage and loading presented considerable difficulty, as they were some 18 inches in diameter, and made a clumsy load owing to their length. The sides of the lorry had to be removed, and four piles were loaded, two on each side, their ends projecting well beyond the bonnet and tail of the lorry. As the distance from Badaleh to the bridge site was six miles, their transportation was a slow and arduous business.

Having returned to the town, the next move was to arrange for means of transport to Badaleh, near which the actual laying of rails was being done. There was absolutely no local transport to be had, so I had to adopt the plan of boarding one of the Syndicate lorries, engaged in lifting material and metal-ling from Badaleh to various points along the proposed line in the Aliabad direction. This presented no special difficulty, and 5 p.m. saw me near Badaleh watching the rail-laying operations, with the construction train drawn up ready for its return journey to Bandar-i-Gaz. No regular trains were running as yet on any part of the line, and the only traffic consisted of the construction train, composed of open flat trucks laden with rails, sleepers, bridging materials, etc., from Bandar-i-Gaz to the construction point in the early morning, returning to Bandar-i-Gaz in the evening. This train picked up labourers all the way along, and deposited them at the nearest point to their villages on the return journey. The rate of line-laying once the permanent way was constructed was one kilometre per day. This day the work was finished in good time, and the train started on its return journey at about 5.30 p.m. I sat on an open truck with the workmen, and so had an uninterrupted view of the scenery while the daylight lasted. The distance from Badaleh to Bandar-i-Gaz is forty-five miles. The line runs through flat, low-lying marshy country, which is covered with thick tropical jungle. The jungle grows at an incredible rate, and in many places it had already encroached on the permanent way, which had only been made a few months before. The line over which we travelled was distinctly "wavy," owing to the fact that the permanent way had subsided in places on account of the marshy nature of the ground, and the effect of the heavy rains which had fallen recently. However, Bandar-i-Gaz was reached without mishap at 10 p.m. The two main stations—in fact, the only stations in existence on this stretch—are Nika and Ashraf. Near the latter place are some ruins of the Shah Abbas period. At neither of these places is there a town of any size or

importance. At Bandar-i-Gaz I found an excellent hotel run on modern lines by a Russian from Tabriz and his wife. I was shown to a clean room with a bed and mosquito-net complete. I gathered that this hotel had come into being in its present state with the advent of the staff of the Railway Syndicate, by whom it is chiefly patronized, there being nowhere else for them to go. The food was quite good, and caviare was produced at every meal. It was a change to get white bread and very good Russian beer.

Bandar-i-Gaz is a gloomy and dilapidated little town built on the very shore of the Caspian. It possesses a couple of wooden jetties built about four hundred yards into the sea. A small trolley line runs along one of the jetties, and is continued up to the railway station about a mile inland on the southern side of the town. The only noticeable signs of activity were in a saw-mill near the jetty, where timber brought from Baku was being cut into sleepers, and in the Syndicate offices accommodated in a large building in the town. The whole place gave one the impression of depression and decay. The bazar was a most ramshackle affair, with houses in a state of semi-ruin, and streets with gaping holes full of slimy mud. The inhabitants appeared dirty and fever-ridden. The railway station was a contrast to the rest of the place. Here everything was ordered and business-like. Station buildings (on a grand scale) were under construction, and the various gear inevitable in railway construction, such as rails, sleepers, timber, fish-plates, bolts, bridging material, etc., were piled in neat dumps along the sidings. The whole station is lit with electric light, the power being obtained from a small dynamo. Only one railway engine was in commission, and was in daily use for the construction train, so shunting was done with small engines run on oil.

On making enquiries at the shipping office I found that there was no hope of getting a boat to Pahlevi for at least a week, so I had to be content with returning to Tehran by the way I had come, as I did not have time to do the Pahlevi trip by sailing boat. However, before returning I wished to see Bandar Shah, the newly-made port and terminus of the railway. This appeared to be difficult as there was no road to Bandar Shah, some twenty-two miles distant, and no trains normally ran there. Again, a visit to the Syndicate Office worked wonders, and a motor trolley was placed at my disposal for the afternoon. This trolley was a splendid mode of conveyance, its average speed being forty kilometres per hour. The line now skirts the sea-coast along flat and jungle country practically devoid of human habitation. Here again the jungle was rapidly encroaching on the line, which was entirely overgrown in places. A short distance from Bandar Shah the aspect of the country changes, the jungle giving place to stunted bushes and mud flats. The only buildings at Bandar Shah are those which have been erected since the commencement of the railway. These comprise workmen's huts, a temporary hospital, and the regular station buildings, engine shed, workshops, etc. The engine shed is quite a large affair, built to house ten engines. These regular buildings were still unroofed and far from complete. The chief drawbacks to the place are, firstly, the absence of drinking water, which had to be brought in bullock carts from a well three miles away, and secondly, the prevalence of malaria. The latter accounts for the presence of the hospital. Workmen with whom I spoke told me that two or three deaths occurred daily from malaria. This is probably a gross exaggeration, but this scourge is undoubtedly rife.

Four kilometres across a brackish marsh brings one to the harbour, which consists of a wooden jetty just sufficiently broad to take a single line of rails, extending for a distance of 1,800 metres into the sea. At its extreme ends

the depth of the water is said to be thirty feet. I have heard it said that at certain times of the year storms come from the east which cause the water to recede from the eastern shore of the Caspian, and that during these times Bandar Shah will be useless as a port. I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this statement. Anyhow, there the port has been established, but it is difficult to imagine why this out-of-the-way, unhealthy, and dismal spot has been selected. It would appear that either Mashad-i-sar, the present port for Barfarush, or Pahlevi would have been more suitable. A considerable volume of trade already passes through the former port, and the latter by virtue of its geographical position near Baku would appear to be the obvious Caspian port. Of course, the fact that H.M. the Shah comes from Mazanderan may have something to do with the choice. Much money has been spent, the railway from Bandar Shah to Sari is an accomplished fact, and the line to Tehran has been surveyed.

My return journey to Isfahan via Barfarush and Tehran was uneventful, except that the lorry in which I travelled from Tehran to Isfahan caught fire once, and then at midnight, twelve miles from Isfahan, the petrol supply ran out. So I finished the journey on horseback in accordance with the best traditions, and reached Isfahan at 3 a.m., after a most interesting and enjoyable trip.

THE CHRISTIANS OF TRANS-JORDAN.

CEFNITLLA COURT,
USK, MON.

To the Editor, JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

SIR,

In your review of "The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan," by Messrs. Luke and Keith-Roach, appears the following:

"The editors note the interesting fact that Christianity has survived amongst some of the semi-nomadic tribes of Trans Jordan who are indistinguishable in appearance and mode of life from their fellow-tribesmen. Their churches are tents, and their priests are taken from the tribes."

The facts are these. All, or nearly all, the Christians in Trans-Jordan are the descendants of immigrants from Palestine, etc., during the nineteenth century. Some of them move out into tents during the summer, but all have stone-built houses, in which they live for at least eight months in the year. One occasionally finds a Christian family or two in an otherwise purely Moslem village. But the great majority live either in purely Christian villages or villages in which there is a large Christian quarter.

The chief churches are at Husn, 'Ajlun, Salt, Madeba, and Kerak, but there are about twenty other villages which have each a stone-built church and a priest. Services may sometimes be held in the summer encampments, but there is no priest without a church.

I do not know what the editors understand by the word "tribesmen," but there are certainly no Christians in Trans-Jordan who regard themselves, or are regarded by the other Arabs, as tribesmen, nor are there any clans or families with both Christian and Moslem members.

Yours faithfully,
RAGLAN.

REVIEWS

THE EXPERIMENT OF BOLSHEVISM. By Arthur Feiler. Translated from the German by H. J. Stenning. 8½" x 6". Pp. 256. London: George Allen and Unwin. 1930.

Arthur Feiler, a German, the author of this short volume of 256 pages, states that he endeavoured, during the three months' journey that he undertook between March and June, 1929, to understand Bolshevik Russia, and to try to give an impartial account of his experiences, and to obtain some comprehension of this gigantic and unique experiment and of its economic, political, and intellectual aims, which are now being subjected to a practical test. The result has been an interesting and concise work, and also one which, thanks to the excellent English translation, is very readable.

In his opening chapter, "The Pathos of the Revolution," the author endeavours to point out, both with sorrow and horror, that revolutions are the product not of individual men, but of years of oppression and yearning, that every revolution must entail suffering and death, that it is forced to practise despotism, and that the demoralizing influence of despotism must throw up as leaders the more dangerous and ambitious citizens until the time is reached for reorganization. All these characteristics have manifested themselves in the Russian revolution. The author then proceeds to convey his impressions of the work of reconstruction, which must necessarily succeed the period of terror and chaos.

In the next chapter he describes the shortage of food, of industrial products, and of objects of first necessity which he observed, both in the town and country districts, also the appalling housing difficulties; he mentions in particular Moscow and Kiev, giving as an example the case of a house of eight rooms, where no less than twenty-four families lived together. He records, simply and as a mere fact, that the bourgeoisie has ceased to exist, and that, so far as appearances go, there is but one class—a proletariat living in various stages of poverty. In practice the life of every citizen has been levelled down, and equality of impecuniosity has been brought to perfection. There appears to be no provision for the old, and the younger people, in reply to questions on this point, stated that it had not been thought out. The gloom of the condition of the worker is, however to a certain extent remedied by the attention given to art, and the urban public have easy access to museums, galleries, theatres, concerts, etc.; while many theatrical companies tour in the provinces. Clubs for amusement and instruction have been opened, as a matter of course, in the industrial centres for both the townspeople and peasants alike, and in this way the Bolshevik régime seeks to compensate the citizen for his loss of any kind of home-life. The natural patience of the Russian and his powers of endurance have hitherto assisted the rulers, but even the most optimistic predict that scarcity will continue for some years. The whole struggle resolves itself as to (1) whether the population can bear the requisite sacrifice; (2) whether this sacrifice will produce the hoped-for result; (3) whether, in staking everything on raising the level of industrial activity, disaster may not result on the agricultural side. Thus today Soviet Russia is oscillating between victory and chaos.

The rapid increase of population by some 3½ millions annually is one of the remarkable features of the Soviet problem. In spite of the losses by war, civil war, and famine, the population that in 1923 was estimated at 133·5 millions, had increased in 1929 to 153·8 millions, and will have reached in 1933 some 170 millions. The difficulties entailed by this enormous influx of human beings are obvious, and are complicated by the illiteracy of the Russian people, and the reasons for the enormous expenditure, under the Five Years Plan, upon social and cultural reorganization become more comprehensible when these facts are grasped. Russia is becoming a country of schools, as the present régime appear to feel that their only chance of security lies in raising the standard of living conditions and education of the masses. Everybody, says the author, is agreed that what so far has been achieved is neither Socialism nor Communism. It is the dictatorship of Bolshevism, the duration of which no one ventures to predict. What actually exists is State capitalism under the rule of a working-class that calls itself the Communist party, the direct transition to true Communism having been found to be impossible in practice. Thus today the Bolshevik State occupies the key position with its monopolies in foreign trade, currency, credit, control of industry and of prices. This forms part of the so-called Five Years Plan, which is a gigantic attempt at budgeting and nationalization, an expansion intended to succeed the stage of reconstruction, which may be said to have closed at the end of 1926. The cost of the plan is difficult to estimate, but, if reckoned at 1928-27 price, will amount to the stupendous sum of 92 milliards of roubles, which is to be extracted from an impoverished population. Details are set out under the chapters headed "The Five Years Plan." The official voice says that it will enable the Soviet State to overtake and outstrip the most technically advanced capitalistic countries. The *individual* says that the plan must be carried through or the régime will perish. It is a life or death struggle between reality and will-power. The author refrains from an opinion as to which will be the winner.

Under the heading "Islets of Capitalism" the system of concessions is dealt with. Some private enterprises, permitted by Lenin in order to serve as models for Russian economic activity, managed to make enormous profits, but these gains were more than counterbalanced by the heavy losses incurred by others. The foreign concessionaires however must bear some responsibility for these failures, which were due to inadequate investigation and incompetence of managers, the famous Krupp land concession being an instance in point. Still, in any case the position of the foreigner is precarious owing to the Government experimentalizing in matters relating to raw material, wages, and currency, and as concessions cannot be drawn up to cover every contingency, it results that in practice the concessionaire is "bound hand and foot." The economic policy of the Soviet Union, in fact, embodies two self-contradicting tendencies: (1) the desire to attract foreign capital and to foster foreign economic relations; and (2) to develop internal economy upon the revolutionary lines favoured since 1927, which involves the extirpation of private enterprise.

The conditions of the worker under Bolshevism are next examined. While a general levelling down of incomes has taken place, an increasing distinction between skilled and unskilled labour has been brought about. On the other hand, the hierarchy of industrial life is flexible, the desk worker is esteemed, possibly, less highly than the manual labourer, and the manager may become a worker and a worker the manager without any real change of prestige.

The author next passes on to the peasant and the problems arising out of the redistribution of land after the revolution. Under the gigantic trans-

formation, 97 per cent. of the cultivable land became available to the peasant. Nevertheless, the over-population of the rural districts continues, and the peasant remains far from satisfied, and is distrustful of the new régime. This chapter calls for careful reading as it describes also the attempt to introduce agrarian Communism, under which the peasant becomes a worker in a grain factory, with collective rights and privileges, as well as their concomitant limitations.

Who are the rulers of the new state, now that the old order has been wiped out? The first reply is the "Communist Party," which consisted in 1928 of some 1,317,000 members, which may be classified as a threefold party: (1) The élite, viz. the most active and resolute members of the party; (2) a sect with the fanaticism of its faith; and (3) a party who keep order, setting an example to the population, with obedience as its watchword. This ruling party tolerates no freedom nor any rival. There is no room for any organization outside this hierarchy; no liberty of the Press nor of the written word nor of opinion. While criticism in detail is permissible, criticism of the system is anathema. This absence of freedom, and the general atmosphere of fear and intimidation that hangs over the whole country, is enlarged on, and pages 186-201 should be carefully studied and taken into consideration before an opinion regarding events in Sovietdom can be formed.

The anti-religion campaign of the New Faith is more briefly described, the resistance of the Mohammedans being perhaps the most formidable; its results have yet to be seen. The emancipation of women is another feature of the profound social transformation; in the bleak uniformity of proletarian life woman is no longer a wife but a worker, with variation of income, education, etc., and with her home-life eliminated. This is, however, only entirely a part of the profound and fundamental progress that has been made in revolutionizing man himself in Russia.

What will be the final outcome? The aims of Bolshevism are still today negative; that is to say, that having abolished class and established a classless society it has yet to produce plans for its further objects. With Utopian Socialism it has little in common, for it holds that mankind is as a whole egoistic, that only a minority work by reason of inner motives of principle, and that piece-work is the only road to success. Thus at the same time it recognizes and repudiates Socialism and hence come the constant fluctuations of policy. Will it succeed? The author declares it is presumptuous to answer either "yes" or "no." Only an interim balance sheet is possible today, but he admits that the general scarcity in the country is obvious; equally evident are the mistakes of the Bolshevik system with its gigantic and costly bureaucratic machinery, the misdirections of centralized authority, and the paralysis of initiative and responsibility. Its achievements compare unfavourably with those of capitalism. The régime recognizes that the present high cost of production and a recalcitrant peasantry make industry in the long run impossible, hence the feverish efforts to carry through the Five Years Plan. Nevertheless, in spite of its present difficulties, Bolshevism is a danger to European ideals, to individuality, and to the right to personality, for it has made considerable progress in creating the Collective Man.

In the Epilogue, written in 1930, the writer states that in the last half-year the tension has increased and the Bolshevik machine is running with strange sounds that betoken danger. But it continues to build up a new society which will prevent any reversion to the past. A great struggle, which will be decisive for the existence of the régime, is being waged in the rural districts, in the course of the effort to transform the peasant into an agrarian factory

hand. And here too the symptoms are disquieting, and in March the watchword was, "Go slow with the village." Mr. Feiler has written an illuminating work on Bolshevik objectives and the methods adopted for their attainment. He writes clearly and without passion, avoids sensationalism, and refers little to ruling personalities. The aggressive foreign policy of the régime and its propagandist methods abroad are barely mentioned. He confines himself to describing what he saw of Bolshevik methods and the immediate results of their working; the general reader is left to draw his own conclusions from the facts as laid before him, and to form his own opinion regarding an experiment which appears to be directly opposed to all principles of human nature as hitherto understood. E. R.

LOYALTIES: MESOPOTAMIA, 1914-17. By Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold T. Wilson. 11" x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Illustrations, maps. Pp. xxxvi + 340. Oxford: University Press. London: Milford. 25s. net.

Sir Arnold Wilson has written a most striking and impressive book which, if a generalization be possible, may be said to be marked by two main characteristics. It is a tribute, long overdue, to all of those, high and low, renowned or obscure, of all the Services, civil and military, who worked and fought, who suffered at the hands of Government, the hands of the enemy, and from the climate; and who, in the end, triumphed over the difficulties and triumphed over the enemy.

Sir Arnold is frank and unsparing; and he does well to be so. But he is at the same time scrupulously fair. He can recognize the greatness of a man without succumbing to that form of idolatry which manifests itself in blindness to his faults. And this is the truest form of praise. He is also fearless, and it is immaterial to him whether the mistakes were made by the highest authority, whether now living or dead, or by any other. Finally, he is wholly unsensational. He makes no appeal to sentimentality. What he does truly make is what might be almost called (in Foch's words) a micro-biological examination of the campaign in Mesopotamia, explaining its origin, describing its conduct, and giving us a vivid picture, with all the weight of one who played a part in it from the beginning to the end, of all of those distracting issues which, in every war, occur and make warfare a thing so very different from the game of chess that it is sometimes represented to be.

Sir Arnold's object in writing is thus twofold. It is, first, to furnish a permanent memorial to the honour of those who took part in that remarkable and tragic campaign, and, secondly, to bring home to that forgetful, that careless individual, the British citizen, that he is not entitled to rail at the mistakes, the failures, and the waste of life or money, so long as he continues to regard with unconcern the whole question of the efficiency of his public services; for he himself bears a personal responsibility.

Two quotations, one at the head of the Preface, the other towards

the end of the book (p. 184), give an indication of what Sir Arnold has in mind. The first, taken from Lord Grey and Lord d'Abernon, justifies the production of "histories and other compilations of unprecedented frankness" concerning war, for the reason that such publicity is beneficial to the cause of peace, for "the more rapidly follies and misdeeds become known, the less the temptation to commit them." The second, taken from Napier's "History of the Peninsular War," reminds the reader of the apparently ineradicable habit of British people to hypnotize themselves with words, and to refuse to recognize, by acts, the need for the proper study of, and preparation for, war; and "under a pretence of maintaining a liberty which they do not possess, oppose in peace all martial establishments"; so that, when war comes, England has always "to seek in blood the knowledge necessary to ensure success."

Napier's sentences find full confirmation in Sir Arnold's pregnant pages.

The weight which necessarily attaches to the writing of one who not only played so important a part in that great drama, but has also supplemented his personal experiences and knowledge from, so far as we can discern, every possible source, is greatly increased by the grave and measured manner of the presentation of the story. We find in it a plain assertion of facts, set out, it is true, in vigorous and often eloquent language, but never with exaggeration or rhetoric. Thus we are given incontrovertible facts, from which we can form our own opinions, concerning the want of a clear policy at different phases of the war; the lack of preparation in procuring essential—and procurable—information of the country beforehand (although the possibility of action being needed had been foreseen); the concealment of the breakdown of the medical services; and the almost unbelievable vagaries of the censorship. The story of the treatment of the prisoners from Kut is possibly rendered even more impressive in its ghastly cruelty by the very restraint under which it is told—a restraint which in no way conceals the burning indignation which Sir Arnold feels; an indignation shared, doubtless, by the public, but one to which they have given no particular expression; for it is easy to bear sufferings which fall upon other people. There is more than irony in the comments which Sir Arnold makes upon the proclamation "put into the mouth of General Maude," and upon the fact that the great tragedy, enacted almost at the doors of the agents of President Wilson, evoked not even an expression of horror.

The chapters dealing with the civic administration are most full and valuable. Sir Arnold quotes—his quotations are all singularly well chosen—a remark of Wellington's in 1804, that "it would be useless to commence military operations upon any great scale unless the civil officers should be prepared to take possession of the country or to re-establish the civil government as the troops shall conquer it." This we

saw done; but there were occasions, obviously, when civil and military opinions differed, and when the cobbler was inclined to deal with things other than his last—as, for example, when a light railway to Nasiriya was under consideration, and Sir John Nixon was asked whether he wanted 137 miles of light railway then available. “Sir John Nixon replied that he did not want the railway material in question . . . but he did want a railway to Nasiriya, and pressed his demands alike on military, political, and commercial grounds.” The railway was refused by Sir William Meyer, for the commercial and political grounds were weak. “Had Sir John Nixon pressed for construction on purely military grounds he would probably have carried the day.”

From first to last the book is one of absorbing interest.

H. W. R.

THE MANDATES SYSTEM. By Norman Bentwich. Contributions to International Law and Diplomacy Series. 9½" x 6½". Pp. x+200. Longmans, Green and Co. 15s.

The Mandates System is a subject which teems with controversy; and the author of this book has held from the start a distinguished position in the Mandated Territory over which the most violent controversies have raged. He has in his own person been the victim of an outrage resulting from one of the outbreaks in Palestine. It is, therefore, no small achievement on his part to have described the system in general and the Palestine Mandate in particular in a work untainted by the slightest trace of bias or prejudice. He sets out to write an account of the legal and administrative aspects of the system; and his aim has been “simply to describe what is,” to eschew the discussion of theories, and to record the practical development achieved by the Mandatory Powers and the Mandates Commission of the League. He has performed this task with such complete impartiality that the result, as his preface suggests, verges on dullness, were it not for the absorbing interest of the ideals which inspire these experiments in the management of weak or backward races.

The accuracy of Mr. Bentwich's record is vouched for by documents and historical facts which are beyond dispute. There is, therefore, little ground for comment if the reviewer is to follow the author's excellent example and avoid controversy.

The principle of trusteeship which underlies the Mandatory relation received more than lip service well back in the last century. It was expressly adopted in the colonial policy of Great Britain and other States; and in Central Africa practical application was given to it by the Berlin Act of 1885 and the Brussels Convention of 1892. But the rights and interests of the ward enjoyed no safeguard save the conscience of the trustee; where the interests of the two appeared to conflict, the Colonizing Power was the sole judge of the limits to which any self-denying ordinance for the welfare of the subject race should be extended. Nor was the principle of trusteeship carried to its logical conclusion. It was never suggested either that the trustee was not entitled to make his profits out of the trust or, except to a limited extent in Africa, that he was bound to share with the rest of the world any economic advantages which might accrue from his position in the subject territory.

In all these respects the Mandate System attempts, not without success as

Mr. Bentwich demonstrates, to go the whole way. The Mandatory or, to use the better word, the Trustee, is not, like the Colonial Power, the keeper of his own conscience. He is answerable to the League of Nations for the due performance of his trust and, through the League, to the public opinion of the world. (In passing, a tribute should be paid to the wisdom of the League's decision not to interfere in the method of the Mandatory's administration so long as the terms of the Mandate are carried out.) In the instruments both of the Covenant and the particular Mandates the Trustee is pledged to administer solely in the interests of the ward and to share with the other members of the League the economic advantages and commercial opportunities available to foreigners in the Mandated Territory. Political and commercial advantages undoubtedly do accrue to the Mandatory; but these are in the nature of things and not the result of any political or administrative action, as, for example, the importance of the geographical position of Palestine and Iraq to the communications of the British Empire, or of the geographical position of Syria to the requirements of France in the Mediterranean.

But this is not all. This complete recognition of all that the tutelary relation involves exercises an influence outside the scope of the actual Mandates. The public conscience, already stirred in its attitude towards subject races, has been given practical form in the International Mandates Commission; and all Colonial Powers now stand at the bar of an international public opinion capable of expressing its views.

A word must be added on the "A Mandates," limited to territories detached from the old Turkey and populated by civilized peoples unable for a time to stand by themselves. In these the Mandate is definitely a temporary arrangement, designed to lead, through the administrative advice and assistance of the Mandatory, to complete independence. This is not the place to enlarge on the difficulties which have beset the French in Syria or ourselves in Palestine. The latter are due to a fact entirely extraneous to the Mandate System—namely, the establishment of a National Home for the Jews. It is enough to say that the facts of the situation are clearly stated by the author and the solution is not yet. But in Iraq, where the Mandatory's obligations both to the League and to the inhabitants have been implemented by a treaty of alliance accepted by all three parties, the goal is now in sight. There is every reason to hope that Iraq, with the support of Great Britain, will enter the League as a member in 1932. This will bring to an end the Mandatory régime, and will signify that in the judgment of Europe the Mandatory has successfully performed the obligations of her trust. It will demonstrate that a Mandate can be worked and can be concluded. Britain will not only have implemented her pledges to the Arabs and her obligations to the League, but will have relieved her taxpayers of heavy commitments in the Middle East. The prospect of such a consummation justifies the tone of optimism which betrays Mr. Bentwich's real enthusiasm in spite of his judicial calm.

N. G. D.

DAWN IN INDIA. By Sir Francis Younghusband. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xvi + 331. London: John Murray. 1930. 10s. 6d.

Sir Francis Younghusband claims to approach the study of India in a spirit of comradeship, and certainly the problems of the Indian question could not have been set out in a more charming, courteous, or chivalrous manner. So tolerant is he of Indian aspirations that he is ready almost to welcome the idea of an independent India outside the British Empire. He does not, perhaps, altogether carry the reader with him towards the acceptance of this as a

possible or desirable state of affairs. He tells us that, when twenty five years ago he lectured to the University of Cambridge, he "did not contemplate the possibility of India ever being fit for self-government." He "thought and said that we could not look forward to a time when India could, with advantage to Indians or anyone else, be left to govern herself." The doubt must suggest itself whether anything has occurred, though much has happened in the last twenty-five years, to prove that the author was wrong in his opinion of 1905, or right in his optimism, or at least his acquiescences, of 1930. Many advances towards self-government have been granted since 1905: each advance has aroused, not gratitude, but an insistent demand for more, before the advances already made have been made good. One cannot but feel that Sir Francis's experience, wide as it has been, has been practically confined to the frontiers of India, and to the more old-fashioned of the Indian States. He seems to have had little contact with the political intelligentsia, and, so far as his book is concerned, the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay might be almost non-existent. His statement of the political history of India since the British connection began is lucid and impartial. Small points may be carpied at. It is surely incorrect, for example, to say that Dadabhai Naoroji was largely instrumental in getting competition for the Indian Civil Service thrown open to Indians. The need for compression is doubtless responsible for the author making it appear that Tilak's attacks on Lord Curzon preceded the Poona murders of 1897. More serious and more unexpected is the author's acceptance of the parrot-cry that India has been emasculated under British rule. His proof is the statement that, while Ranjit Singh could hold the Panjab frontier against Pathan invasion, no purely Indian force could do so now. Surely, however, it is a commonplace that no serious invasion from the North-west ever failed, down to the days of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. It is true that Ranjit Singh held the frontier against an Afghanistan hopelessly divided against itself: but he did so by means of armies commanded by European officers like Aivitable and Ventura. If there is any portion of India with little complaint on the score of emasculation, it is surely the Punjab with its magnificent record in the Great War. Other parts of India—Madras, Bombay, Oudh—might have greater cause for complaint, but clearly any decrease in martial capacity has been due chiefly to the change of the terrain in campaigns, and the need for economy which has cut the Indian army down to the lowest limits. The exploits of the Maratha regiments in the War have shown that where the martial spirit really existed, it only lacks the need and opportunity for expression. Nor can it be forgotten that in all ages the best of the fighting forces of India were largely composed of foreign mercenaries. Sir Francis Younghusband's great theme is, however, India's genius for religion, and, as might be expected from his previous books, he enlarges on this subject with enthusiasm and real insight. He admits that some people think that the mass, both of the educated classes and the villagers, are frankly materialistic: but he will have none of this. Few, perhaps, will agree with him that "religion is the base of the whole national movement," or in his view of the religious nature of Arabindo and Barendra Ghose's political activities. But this belief enables him to write with particular sympathy of Gandhi's aims and methods. The effect of Tolstoy on both Gandhi and the author was almost simultaneous in time and equal in effect. The ordinary reader will perhaps think that the author overrates the extent of the spirituality of India, and that he thus devotes undue space and attention, not to Gandhi and Tagore, whose influence is great outside their religious activity, but to such men as Radhakrishnan and Sundar Singh. As Dr. Underdown has pointed out

in "Contemporary Indian Thought," Radhakrishnan is an historian of philosophy rather than a creative thinker, while Sundar Singh was an evangelist of perhaps limited effect. It is perhaps curious that the author should devote only about three pages to Mahomedan religious movements. Many would be prepared to argue that the seventy millions of Mahomedans are at least as religious in their ordinary life as the mass of the more numerous Hindus. No one, however, will quarrel with the author's conclusion, nor with the language in which it is expressed: "The fact remains that we are engaged upon a great adventure. We must have faith in ourselves, faith in the Indians, faith in God. In that faith we can go forward with courage."

P. R. C.

CASTE IN INDIA. By Emile Senart. Translated by Sir E. Denison Ross. 9 x 5½. Pp. xxiii+220. Methuen. 8s. 6d.

Indian problems are proverbially obscure, mainly owing to the lack of the historical instinct and of accurate historical material in India itself. But there is no problem which has been the subject of such thorough investigation by European writers, and has given rise to such interesting speculations and to so many conflicting theories, as that of caste in India.

In the present work, which has been modestly styled an essay, written thirty years ago, and now brought up to date, admirably translated by Sir E. Denison Ross, M. Emile Senart surveys the enormous mass of available material with the clear, incisive French intellect trained for this study by many years' close observation of the actual working of the caste system in India. He then, resisting the lure of wide generalizations, formulates his own views and theories, supported by a weight of evidence which, if it does not always carry conviction, inspires thought and is a stimulus to further investigation.

His method is original and effective. He begins by describing in Part I. the actual working of the caste system in practice, ending with a most illuminating chapter on the disintegration and multiplication of castes. His conclusion, with which few who know India will disagree, is that the whole edifice of caste is crowned by the supremacy which it assures to the Brahmans, and that the domination and prestige of the Brahman castes are the most incontestable characteristics of Hinduism. But he rightly points out—a fact which is often overlooked—that this aspect of "the Gods of the earth" is not bound up solely with their priestly functions, but extends even to those Brahmans whose avocations and ordinary life would in themselves afford no title to it. As he explains:

"People who proudly bear the title of Brahman, and to whom everywhere this title assures great respect, may be found engaged in all sorts of tasks: priests and ascetics, learned men and religious beggars, but also cooks and soldiers, scribes and merchants, cultivators and shepherds, even masons and chair-porters. There are even more extraordinary facts: the Sanauriya Brahmans of Bundelkhand have robbery as their hereditary profession!"

This diversity of occupations might at first sight be regarded as symptomatic of the disintegration of caste under *modern* rationalistic or economic influences. But M. Senart makes it clear that it is as old as Manu, and he significantly adds that in many cases these distinctions gave birth to those new subcastes which, supplemented by accretions from the aboriginal tribes gradually absorbed by the Brahmans into the Hindu system, form the true castes, some 2,000 in number, as they exist today.

In Part II. the author deals with caste in the past as described in the Hindu sacred books, the Vedic hymns, the Epics—viz., the Mahabharata and Ramayana, and the later sacerdotal writings. Unfortunately, these writings, after the Vedas, having been exclusively composed or interpreted by the dominant Brahman class, are devoted rather to the exaltation of that class than to giving a true account of the system in existence when they were written.

A typical example is the mythical origin of the four main castes (or classes)—the Brahmins from the mouth, the Kshatriyas from the arms, the Vaisyas from the thighs, and the Sudras from the feet of Brahma the Creator. The Brahman was Lord of all. But as M. Senart points out:

“A domination such as the Brahmins achieved, which they were obliged to strengthen with each century, is not set up unquestioned. The care that their books take at all times, from the Vedic hymns downwards, to establish the dogma of their superiority in the strongest and most extravagant terms, shows clearly the persevering labour that has been necessary to ensure its success.”

One incident in that long struggle was the war between the Brahmins, headed by the redoubtable Parasu Rama, now one of the major Hindu deities, against the Kshatriyas under King Arjuna. The Brahmins, according to a tradition which the writer does not refer to, invoked the aid of the lower castes; the struggle ended in the complete extermination of the male Kshatriyas, so that, in order to restore the traditional social organization, the Brahmins had to unite with the Kshatriya widows to found together a new caste of warrior nobles.

This tradition, which prevails strongly even today, helps to explain the frequent subservience of even the proud warrior caste, included in the present-day Rajputs, to the Brahmins, who, as ministers and counsellors as well as priests, constitute in most Hindu States the power behind the throne.

There is one important chapter of the past which M. Senart has hardly touched upon—viz., the gradual decline of Brahmanism under the Buddhistic reformation; the rise of Buddhism to be the State religion for several centuries under the great Maurya and Gupta Empires, the Golden Age of the sub-continent; and the decline of Buddhism from the seventh century on before the great Brahman revival.

That fascinating subject has never yet been properly investigated, but it has determined the subsequent history of India and her Eastern neighbours. If one would form a picture of what India might have been had Buddhism not been driven out, one need only compare the social system of Burma, where it found refuge, with Hindu India. In Burma there is no caste, no untouchables, no child marriage, no ban on widow remarriage; women are free, and education, which the Brahman system denies to all but the twice-born, is general, because the Buddhist monks regard it as their duty to educate all.

The most striking deduction from the study of the past is the theory, which there is much historical evidence to support, that the four so-called major castes are not really *castes*, but *classes*, corresponding to analogous divisions in other branches of the Aryan race, and superimposed later on the real castes as they were formed. Thus the ancestors of the Iranian and of the Aryan lived side by side before the former migrated to Persia, the latter to India.

It is not therefore surprising to find from texts in the Avesta that ancient Iran, while there is no proof of the existence there of *castes*, had

four *Pishtras* or *classes*, corresponding closely to the four *Varnas* (Varna = colour) of Aryan India. The Aryans on their entry into India were, as the Vedie hymns show, divided into tribes, clans, and families, all governed by corporate organizations and united by the tie of consanguinity.

But, according to M. Senart,

"The age of equality pure and simple between clan and clan, tribe and tribe, was already past; military and religious prestige had begun their work. Certain groups, favoured by birth and good fortune in war, joined to form an aristocratic *class* which laid claim to power (the Kshatriyas). Religious rites grew in intricacy, so that special skill and technical training were necessary. A hereditary sacerdotal *class* (the Brahman) was born, which based its pretensions on the more or less legendary genealogies connecting its branches with illustrious sacrifices of the past. The rest of the Aryans were merged in a single category (Vaisyas engaged in trade or agriculture), in the midst of which the various groups operated in their own autonomy and under their own corporate law. From the beginning religious ideas dominated the whole of life, and an already powerful priesthood now redoubled the strictness and importance of religious scruples."

Here we have the genesis of the twice-born or pure Aryan classes (the *Dvijas*). It was when they came into contact with the dark-skinned aboriginal tribes, whom they gradually conquered or absorbed as an inferior race into the Hindu system, that the division into castes begins to appear. To preserve the purity of race of the invaders from admixture with the aborigines, the Brahmins, like many subsequent conquering races, invented the theory of *Varna*, or colour bar. The aboriginal tribes, retaining their primitive organizations, were gradually, with their debased cults, brought into the Hindu system controlled by the Brahmins, but they were kept outside the Aryan pale, classed as *Suddras*, the fourth and lowest class, and relegated to manual and menial services for the benefit of the three higher classes, and especially of the Brahmins.

While this movement was proceeding there was continual flux and change among the three Aryan classes: fresh combinations were formed as the invaders penetrated into the sub-continent; new functions and occupations came into existence as the social system developed.

A political power might have brought these organisms together in a regular system, but such a solution would find no favour with the Brahmins, whose domination it might imperil. The Brahmins, indeed, at this stage succeeded, as indicated above, in paralyzing the resistance of the Kshatriyas to their pretensions. The Brahman class alone, in spite of its mercenary subdivisions, retained a strong corporate spirit which, in M. Senart's words, "it used to strengthen and extend its privileges, and also to establish under its supremacy some kind of order and cohesion. It generalized and codified existing conditions into an ideal system which it strove to have sanctioned by law. This was the legal caste system."

In Part III. the various theories put forward by such patient and acute observers as Nesfield, Ibbetson, and Risley as to the origin and growth of the various castes or subcastes are discussed by M. Senart with consummate skill. Nesfield would base the caste system mainly on difference of occupation; Risley, nearer the truth, on race; but in doing so is carried to extravagant lengths by his theory of the "nasal index." He says: "It is scarcely a paradox to lay down as a law of the caste organization in Eastern India that a man's social status varies in inverse ratio to the width of his nose"! Ibbetson, whose authority must carry great weight, thus summarizes the various stages in the history of the caste: (1) The organization of the tribes, common to all

primitive societies; (2) the guilds founded on heredity of occupation; (3) the exaltation, peculiar to India, of the sacerdotal function; (4) the exaltation of Levitical (Brahman) blood by the importance attributed to heredity; (5) the consolidation of the principle under Brahman control by the elaboration of a series of entirely artificial laws regulating marriage and fixing the limits within which it may be contracted, declaring certain occupations and foods to be impure, and determining the conditions and extent of the relations permitted between the castes. M. Senart criticizes the theories of Nesfield and Ibbetson as laying undue stress on community of occupation, and he gives cogent reasons for his criticism.

His own view is summed up as follows: "Everything brings us back to the elements of the old family constitution. The true name of caste is *Jāti*, which means 'race.'" And he very rightly adds that the clan and the tribe, which are concentric circles embracing a wider and wider area, are throughout the Aryan world no more than an expansion of the family, the organization of which they copy and extend.

His final conclusion is: "The caste is, to my mind, the normal condition of ancient Aryan institutions, taking their form according to the variations of conditions and environment which they encountered in India. It would be as inexplicable without this traditional foundation as it would be unintelligible without the racial admixtures which have crossed in it and without the circumstances which have moulded it."

Of those who read this brilliant and lucid presentation of a most intricate problem with care and a background of knowledge, few will hesitate to accept the author's conclusion as here stated. Similarly, they will accept his deduction that the real castes are not the four *Varnas* or *classes* of the early Aryans, but the 2,000 or more sub-castes, the real castes or *Jātes*, which evolved, and are still evolving, independently in the Hindu social system, and which under skilful Brahman direction have by a convenient legal fiction been classified under one or other of the four so-called main castes or classes. The Rajputs of today are popularly identified with the Kshatriyas of the Vedas. But no great knowledge of Indian history is needed to show that most of the chiefs who were successful in war, whatever their origin, were themselves or their successors in time admitted by the Brahmans to the charmed circle of the "Sons of Rajas." The most classic instance is that of the great Shivaji, originally a Kunbi.

M. Senart, wisely perhaps, refrains from discussing the merits and demerits of the caste system, for it has both. The severest criticism, and not always the most balanced, comes from distinguished caste Hindus. Dr. Sir P. C. Roy, the famous scientist, as President of the Social Conference in 1917, thus attacked the system: "If, as the immortal poet says, 'ignorance is the curse of God,' I say, caste is equally the curse of God. More than anything else it is at the root of unhappy India's degradation for the last one thousand years and more. It strikes at the root of Nationalism." The Round Table Conference might take note.

M. F. O'D.

AN INDIAN DIARY. By Edwin S. Montagu. 9" x 6½". Pp. xv + 410. Illustrations. Heinemann. 21s.

This is a book which had better not have been published; indeed, it is not quite fair on Mr. Montagu that it has been published, for he could hardly have desired that his candid and often contemptuous references to many who were working hard to assist him, or to do him honour, should be read by them or their friends or their hostile critics. Here and there he tries to make amends

for hasty judgments, and he was not intentionally ungenerous, but he could not conceal from himself, and, to judge from the diary, he did not successfully conceal even from his co-workers at the time, his sense of pitying superiority over almost everybody who was working with or for him.

Published at this time, the diary is propaganda for the Indian politician who is always complaining that he is not understood or trusted by the Indian Civil Service, and it encourages the opinion sometimes expressed by people in England who are absolutely ignorant of Indian conditions or of the administrative difficulties there, that the whole of the Civil Service is a soulless bureaucracy, the members of which are efficient only in red tape methods, and never talk or consult with the people among whom they live and with whose interests they are charged. In a large Service various types of men will be found, but the picture of them encouraged by the diary is a grave libel upon an overwhelming majority of the men in the great Services in India.

The diary is full of hasty generalizations in which opinions are often based on the *ex-parte* remarks of the last visitor. Mr. Montagu was most sincere in his desire to start India on an unexplored path which he believed and hoped would be for her ultimate good. He must have suffered from great nervous strain, under which he was by turns excessively elated or excessively depressed; but he was a politician in a violent hurry. He started with the idea that something very striking must be done or there would be a revolution. This idea, which was, of course, cultivated by all the Indian politicians with whom he was in contact, had been at the back of his announcement in August, 1917, and constantly obsessed him. It was this that brought him out to India in this violent haste at the crisis of the Great War. He blamed British administrators for not trusting Indians, and he blamed them over again because the Indians did not trust them. And yet he had daily evidence before him that Indians, who ought to know each other best, did not trust one another. His impatience with Government officials and Government methods was so obvious to his visitors that, of course, they played up to him at every turn; they suggested to him that he was different from all other Englishmen. If only they had had men like him to deal with there would have been no suspicion. It was only human nature that he should fall to their subtle flattery. His knowledge was too superficial to protect him. But the greatest flaw in all his searchings of heart was the absence of any recognition that the millions of India were being treated as mere pawns in the game. Where any bodies of men like the Ahirs of the United Provinces or the non-Brahmans of Madras, or any unsophisticated people, were uninterested in or opposed to his schemes, they were merely brushed aside as uninteresting and useless for his purpose. On the other hand, he highly appreciated the politician who professed agreement with this or that device in the political scheme which he varied from day to day in almost kaleidoscopic manner. A diary written in such circumstances must inevitably contain all sorts of ephemeral brain-waves which are discarded a few pages on. But the truth was that he had quered his own pitch as an inquirer by framing a verdict first in London in the shape of his announcement in Parliament, and then hearing the evidence afterwards in India. It was only natural in this case that he would stress the favourable evidence and reject or minimize the evidence on the other side. Occasionally he had doubts, as, for example, on November 26, when, after his first contact with those whom he calls "the real giants of the Indian political world," he wrote: "But the difficulty is, as I have so often said, that owing to the thinness with which we have spread education, they have run generations away from the rest of India, and, whatever might be done in theory, in practice

"this will be only another and indigenous autocracy." On December 12, after a discussion with the Commissioner of Police in Calcutta, and hearing a suggestion from him that the Watch and Ward functions of the District Police might be subordinated to Watch Committees so as to show the people that we intend to train them for the transfer to them of control over the Police, he wrote: "The one trouble is that they want Police for a different motive to the one for which they want Education. They want Education because they love it; they want the Police because they hate them. They want to control Education to make it better; they want to control the Police to make them worse." It is a pity that the Simon Commissioners did not see this revealing reflection by the great apostle of responsible government in India before they recommended the transfer of Law and Order to the responsibility of Indian Ministers and Legislatures. After the Congress attempts to paralyze the Government, defeated mainly by the staunchness of the Police, the desire for revenge upon that Force will be much intensified. It was after making these remarks that Mr. Montagu proceeded to put in writing his scheme as it stood on that particular date, a scheme which bore but little resemblance to the one ultimately evolved. And so the tour proceeded with alternations of elation and despondency, tiffs and reconciliations, tempers lost and apologies for losing them, caustic criticism, impatient pronouncements, realities disregarded for theories, and all the time with that feeling emerging that if the writer had only a free hand he could have conquered all doubts and conciliated all dissensions, while the existing system of government was hopelessly incapable of understanding the problems or of constructing schemes for solving them. Mr. Montagu never seemed to realize that he was asking men who knew the facts and the difficulties to construct schemes which they knew were likely to bring strife and not peace, simply in order to justify his rash promise to introduce democratic forms of government into a sub-continent to which genuine democracy was as abhorrent as is a vacuum to nature. No wonder that he found destructive criticism or hesitating assent with every scheme that he put forward. He flattered himself that he had "kept India quiet for six months," whereas the country has never recovered the disturbing effect of a Secretary of State's visit which made it clear to that little oligarchy of the literate upper crust that the British nation was afraid to go on governing them lest they should rise in their might and overthrow it.

Mr. Lionel Curtis, "that strange mixture of impossible inhumanity and soundness," was a valuable acquisition on December 12, "because he held *The Times* in the hollow of his hand," but by February 16, "the holy man," as he sometimes calls him, drove him to desperation because he was "in a blue funk."

Mr. Montagu thought that Mr. Walker, the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, had profited very much by his short visit to India. "He was frightfully impressed by the seething, boiling political flood that was raging over the country," and astonished "that the bureaucracy absolutely denies this whirlwind of political thought." Poor Mr. Walker had been "seeing much of the extreme men in Calcutta, where he had haunted the Calcutta Bar Library."

Does one gauge the state of Europe from conversations with a group of lawyers in Barcelona?

Mr. Walker instanced the existence of corruption and graft in America as a crushing argument with which to refute those Indian administrators who feared that a similar state of corruption would result from power being given to India. Mr. Walker forgot that it was under democracy that these vices

sprang up in America. In India they are indigenous, but they have been kept in check as far as possible by British influence. If that were removed they would easily surpass America, but the difference is that if the victims of these pernicious vices in America suffer it is their own fault; if the masses suffered similarly in India it would be ours, for placing and keeping in power a corrupt oligarchy without the consent and against the will of the masses. It is these cocksure politicians and journalists who cynically consign millions of human beings to chaos and ruin "for their ultimate good."

On December 22 we find Mr. Montagu himself writing: "It is, I hold, a tenable proposition that rather than wait for the growth of these conventions (of representative government) which no Act of Parliament can produce, but which Indians have as much chance or certainty of acquiring as any other nation, we might give them a chance at once to work out their own destiny. Chaos, revolution, and bloodshed will occur, but the result years afterwards might be more vigorous and healthy, more self-created than the plant we have in view.' The only obstacle he sees is the probability of the invasion of India by foreign powers, which would require England to reconquer India to prevent such an occurrence.

One has only to read the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and compare its optimistic hopes with what has happened, and is happening in India, to see how lamentably different things have turned out to what Mr. Montagu expected.

The moral of the diary is, that if a Secretary of State goes out to India at all it should be to learn. Mr. Montagu went out to teach. *Hinc illa lachrymæ.*

REGINALD CRADDOCK.

PAPERS ON INDIAN STATES DEVELOPMENTS. 9½ x 6. Pp. vi+143. East and West Development, Ltd. 5s.

This is an interesting reissue of papers connected with the problems, and especially the economic future, of the Indian States. The Political Survey of the last seventy years, with which it opens, is perhaps the least informative of the papers. It is written with Dr. Rushbrooke Williams's usual clearness; but the gist of it has been repeated with almost wearisome reiteration in other recent publications. Those writers who harp on the encroachments of the idea of paramountcy on the treaty rights of the States during the past seventy or eighty years do not seem to remember that, if the Chiefs lost in one direction, they gained greatly in at least one other: the reduction of the previously unruly Thakurs, Imamdárs or Jaghirdárs, by whatever denomination these feudatories were called, to a dead level of entire subjection to their respective Darbárs. The period, moreover, was one of necessary training which has built up the States to undertake fittingly that position of consensual partnership which is by common consent the great ideal before them. There is one point which strikes the readers of the recent Indian State literature as curious. If, as may be gathered from that literature, the period from Lord Dalhousie to Lord Minto, roughly from 1850 to 1905, was one of steady encroachment on the rights of the Princes, and the period from 1905 onwards one of comparative non-interference, how is it that the feeling against the Political Department, after twenty-five years of that policy, seems to be so much better than it was fifty years ago? These discords, however, seem out of date. The difficulties of the Princes in the future will lie rather in the direction of tempering and filtering the flow of the new wine of Democracy into the States.

The four papers on the economic development of four great Indian States,

Mysore, Kashmir, Gwalior, and Travancore, are especially valuable as showing the course of progress in widely differing conditions—in Travancore almost as far developed constitutionally as any British Province, in Mysore with a wealthy and advancing Government, and in the benevolent autocracies of Kashmir and Gwalior. The paper on Travancore is especially interesting, and, in the development of its seaborne trade, it is curious to note the at least partial return of overseas commerce to one of its most ancient channels on the coast of India. Finally, there is a general survey of the economic prospect of the Indian States by Mr. de la Valette. He rightly points out that these States are still largely undeveloped, and that their rulers have not left the risks of exploitation to private enterprise. This very proper policy of State experiment, however, has very often left it uncertain whether even the most hopeful undertaking could be left without loss to private enterprise, or whether the States would voluntarily leave them to such enterprise, without which great development is unlikely. When, moreover, Mr. de la Valette laments, as so many others have done, the fact that India, the home of the cane, imports so much sugar, he does not indicate how the States can surmount the difficulties which have prevented the British Provinces from organizing the industry as it is organized in Java. Everyone will, however, agree with him in his advocacy of a more complete geological survey, a step which many of the smaller States are only prevented from carrying out by consideration of its cost.

P. R. C.

THE KEY TO PROGRESS. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. ix+260. Oxford University Press. 1930.

"The Key to Progress," by several contributors, with a foreword by H. E. The Lady Irwin, and edited by Miss Caton, is, as its subtitle says, "a survey of the status and conditions of women in India." At the same time it is something more than this, as it shows what the present women's movement in India means, what it is doing in the way of social reform concerning marriage, widowhood, and the dual moral standard. Other questions of great importance are dealt with under the headings of education, health, rural and industrial matters, legal status, and the possibility of training India's women to help and minister to their own people. It is most useful at the present time as a book of reference, as it deals with, and gives statistics of, most of the leading questions touching the life and well-being, and also the suffering and sadness, of millions of our fellow-subjects. The summary of the Simon Report in reference to women and the Bibliography are valuable.

C. C. R.

WOMEN UNDER PRIMITIVE BUDDHISM. By I. B. Horner. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 391. Illustrations. London: Routledge and Sons, Ltd. 1930.

This is a book after my own heart—the reconstruction of the life of women who flourished over 2,000 years ago from odds and ends of notices of them in the vast Buddhist literature that has come down to us. It is therefore the result of immense original research of the most trying kind, and the thanks of scholars to the author cannot be too strongly expressed. My one quarrel with the book is that the author—obviously a woman from her university status—has hidden her sex on the title-page. Why do women writers do this so constantly, especially when

the subject is an estimate of women? When it comes to a judgment of the lives and characters of women, a woman is by nature so much better equipped than any man can possibly be that her sex as a writer should be loudly proclaimed, not hidden under an initial. To notice another very minor matter: why does the author write *Brahmin*?

The subject is to me of great personal interest, as I had official charge, after the taking of Mandalay in 1886, of the women of the deposed king's family for four years, the men and boys having disappeared from the former capital. There were eighty-three of them, if I recollect rightly, of all ages, from old persons over eighty years of age to little children about seven or eight years old. All had allowances from our Government, according to nearness to the fallen throne, from considerable incomes down to quite petty sums, and they bore between them every kind of female character, so far as a mere male like myself could judge. Some of the grown women were dignified and highly refined in manner, and some were well versed in worldly wisdom; while others, in a way, might be described as flighty, despite their experiences and condition, and a few were ill-behaved and gave trouble. Every grown girl among them looked on herself as unmarriedable, as by Burmese custom a woman takes socially her husband's rank, and they were very unwilling to part with their "royal" status.

At any rate, I was in constant touch for that period with a body of Buddhist women, of the Hinayana type of faith, and viewed my protégées with much interest. It would have been a great help had such a book as that now before me been then in existence. As it was I had to trust to my own small knowledge and such reading as was then available in trying to gauge the aims and objects in life of my charges.

These queens and princesses of the former Burmese monarchy, when I knew them, dwelt in buildings scattered about the walled and moated and very insanitary city surrounding the walled and palisaded palace of Mandalay, which it was part of my duty for three years to buy up for the Government and demolish, to make way for a cantonment for troops in the British style. They may be said to have been all ardent Buddhists, and very many of them were heavily absorbed in religious practices—most of them had been through years of horrible experiences of a character almost incredible to the modern civilized European. These experiences had deeply impressed themselves on the minds of those that were old enough to grasp their meaning, and had given a sombre tinge to all their thoughts. One of the families best known to myself consisted of a minor queen—a half-sister of her husband, King Mindōn, according to Burmese fashion, but not of full royal blood herself—and her two daughters, and I give their story as typical of much that had then recently happened. The queen was a woman of about fifty and her two daughters respectively twenty-six and sixteen when I first saw

them. For the seven years of Thibaw's reign they had been confined in a small hut to the left of the western gate of the palace as you entered it, between the wall and the palisade of the palace enclosure. They were permitted to live on the general destruction of possible rebels against Thibaw's accession as being too inoffensive to destroy, but when his Queen, Sūphayālāt, happened to have them in mind, notice was sent to them to prepare for death. It was a terrible condition to live in, and it had its effect. The queen was a sad woman, trusting to religion to help her, and the elder daughter, whose best years—nineteen to twenty-six—had been ruined and passed in terror, was a soured creature, wholly given to religious practices and good works, Buddhist fashion. The younger daughter, whose internment had been in childhood—nine to sixteen—was a bright, mischievous kind of girl. She had been too young for the confined life to affect her seriously, as the guards themselves were often kind and the family was never really ill-treated.

I may remark here that I never heard any evil spoken of Thibaw by the women who suffered for being members of his family, but no expression was hard enough to describe their animosity towards his wife, Sūphayālāt, who was, of course, a relative of them all by birth, as it was to her that they attributed all their misfortunes.

The extreme religiosity of the queen and her elder daughter was aimed at becoming a man in the next life, as they conceived that to be the acme of power and happiness in life. Every kind of practice that could help in that direction and every penny they could set aside was spent on this one absorbing aim. It was a pathetic condition to contemplate. Occasionally a royal lady would go beyond the point of mere devotion to religious practices and become a nun—almswomen, as Miss Horner calls the class—and thus avoid the life otherwise before her, as in the case of Sūphayāgyī, the elder sister of Sūphayālāt, who would not brook being a co-wife with her younger sister. There were three of them, all *sūphayās*—i.e., royal on both sides: *gyī* means elder, *lāt* means middle, *galē* means younger. All three were married to Thibaw, but Sūphayāgalē was only nominally his wife. The middle sister, Sūphayālāt, saw to it that her husband had no other wife—a proof of her extraordinary ascendancy over him. Oriental kings who marry other kings' daughters have them to consider if they ill-treat their royal wives, but the Burmese rule of half-sister wife put aside that consideration, and Burmese queens were consequently hopelessly in the power of their husbands.

Having thus—avoiding the many gruesome tales that I was told—explained something of the conditions in which women of the highest class have lived in Buddhist lands, generation after generation, even up to modern times, at practically every change in the personality of a ruling

king, I propose to look into Miss Horner's excellent pages as to Buddhist women of other classes in days very long ago.

The book is in two parts, describing the "laywoman" and the religious or "almswoman," commonly known as the Buddhist nun. It is the latter division which has occupied the author's attention chiefly, as she gives 94 pages to the laywoman and 285 pages to the almswoman. This may be partly due to the monkish nature of Buddhist literature, which would naturally tend to ignore any kind of life that is not "religious." It is, however, the laywoman that will most interest the general reader, despite the fact that Miss Horner's is the first attempt to give a history of the Buddhist Order of Almswomen.

The author commences her work by remarking: "In pre-Buddhist days the status of women in India was, on the whole, low and without honour." This was clearly the result of Brahmanic ascendancy, as a man chiefly married to gain a son to carry on the funeral rites essential to his future welfare. Women were consequently looked on merely as child-bearers; but under Buddhism there was a change, and they assumed more and more equality with men, and less of the position of chattels of their husbands. And then arose a persistent teaching of reverence for parents, which raised the status of the mother in the community, as her readiness to fight for her children without thought for herself was commonly to be observed, and this teaching became a salient feature of Buddhist doctrine and literature. So we find the mother gradually assuming a high position in the ancient Buddhist world.

As regards unmarried women, early Buddhist teaching had a remarkable effect on their position, as it made it higher than it was before or has been ever since. At any rate, it prevented the prevalence of female infanticide, which has been such a curse to many a Hindu caste, and also, for a time, remaining unmarried did not call scorn upon the "old maid." Such conditions obviously rendered child marriage unnecessary, and consequently not much is heard of it in Buddhist literature. The age of marriage seems to have been between sixteen and twenty, and it may be remarked that for various reasons besides religious views Burmese Buddhist girls do not marry as a rule till about twenty-one or so. There was, moreover, considerable freedom of choice on the part of the ancient girls: in modern Burma the Buddhist girl is absolutely free in this matter—perhaps the freest woman in the world. This is a point of which the Burmese mothers are well aware, and when Burmese women marry—as they frequently do—men of other nationalities and faiths, the boys usually follow the dress, manners, and faith of the fathers, but all their sisters remain Burmese and Buddhist, because of the freedom in all things thus secured to them. This freedom of marriage on the part of girls seems

to date back to the very beginning of Buddhist teaching. The disgruntled maiden, or one for any reason rendered very miserable or restless, had always the Order of Almswomen to fall back on, even if she had no religious impulse to drive her thither.

The ancient Buddhist had only one wife, though there was no rule against polygamy; and it may be remarked that one man one wife is the rule of the civilized world, whatever the local law may be. Polygamy does not really prevail anywhere except among royalties and the very rich. It is far too expensive, and in modern Muhammadan India it is evaded by the creation of a system of dowry far beyond the means of the bridegroom, so that if he divorces his wife unreasonably by the easy Muhammadan law he is ruined by the dowry he has endowed upon her. I have known even a prosperous contractor come to great grief in this way.

The ancient Buddhist wives were not only queens in their own homes, just as Burmese wives are very much queens in theirs, but had considerable powers outside, owned property, intervened in the marriages of their children, and remarried at will when widows or divorced, like the Burmese women. Indeed, on p. 63 there is a passage that might have been written in the Burma of today: "As marriage received no legal and religious sanction, so divorce was settled entirely by the parties concerned." In fact, the chapter in this book on ancient Buddhist life is of the greatest interest to all who know modern Burma, as it explains so many of the customs still prevailing there among the existing population, and shows that they are ancient indeed.

The lot of the Buddhist widow was infinitely easier than that of her Hindu sister. There was no moral degradation in her lot, no expiation of that heinous sin of ill-luck, which is at the bottom of the ill-treatment of Hindu widows, the theory being that they must have done something very bad in a former life to have the supreme misfortune of being widowed in the present one—a crime that must be expiated by misery and isolation. There was no widow-burning, and the widow could inherit her late husband's wealth and manage his property. Occasionally she became an almswoman, but apparently not to a greater extent than other classes of her sex. The picture here presented to us is very different indeed from that of the Hindu widow.

Finally, the women who worked professionally for their living were domestic slaves, dancing girls, musicians, and courtesans. The slavery was of the mild type that prevails everywhere in the East, and prostitution among the slave classes did not bear the stigma that attaches to it in Europe or among the slave-master classes in the East. It was a misfortune rather than a degradation.

Such is the picture of the ordinary workaday women of ancient Buddhist days, as I conceive it, that Miss Horner has so laboriously,

and to my mind so capably, put together from thousands of small notices of her sex to be found in Buddhist literature, which is mainly that of monks primarily bent on religious teaching and propaganda. But the chief part of the book deals, not with this phase of ancient female life, but with that of the religious devotees or almswomen. They played an important part in life, but it was necessarily a very special and sheltered part, and has therefore but a limited interest to those who spend their energies in "the strife that is life." Miss Horner has traced the nun's life as carefully as she has that of her lay-sister, and has the additional merit of being the first to do so fully. She gives us the whole of it from the preliminaries of admission to the Order and the rules for the guidance of almswomen, and throughout this part of her work her data are as numerous as they are wanting for the first part. She then carefully explains the famous *Therīgāthā* or *Psalm*s, almost all attributed to women composers, to exhibit their feelings on joining and remaining members of the Order. This is followed by a long explanation of life in the Order, the training of novices, communications between almsmen and almswomen, and dealings between nuns and the laity, which last are illustrated by an account of the Life of Visākha, an "outstanding laywoman supporter," culled as usual from many sources.

The whole of this part of the work was well worth the labour bestowed on it, as it is an important point in the general study of Buddhism to know what sort of life the religious votaries had to lead, but the details of that life are necessarily of interest mainly to the limited classes of the same kind elsewhere in the world, and, rightly or wrongly, I do not propose to go into them here. Congratulating Miss Horner on the production of this great labour of love, and thanking her for the boon she has thus conveyed to the world of scholars, I draw what I feel to be but an inadequate review of her book to a close.

R. C. TEMPLE.

STARK INDIA. By Trevor Pinch. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 288. Illustrated. Hutchinson. 10s. 6d.

This is an unpleasant book dealing with the more sordid aspects of Indian life. These are very much over-emphasized, and though many of the facts stated are true, the book does not give a living picture of Indian life. Taken to pieces the life of an Indian rustic may appear pretty miserable, but on the whole how happy and contented is their lot!

Mr. Pinch somewhat naturally writes at great length about sensual obsessions, but this has been done for all time by Miss Mayo in "Mother India," and the chapters on this subject in "Stark India" add nothing to our knowledge. When he inveighs against the power of the priests the author has all our sympathy; all history shows the fatal blight of ecclesiastical dominance, and nowhere is this more pronounced than in India. The repulsive specimens seen at Hardwar and Puri live long in our memory, and imagination cannot

conceive how living beings with an intelligence can consent to be guided spiritually by such sensual-looking brutes.

Again, the description of the ill-health of the masses is overdrawn : that a great many have a poor physique is true, but on the whole the ordinary Indian, who takes exercise and does not eat too much, is fairly fit ; and many a reader will remember being walked off his legs by skinny-looking shikaris, who at the end of a long day's shoot are fresh and bright, and only too eager to go on if the Sahib is willing. The average sick absentees' list in a well run office is never more than 3 per cent., which compares quite favourably with offices in England. Of this 3 per cent. only a quarter is generally due to sickness, the remainder being absent on family affairs.

The author has a great deal to say about the misery of the Untouchables, and here again we must differ from him ; until pointed out to them it is very doubtful whether they ever noticed the indignities which are their daily portion. Men get used to all things, and the average sweeper in India is not an unhappy man and is often a staunch good fellow ; the better type of Untouchables are treated decently enough. The Mazbi Sikhs are an example of how these men can fight for recognition and reputation.

We cannot help thinking that Mr. Pinch must have had some disagreements with the Indian Civil Service. That poor discouraged band of earnest workers are not given their due word of praise, though the Indian Medical Service is rightly held up to admiration.

HIGH TARTARY. By Owen Lattimore. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xiv + 370.

Maps. Illustrations. Boston : Little, Brown and Co. 1930.
21s.

This delightful book is very ably written by a man who revels in the life of the vagabond of the road, and is of the age capable of coping with the discomforts, to say the least, of the existence of a camel-puller ; moreover, the fact of his having been reared in North China, combined with his knowledge of the colloquial Northern Chinese language, explains his ability to write such a human account of this most fascinating class of Chinese people, the transport worker, and of the officials and natives of Eastern Turkestan or Hsin Chiang.

One cannot agree with Lattimore's statement that the men of Shansi are not distinguished for letters or cultivation. Shansi scholars have been noted for many centuries for their learning and culture, as witnessed in bygone times by the number of able civil officials from this province appointed to posts in all the other provinces of China, when those appointments depended upon competitive examinations. Natives of Shansi have, however, been hitherto forbidden to become military officers. The author must have had in mind only his acquaintances of the road, camel-pullers, muleteers, and donkey drivers, a class entirely by themselves, who in their own province are treated in a different way from anyone else ; they are allowed to say the most outrageous things to the most respectable of women, young and old, a doubtful privilege, as they often get as good as they give—sometimes more.

A merchant in Shansi on being asked why he had taken no notice of a remark addressed to his wife, a remark which in any other province would have meant bloodshed, replied, "Oh, it's only the son of a turtle of a mule-driver, and they are beneath notice." That the Shansi native is mean and cunning all other Chinese will agree, but the industry of "skinning fleas for their hide and tallow" is not generally recognized as a Shansi monopoly. Like our Aberdonian, they relish stories told against themselves and delight in telling them. For example, an opulent Shansi merchant fell into the Tao River at a point where the quicksand was notoriously dangerous, so promptly commenced bargaining with the ferryman to pull him out. The ferryman asked 500 *cash*, the Shansi merchant's offer was 100. He eventually disappeared; the last portion of the merchant to be seen was his two fingers, indicating 200 *cash* was the maximum he would rise to. He was drowned for the sake of fourpence!

Natives of Tientsin are renowned for their clannishness. They consider if a foreigner speaks with their accent he must, *ipso facto*, be a superior person. They would certainly see that Mr. Lattimore was not harassed by the "Western scum." They are generally the harassers themselves, and are well known to be peculiarly susceptible to some Mi T'ang (*conjee*) Chinese slang for blarney; *conjee* is so easily assimilated.

In dealing with the destruction of priceless MSS. the author does not explain that all minerals have, from the earliest times, been considered Government property in Hsin Chiang; hence buried treasures in the forms of manuscripts, etc., are also, to the docile native, in the same category, and are consequently destroyed when unearthed to prevent complications with the Yamen officials, who really take no interest in the archæology of the country.

In the matter of the indemnity paid for the evacuation of Ili province, which Russia had occupied on the classical justification of "preserving order," Mr. Lattimore omits the fact that this was paid by China from part of a British loan to China contracted in London in August, 1876. The loan was for £1,750,000, negotiated by Sir Robert Hart, guaranteed by the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs. The interest lies in that it was the first external loan ever contracted by China. A portion of the loan was also utilized by General Tso Tsung T'ang in the wonderful campaign for the pacification of Eastern Turkestan during the latter part of Yakub Beg's rebellion. The treaty made by Ch'ung Hou with Russia for the evacuation of Ili was not ratified by Peking, that ex-vice-roy of the metropolitan province of Chili being condemned to death by the lingering process for his efforts; the sentence, however, was commuted, on the protest of the Russian Government, to degradation. Li Hung Chang, who now

undertook the negotiations with Russia, saved everybody's face by granting Russia much more important privileges in the eastern portion of Siberia, and accepting on behalf of China many stands of obsolete rifles.

Ignorance of the existence of treaties must be responsible for the fact that the foreign firms of Tientsin and the China coast have resorted to a type of semi-legitimate representation in Hsin Chiang. All the more important towns of the new dominion were opened to foreign trade as a result of the loan agreement of 1876.

The author says that on its immediate merits Chinese rule in Turkestan is dependent on the life of the old Governor, but the Governor he mentions was assassinated some time ago. China still rules Turkestan.

That the pavilions and summer-houses prepared for the exiled prince of the blood at Shui-mo Kou near Urumchi but never occupied by him (he considered Kansu was quite far enough from Peking, and so spent his last days there), proves that the authorities winked at the strict observance of imperial decrees, and reminds one of the progress to exile of one Sai Chin Hua. She was a famous courtesan of Peking and concubine of a former Minister to Berlin. For some misdemeanour she had been sentenced to work on the military roads of Turkestan. She did the journey, beautifully dressed, in a four-bearer chair, but the chair was enveloped with yards of light chains, everyone being satisfied that the loss of face, but not of comfort, was sufficient punishment. History does not relate how many cubic yards of stone, if any, those delicate hands broke, or if she caused as much consternation among the authorities at Urumchi as did the Mongolian Lorelei, whom Lattimore paints so vividly, at the Kulja garden party.

The "Karez" of Turfan and other parts of Hsin Chiang prove what enormous benefits would be derived from drilling for water. Here, as in other parts of China, rivers disappear and run underground. It ought to be comparatively easy to tap large sources; and water from the mountains must run downhill, as it does everywhere else, with the exception of a dugout in Flanders, where it used to run uphill as well.

The Lattimores struck Turfan in the dust-storm season, that dust of these regions which penetrates everything, and not content with that, hangs in a haze over the country waiting for wind to start again annoying one. The remark of a friend's batman, "This 'ere dust, sir, gets into a tin of milk before you open it," was not very wide of the mark.

To the author's description of the delicious melons of Hami it might be added that they used to be sent to the Emperor at Peking as tribute by the Prince of Hami. They were carried in large *kangs* filled with the soil of Hami and tended by *ch'antos*. From the length of time taken to travel, it is clear that the seeds must have been planted after

the tribute-bearers set out on the tedious journey, or perhaps the crop of melons may have been raised in Shansi and timed to arrive at Peking at their best, but they had been grown in Hami soil and by turbaned gardeners.

The reason for Peking's becoming "Bajin and Yuan Pao (shoe of sycee) Yambu" in the talk of the native of Hsin Chiang is the Hunan accent of the followers of General Tso Tsung T'ang. Hunanese officials have remained predominant in the higher grades of the Civil Service.

The wonderful description of the fat host of the picnic to the vineyard, "the leading sophisticate of the party, the ovoid curves of this fleshy ellipse of tumidly heaving flesh, in a pair of purple trousers (with a wilted sporran), cut to button in front in 'Europe' fashion, with his theories on evolution and religions, culled from modern Russia," makes one wonder where these very lovable and extremely simple people will be led. It is not surprising that the questions why foreigners buy wool in Turkestan when they have sheep in their own countries and also as sheep "bleat" a common language, why Turki was not understood by Americans, was sufficient to drive Mr. Lattimore back to the pilau, in order to find the necessary time for reflection.

Motor transportation must and will come in Hsin Chiang. The improvements in lorries and tractors of recent years, and their performances in country more difficult to negotiate than the comparatively well-beaten tracks of the old trade routes, will supplant, much as one will regret it, the picturesque camel caravans on the long hauls of three and four months' duration of the present day. There will always be the short haul of the branch routes for the camel-puller. However much the Chinese authorities hang back, a certain portion of the economic control will pass to the Russians, situated as Siberia is, relative to Eastern Turkestan. The new Turk-Sib Railway will have far-reaching effect on Ili province particularly. The Chinese might as well try to prevent the water of the Yellow River entering the Gulf of Peichili as try to discountenance the trade with Russia. Trade with China and India will so improve that it is only a matter of time for the K'un Lun and Kharakoram to be traversed by a motor road, when the trade of Hsin Chiang warrants. "When the motors come, the camels will go," say the camel-men. Yes, shorter distances, but many more camels.

Mr. Lattimore refers to the decay of buildings put up in the days of the Manchu dynasty. In China they say, "Officials do not repair Yamens, travellers do not repair inns." Neither class expects to stay long enough to make the expense worth while.

Let the following story serve as a comment upon the author's frequent references to the hold the governing class of Chinese has on the inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan. A native of a particularly turbulent district in the west of China was asked his opinion of the qualifi-

cations of a new, mild-looking Hsien official to govern the district. He replied, "That he is an able administrator and quite capable of controlling the lawless there is no doubt, for has he not the Chü Jen degree of the late dynasty? That he also has the wisdom and energy of foreigners is clearly indicated, for does he not blow cold water over his own face on rising from his bed every morning? He wears a foreign hat" (of the kind worn by elderly gentlemen of the last generation in England, a sort of Erh Hun-tze or first cross between a bowler and a topper), "and does he not take walks in the country with a walking-stick and no attendant?"

Successful merchants at Kulja mostly come from the towns of Tou Liu and Yang Liu Ch'ing near Tientsin; the commerce of Ili has been kept in the families for generations, and considering the numbers of relations and connections every Chinese has, it is not to be wondered at that Tientsin people form a whole community, ranging from barbers to landowners, at Kulja.

The society of "Tsai Li," or "Within the Ritual," is one of the few secret societies of which women can be members in China.

That Ma Ta Jen and other officials and soldiers should take the Roosevelts to be American dukes is not surprising. A Tientsin man asked on July 4 what the *jeh nao* (heat and noise)—i.e., rejoicing—among the Americans was about that day. He was told it was the American Emperor's birthday, and went away quite satisfied.

Moses, that gem of personal attendants, a humorous, dry, illiterate philosopher, accompanies his "Shao Yeh" or Young Master through the great sand hollows and the Black Gobi to the Dead Mongol Pass and across the K'un Lun and Kharakoram to India itself, to which country he gets *hsi-lo-hu-tu-ti* (by the fortune of fools). He is a type happily still existent among the northern Chinese. For a combination of shrewdness and simplicity, grit and faithfulness, these men of China are difficult to beat.

Though really a Shantung man, Moses speaks, except on special occasions, with a Tientsin accent, and to all intents comes from Tientsin. After all, this is very similar to a number of Scotsmen who speak with a pronounced Scotch accent on two nights a year, St. Andrew's and Burns's. On the following mornings one is lectured on the seriousness of the overdraft with an unmistakable English accent.

From a book part of whose fascination lies in the sparkle and wit of its style it is impossible to make extracts in a review of this length; suffice to say, there is scarcely a page without a jewel.

The author of "High Tartary" gives one of his reasons for travel as being his interest in people, not to people. If "High Tartary" is a criterion, he has certainly succeeded in both. He must be again on the

road by now, and one anticipates with pleasure the narrative of his next journey.

J. E. STEWART.

THE LURE OF MONGOLIA.

THE MONGOLIAN HORDE. By Roland Strasser (translated from the German by R. T. G.). 9" x 6". Pp. 347. Illustrations. Jonathan Cape. 12s. 6d.

Mongolia appears gradually to be winning the attention which its innate interest and potential political importance justify. Much more, at all events, is now known about the country than was the case when I first made its acquaintance in 1913, since when excellent travel books (to say nothing of accounts of scientific exploration) have been spreading realization of its significance. Anthropologically, as Mr. Andrews' successive expeditions have shown, that is considerable; politically, it is no exaggeration to say, Mongolia has all the makings of a storm centre; psychologically and æsthetically it holds keys, if not to main doorways, to several side-entrances upon Far Eastern mentality. Of some of these keys Mr. Roland Strasser offers us in this book the clearest impressions, and it is impossible to study them without being fascinated by their extraordinary design and the bizarre, fearful and beautiful characteristics which they unlock.

Mr. Strasser went to Mongolia neither as scientist nor politician, but as artist. He went there, Sir Michael Sadler tells us in an introduction, in continuation and extension of previous travel recorded in pictures and drawings shown some six years ago at Mr. W. B. Paterson's in Old Bond Street. To quote the author's own words, he went to justify his rights as a human being to come into contact with Nature under boundless skies, without limitation of time or any other negation. His pictures were all ruined by Chinese soldiers in the most abominable and disgraceful way. But in place of them we have this book, which Sir Michael Sadler rates as the best he has read on Mongolia. On the whole, I should place it at the top of my list too, but in doing so I go further than Sir Michael Sadler does about its translation, described in the introduction as skilful. I acknowledge that I have not seen the German text; even so, "skilful" strikes me as much too tepid a word. "R. T. G."—and who he (or she) is I have no idea—brought to his (or her) task a spiritual perception matching Mr. Strasser's.

The book is not—by design at all events—an exposition; that is to say, it is not a planned study. It is a record of powerful and acute impressions recaptured in tranquillity (to adapt a well-known definition of poetry). We are given, to begin with, a picture of a Tibetan pass in the slate-coloured gloom of twilight, with grey clouds climbing over a jagged sky-line, and ice-dust fanned up into sparkling fountains by

a stormy wind. We get next a sketch, slender in outline but deep-toned in composition, of Tibetan mentality, and with that for spiritual background face again the physical austerities and risks of gigantic and merciless scenery. Then we find ourselves in Urga, the capital of Outer Mongolia, amid colours to the actual splendour and brilliance of which I can testify because I have myself seen them; and from there we are conjured into the cauldron-shaped valley of Kalgan, where the white dust one recalls so vividly rises like spirals of incense towards hidden and treacherous gods. This district, at the time of Mr. Strasser's visit, was controlled by the "Christian" General, Feng Yu hsiang, of whose extraordinary personality we are given glimpses. From Kalgan we go into Inner Mongolia to the home of a Mongolian prince, and are shown the heart of it—his yurt, its walls hung with blue silk damask, its floor spread with woollen Chinese carpets of ochre-yellow (red and purple ground patterned with deep blue branches and copper-coloured borders), its furniture consisting of red lacquer chests, with cone-shaped milk-pans of embossed silver ringed with gold; silver-spouted copper teapots; a fluted shrine with an image of Amithaba; the whole made still fuller colour by fans of iridescent peacock's feathers. Then comes a wonderful chapter about a great Mongolian dog, Gæsar, and then we go back to Urga, where we get an insight into Russian methods and the strength of Russian influences, first introduced during my stay in Urga in 1913. Finally, we journey across the Gobi desert, and are given appalling glimpses of the sinister side of Mongolian and Chinese life.

If the book is as widely read as it deserves to be, the threat to the world which these sinister influences, operating in steadily broadening areas, constitute will be appreciated very much more than is the case at present.

E. M. GULL.

CHINESE CIVILIZATION. By Marcel Granet. 9½" x 6". Pp. xxiii + 444. Illustrated maps. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1930. Price 25s.

Professor Marcel Granet, who is Director of Studies at *L'École des Hautes Études*, and Governor of *L'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises de Paris*, has in this volume set himself a formidable task and emerges from it with great credit. His book is for two sets of readers—the Oriental specialist and the ordinary man who is interested in China in a more general way.

The first and smaller part deals with political history, traditional and ancient, being a serious attempt, and the outcome of much research, to arrive at as precise formulas as possible by the elimination of ingenious hypotheses.

From earliest times the history of the civilization of China has been written round a tradition of culture. "Historians, archaeologists, exegetes, remain impregnated with traditional piety, even when they pose simply as learned men, and even when a 'fault-finding' spirit seems to animate them. They determine the facts or the dates, establish texts, lop off interpolations, classify works, not with objective detachment, but in the hope of

rendering more acute and purer, in themselves and in their readers, the consciousness of an ideal that history cannot explain, for it precedes history."

M. Granet analyzes this traditional history from its beginning up to the reign of the Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty (140-87 B.C.), for in this way, if he cannot throw further light on the facts, he can at least summarize the ideas of the Chinese and thus develop the main lines of political evolution which led to the creation of the Chinese Empire.

In so many of the books dealing with China the historical part is copied from one to the other; it is therefore refreshing to find this author striking out a new line which gives us a clearer insight to Chinese political history than has hitherto been attempted. We are shown how smaller chieftainships gradually became merged into large overlordships and provincial units, and how the sentiment of a community of civilization decided the Chinese to defend themselves against the Barbarian confederations which were forming, and causing them to accept the unification of the country in the form of a great Empire.

It is a difficult task to write Chinese political history in our orderly Western way, for in the ancient Chinese world social changes did not take place by the adoption of successive systems of laws and regulations, but by changes of orientation in the moral standpoint. There are no chronological landmarks. Nothing exact is known of the development of industry, wealth, luxury, or of the extension of urban centres.

M. Granet's researches afford us an opportunity of comparing the standards of value and experience of a very great people, and he has been able to write what might seem to be dry history in a most interesting way, even though the conclusion of the first part of the book may leave some of us mentally confused and without the clear picture obtainable from reading European history. But a study of it cannot fail to be helpful in showing the past of China and its people in due relation to that of other countries, and we can learn from it how China became independent as a nation.

The second and larger part of the work is pleasantly written. It begins with a description of life in the fields, and from it we can gather how in this thickly populated land the Chinese by means of human labour avoid unemployment and obtain great returns from their fields. There is an accurate description of peasant customs, and we are next shown the principles of the foundation of chieftainships, and are taken on to a section dealing with the Town, the Overlord, Public Life and Private Life. By his pictures of feudal society and its influence in formalizing family life he disentangles the Chinese system of relationships which we Western people find so difficult, for they are not blood relationships, but quite artificial bonds which do not belong to the domains of affection but to that of etiquette and honour. It tells us how there was no great intimacy between a husband and his wife—the chief wife—owing to the combination of monogamy and polygamy.

The last part describes Society at the beginning of the Imperial Era: the Emperor and the social changes under the Court and the Imperial Nobility, and how all the relations of Society were governed by an exclusive taste for decorum.

M. Granet concludes his book by saying: "With the imperial era, which closes the history of ancient China, Chinese civilization certainly arrives at maturity, but although, by defining with increasing strictness its traditional ideals, the believers in orthodoxy wished to adorn it with a static dignity, it remains rich in youthful forces."

For those whose appetite has been whetted and who wish to develop this

whole subject of Chinese civilization there is an ample bibliography at the end giving the wide range of authorities whom the author has consulted.

This work is the latest of the series on "The History of Civilization," and if the other authors have covered their ground in as able and instructive a manner as M. Granet has done, the general editor, M. Henri Berr, can feel every satisfaction that he is contributing a valuable series to the world's knowledge. M. Berr prefaces this work by a laudatory introduction, evidently the result of a close study of its contents. G. D. G.

THE SPIRIT OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. By Arthur N. Holcomb, Professor of Government, Harvard University. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. vi+185. London: A. Knopf, Ltd. 7s. 6d.

This little book, which consists of a series of lectures delivered at Boston early in 1930 under the auspices of the Lowell Institute, can be strongly recommended both to the serious student of Chinese affairs, who may have lost himself in the maze of conflicting and often contradictory reports of the situation in China today, and to the "man in the street," who still awaits a reply to his oft-repeated enquiry: "What are all these Chinese generals with the unpronounceable names fighting about, and when are they going to stop?" To the former it presents a concise and lucid summary of the principal events in the long-drawn-out Chinese Revolution, together with graphic pen pictures of some of the leading actors who have held the stage during the past twenty years; and to the latter, while it does not, for reasons which the writer makes abundantly clear, give a complete and satisfying reply, it explains at any rate why it is that the Chinese people, who in 1911 rose up and overthrew an effete and corrupt Manchu Government, find themselves today, two decades later, still without a stable government, a prey to the selfish ambitions of warring militarists, and with the commercial and industrial development of their country at a standstill for lack of those elementary safeguards to life and property which it is the first and essential duty of every civilized government to supply.

To a by no means easy task the writer has brought two great advantages. Seated in his chair in a university study and surrounded by his books of references—which it is evident he has most carefully perused—he has been able to take a long and unbiassed view of events occurring in "a country strange and far"; at the same time he has been able to supplement the more or less theoretical knowledge thus acquired by personal contact with many of the men whose careers and policies he has sketched during a recent visit to China. He has thus avoided, on the one hand, the Scylla of the man who forms his opinion of the situation in China on theories, for the most part advanced by the Chinese themselves, which bear little or no relation to actual facts, and the man, often somewhat unfairly and inaccurately dubbed a "die-hard," who after long residence in the country is so steeped in facts that he cannot appreciate their true significance.

Professor Holcomb's book, which may be read without undue effort at a winter evening's sitting, is conveniently divided into six chapters, each dealing with one of the outstanding factors which helped to bring about, or influenced, or, one may perhaps say, hindered, the progress of the Chinese Revolution—such as the spirit of Democracy, Bolshevism, Militarism, Christianity, etc.—and at the head of each chapter he has placed the name of some leading figure in the Chinese revolutionary movement—Dr. Sun Yat Sen, Generals Chiang Kai Shek and Feng Yu hsiang, Borodin, T. V. Soong, and C. T. Wang. The

life and work of the "Father of the Revolution" appropriately runs, like the theme of an opera, through all the chapters of the book, and if some readers may find it difficult to agree with the high estimate which Professor Holcomb forms of the actions and writings of the statesman, there will be few who will cavil at his sympathetic appreciation of the great qualities and sincere patriotism of the man.

The appearance of the name of General Feng Yu hsiang at the head of the chapter devoted to the spirit of Christianity will come as a shock to those who have come in contact with that weird and devastating personality, or who have had personal experience of his attempts "to improve the conditions of the people" in the areas under his control. However, the Professor gives sufficiently adequate reasons for the selection, though it is possible that in the light of recent events he may find it necessary to revise his estimate of the services rendered to his country by the "Christian General."

Again, the connection of Dr. C. T. Wang, that skilful diplomat and man of the world, with the spirit of science, is not at once apparent. Of Dr. Wang, who is in many ways a typical and not unworthy product of the Revolution, one would gladly have heard more, as his remarkably able handling of the foreign relations of China at Nanking must have gone far to maintain the prestige of the Nanking Government in the eyes of the country at a time when they were faced on all sides with hostile forces bent on their overthrow. His successful and simultaneous negotiation of some six different treaties with the representatives of the Powers at Nanking in December, 1923, was a *tour de force* which can hardly, one would think, have ever been equalled in the annals of diplomacy. Of the influence of foreign Powers, more particularly Japan, Great Britain and the United States, on the origin and development of the Revolution the writer has very little to say, the foreign relations of the Nanking Government being, as he explains, outside the orbit of his review, but one may hope that on some future occasion he may be able to supplement his present study with a review of China's relations with foreign Powers during the revolutionary period, a task of admitted difficulty and delicacy for which a writer of Professor Holcomb's breadth of view and knowledge of foreign affairs would appear to be peculiarly fitted.

In Chapter I. the author gives an interesting account of the beginnings of the Chinese Revolution; he describes the successive stages of Dr. Sun's revolutionary programme, and he explains how it has come about that a reformer who spent the best part of his life in exile, and did not live to see the unification of the country which he so ardently desired, has now become the national hero of China, and, as those who attended his funeral at Nanking in June, 1929, can testify, an object of almost divine worship to the Chinese people.

Chapter II. describes how the Russian Soviet, through the agency of that remarkable man Borodin, nearly succeeded in turning China into a Soviet Republic, and how they failed because the extremist Bolshevik elements unwisely attempted to interfere with the daily life of the Chinese people by means of workers' and peasants' unions. Incidentally, the writer's remark on p. 57, that the signing of the Hankow Agreement in February, 1927, "was the greatest diplomatic victory yet won by the revolutionists," will fall strangely on the ears of the British Foreign Office.

In Chapter III. there is a well-balanced appreciation of foreign missionary work in China, and an explanation of what has appeared to many the unaccountable anti-religious movement of 1927, which the writer, no doubt correctly, ascribes in the main to Communist propaganda.

In Chapter IV. the writer has some interesting observations on Chinese militarism, in regard to which he is obliged to admit (p. 122) that "there seems to be no ready and easy way of changing the personnel of the Nationalist Government except by fighting, and, until the supremacy of the civil authorities over the military can be definitely established, politics will continue to be distinguished with difficulty from civil war."

Chapter V. is devoted to a discussion of that interesting question which has puzzled so many observers—namely, the apparent inability of the Chinese business man and capitalist, who is, after all, the backbone of the country, to make use of his control over the purse-strings to put a stop once and for all to the senseless, and, for the country, ruinous campaigns of Chinese war lords, against which Mr. T. V. Soong's valiant efforts to reorganize the finances of the country and meet its foreign obligations have made little or no headway, though they have been an earnest of what the Chinese Government is prepared to do once it becomes a free agent.

In Chapter VI. will be found some pertinent observations on the influence which the spirit of modern science, when given full scope by the Chinese as it was some years ago by their Japanese neighbours, is likely to have on the future development of the country. At the end of this chapter the writer sums up the result of his enquiry by the following remarks, which would appear, so far as it is possible for a Western observer to grasp the true inwardness of what is happening in an Eastern country, to place the political situation in China today in a nutshell:

"It is idle to expect that the present dictatorship of the revolutionary leaders will give way to a constitutional government in the near future. But the present Nationalist Government is the result of forces which will not cease to operate whatever may be the fate of the present leaders at Nanking. If they prove unequal to their task, other leaders will take their places, and the reconstruction of China will continue. At times, reconstruction will doubtless proceed so slowly that observers will be unable to see that any headway is being made. Nevertheless, it is likely to continue in the direction defined by the character of the Chinese Revolution heretofore. . . . It does not seem possible that the regeneration of China by the methods Dr. Sun taught his followers can be prevented unless exposure of the Chinese to the science of the West can be stopped and the memory of their own political tradition be blotted out. This can be predicted with confidence, since the Nationalist programme, as formulated by Dr. Sun and now understood by his followers, is essentially a reconciliation of the modern political science of the West with the ancient political art of the Far East."

In concluding this very inadequate review of a most interesting and timely work, the reviewer is reluctantly compelled to draw attention to one instance in which Professor Holcomb, very possibly quite unintentionally, has departed from that attitude of scrupulous impartiality which he has adopted in his account of recent events in China in which foreigners were concerned. On page 39 of the chapter on Bolshevism reference is made to the Shanghai "massacre," and the same word is used three times in one paragraph on page 41. Surely the word "massacre," which is generally and rightly applied to some of the most infamous slaughters of innocent people in the world's history, is hardly suited to what happened on that Shanghai May morning of 1925, when a handful of British and Indian police, hemmed in on all sides by a mob of several thousand Chinese, largely composed, it is true, of young and irresponsible students, but reinforced by Communist agitators and the riffraff of an international seaport, bent on loot and murder if need be, fired, after

long and great provocation, a volley into the crowd, and thereby prevented them from rushing the police station known to contain an armoury of rifles . . . a tragedy if you will, but hardly a massacre. The use of the term by the writer in this connection is all the more surprising, because on page 85 he refers to the killing and wounding of a number of law-abiding foreign men, women, and children by the Nationalist forces at Nanking, a deliberate and carefully organized attack on foreign lives and property, which was only stopped by the timely intervention of British and American naval forces, as an "incident in regard to which there has been much controversy." One cannot help thinking that the words "massacre" and "incident," used in describing these events, might well have been transposed.

H. F.

THE CHANGING FABRIC OF JAPAN. By Captain M. D. Kennedy. 9x5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. vii+282. Constable. 1930. 16s.

Captain Kennedy has written a noteworthy book in "The Changing Fabric of Japan." All students of things Japanese, and of Far Eastern problems, should read the book, but I would particularly recommend it to those who knew Japan ten or twenty years ago and who think that the Japan of today is the Japan of, say, 1920. It most emphatically is not, and Captain Kennedy traces with meticulous care the various forces at work which strain, or strengthen, the fabric of Japan.

For the comfort, peace, and happiness of a people change should come gradually, but Japan is changing in a remarkably, and perhaps even uncomfortably, rapid way. The charm of old Japan is disappearing from the cities, though still to be found in the country districts.

It is a little startling in these days when Britain is always being accused of devoting too much attention to sport and athletics, to read the whole-hearted advocacy of Japan's programme of greater attention to the sporting and athletic side of life. The effect certainly seems to have been an opening and expanding one. In the old days most of the pleasures of Japanese life were taken under a roof, but now the increased sporting activities demand a more open-air enjoyment of life by a steadily increasing number of people. In 1928 I travelled across Siberia with a train-load of Japanese going to watch the Olympic Games—a long journey, but illustrative of the keenness of Japanese supporters of the athletic ideal.

Captain Kennedy's reflections on the possible manufacturing of a religion for Japan are arresting. Religion, which the Russians are fond of referring to as the "opium of the people," is undoubtedly a very genuine solace and comfort to many. A religion which leads a man to the path of decent citizenship is surely of more value than a political belief which leads him into the way of upsetting and destroying whatever order of things there be. A combination of the ideals of Christianity and Buddhism might well prove to be the religion most suited to Japan's needs.

The constitution of their House of Peers seems to afford an instance of how an Upper House should be constructed, and with the genius the Japanese show for adaptation a suitable religion might well be built up. If I appear to contradict myself later on I would stress the fact that whereas the Japanese are skilful at *adapting*, they are not *adaptable*.

The chief lack in the book is, to my idea, any reference to one of Japan's greatest problems, that of emigration and colonization. I have seen a good deal of their effort in Manchuria, and Captain Kennedy might well have given us a chapter on this. Perhaps in a later edition he will repair the omission.

My experience of the Japanese colonist is that he is lacking in adaptability. In Dairen, for instance, the Japanese say they cannot eat the locally caught fish. As they are largely fish-eaters their food has to be brought from Japan at considerable expense. The good colonist would make up his mind to eat the fish caught in local waters.

Captain Kennedy's style is fluid and readable, but he will forgive me if I say that a word like "uniqueness" is an invention of the devil who compiles dictionaries. On page 154 the compositor has entirely altered the sense of a paragraph by using the word "re-inforced" instead of "re-enforced."

H. ST. CLAIRE SMALLWOOD.

TURKEY: YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW. By Sir Telford Waugh. 9" x 5½". Pp. xii + 305. Maps and illustrations. Chapman and Hall. 18s. net.

In this book the author, who came to Constantinople in 1885 as a student interpreter in the Levant Consular Service, gives an account of what he has seen and heard of Turkish affairs from that date until he left the country for good on his retirement from the post of British Consul-General at Constantinople in 1929.

Forty-four years form a very long period of service for a public official, and as the author, with occasional brief interludes in the provinces as a young man, passed his career in the capital, he was in an excellent position to watch events; and avoiding, as he has done, the pitfall into which most writers on Turkey stumble—viz., to take sides either with the Turks themselves or with one or other of their subject races—an exceptional value may be attached to his narrative.

It covers an eventful period and many vicissitudes. In the early days Great Britain still clung to her traditional policy of bolstering up the decrepit Ottoman Empire, and the task of our representatives was mainly, by constant persuasion and admonishment, to induce Sultan Abdul Hamid to confine his misrule within tolerable limits, to avoid affording pretexts for foreign intervention, and to allow his Christian subjects to drag out their miserable existence without active molestation.

No one out of the series of ambassadors in Sir T. Waugh's experience appears to have met with marked success. Sir William White is stated to have had more personal influence over Abdul Hamid than any other. The Sultan used to speak of him kindly as Daddy White, "and sometimes followed his advice."

Sir Philip Currie came to Constantinople in 1894 full of enthusiasm, and determined to deal effectively with the matter of Armenian reform, but, as Sir T. Waugh observes, remonstrances and even threats without force behind them were of no avail; and, with other Powers giving little or no support and Russia actively hostile, even his energy broke itself against the bland obstinacy of the Sultan, and after four years of it Sir Philip retired worsted to the Embassy at Rome.

Many thousands of Armenians were massacred by the Sultan's orders in the provinces and in Constantinople itself, and although a handful of foolish and irresponsible agitators undoubtedly afforded some provocation, the mass of the victims were entirely guiltless.

Not the least interesting part of Sir Telford Waugh's reminiscences deals with the working of the Capitulations in Turkey.

As legal dragoman to the Embassy from 1901 till the outbreak of war

it fell to him to see that justice was done to British subjects who had the misfortune to engage in litigation before the Turkish courts. By virtue of the Capitulations their interests were to be protected by the presence of a dragoman with a voice in the decision, and, in commercial cases, by the participation of two British assessors. On the whole, he speaks well of the Constantinople tribunals, though the codes they administered were often in conflict, and the judges themselves insufficiently acquainted with them. "The best Turkish judges had a strong sense of natural justice, to which one could always appeal."

Abdul Hamid had successfully defied foreign Powers for years, but he collapsed the moment his own subjects rose against him, and in July, 1908, he was reduced to the position of a constitutional sovereign when a conspiracy engineered by the Young Turk party broke out at Salonica and carried the 3rd Army Corps with it.

The old constitution of 1876 was revived; Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and Justice were proclaimed as the watchwords of the new régime, but were not put into practice; Moslems and Christians were to live like brothers, and did so for a month or two.

In April of the next year, after an abortive reactionary outbreak in the capital, which the author witnessed from unpleasantly close quarters, Abdul Hamid definitely lost his throne, and his brother Reshad Effendi (Mohammed V.) reigned as a puppet sovereign in his stead. The real power remained in the hands of the Committee of Union and Progress, which had engineered the revolution, until the Armistice in 1918.

Most of the leaders of the C.U.P. ultimately died violent deaths. Mahmoud Shefket Pasha, who led the Salonica army to Constantinople, was assassinated in 1913. Enver was killed fighting in Bokhara against Bolsheviks in 1921. An Armenian got Talaat in Berlin the same year, and Mustafa Kemal hanged Javid and Dr. Nazim at Angora four years ago.

Our relations with the Young Turks, who at first showed themselves eager for British help and sympathy, remain something of a mystery. Sir T. Waugh skates rather gingerly over the thin ice in this matter. A new Ambassador was sent out and welcomed with effusion, but in a short time rifts appeared within the lute and gradually the eyes of the ruling clique turned to Germany as their friend, that Germany whose budding interest in Turkey twenty years before it had been the policy of Lord Salisbury to encourage as a counterpoise to Russian influence!

If the reforms projected by the Young Turks advanced little beyond the paper stage, it must be admitted that they were never given much of a chance. In addition to internal dissensions, the Italians without the slightest provocation occupied Tripoli in 1911, and Turkey was at war with Italy. Then, just over a year later, she had to make a hurried peace with Italy in order to face in Europe the onslaught of Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece.

Turkish armies were beaten all along the line, and by the time that peace was finally made in 1913 the whole of Turkey in Europe was lost except the corner of Thrace from Adrianople to the Straits.

By the time the Great War broke out German influence was paramount at Constantinople, Enver Pasha, the C.U.P. Minister of War, was their creature, many of the Turkish military men had received their education in Germany and were convinced that Germany would win, and it was practically certain that Turkey would join her more particularly in view of the fact that Russia, the traditional enemy, was on the other side.

Sir T. Waugh remained in Constantinople after the declaration of war

under the orders of Mr. Morgenthau, the United States Ambassador, who was in charge of British interests, but in January, 1915, he fell under suspicion of sending out information, and the Turkish Government insisted on his leaving.

The Armistice with Turkey was signed on October 30, 1918, and by November 10 he was back in Constantinople.

The story of the muddling of the next four or five years is not an edifying one. The Allies, waiting for a whole year for America to take up her share of the white man's burden, and with what were considered more important matters to settle first, postponed the solution of the Turkish question and gave time for Turkish national feeling to be focussed in eastern provinces of Anatolia under Mustafa Kemal Pasha, an able general who had taken a brilliant share in our repulse at the Dardanelles. The blunder of encouraging the Greek adventure in Asia Minor (the author truly observes that Greeks are no more fit to govern Turks than Turks are fit to govern Greeks) was an outrage to Turkish national sentiment, which tended to consolidate public opinion still more; and although the allied terms, vindictive in their severity, when at last formulated in the Treaty of Sèvres, were swallowed reluctantly by the *de jure* government at Constantinople, they were at once repudiated with energy by the *de facto* government in Angora.

Mustafa Kemal went on from strength to strength. He turned the French troops out of Cilicia; he massacred thousands of Armenians behind them; after at first suffering serious reverses he finally drove the Greek army into the sea and burned Smyrna; and he seriously threatened the position of our troops in and around Constantinople.

The game was up. Left in the lurch by her allies and neither able nor willing to engage alone in a fresh Turkish war, the British Government perforce adopted the philosophical attitude of the immortal Dogberry towards a vagrom man refusing to stand when bidden by the police: "Why then, take no note of him, but let him go, and presently call the rest of the watch together, and thank God you are rid of a knave."

The rest of the watch was duly called together at Lausanne and the treaty of that ilk signed in July, 1923. The Turks obtained practically all that they asked except Mosul; even Adrianople, which the Greeks had occupied about the same time as Smyrna, was restored to them.

It is easy to gather from Sir T. Waugh's comments how galling was so lame and impotent a conclusion to the British officials on the spot: but having the merit of comparative finality, the Lausanne Treaty is at least in this respect superior to that of Sèvres with its national home for Armenians carved out of the eastern Vilayets, its mandate for the Greeks over Smyrna and its hinterland in the West, with the Turks squeezed in between them, and the placing of the Straits under international control—all of which provisions were fraught with future complications and difficulties.

Ghazi Mustafa Kemal's account of his own doings may be read in the colossal speech he delivered to the Grand National Assembly at Angora in 1927, a précis of which is inserted in the book under review. The Ghazi has certainly shown himself to be a strong man, but he is not of the strong silent variety, for the speech took six whole days to deliver.

Under the heading of "Tomorrow" the author sums up the present position of the Turkish republic in an admirable chapter which everyone interested in the future of Turkey should study.

He considers that the Ghazi's authority is firmly established. He is the man best qualified to guide the destinies of the country, and with the army well in hand there seems no likelihood of any serious challenge to his position.

One hopeful sign is that the abolition of the Capitulations, the Magna Charta for foreigners, has not brought the evil consequences which were feared. "During the six years subsequent to the Treaty of Lausanne," writes Sir T. Waugh—and as British Consul-General in Constantinople no one was in a better position to judge—"I recall only two complaints of abuse of authority by the police."

On the other hand, the activities of the new régime have hitherto been mainly destructive. The Sultanate, the Khalifate, the fez, the Capitulations, the influence of the Clergy have all been done away with, but it has yet to show itself capable of good constructive work.

This is particularly noticeable in the economic field, where indiscriminate ardour to reserve all profitable enterprise in Turkey for the Turks so harasses foreign commerce in every possible way that foreign establishments are continually closing down, and the country is being rapidly impoverished of the capital so urgently required for its development, which the Turks are no more able to supply themselves than the experience and ability necessary for successful trading. The once flourishing commercial port of Constantinople is nearly ruined, and with agriculture not receiving the support and encouragement it merits as the staple industry of the land, there is "no rift in the black cloud of commercial depression which has settled on the country."

A. C. W.

TURKEY IN THE WORLD WAR. By Ahmed Emin, Ph.D. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xviii+310. Yale University Press. Price \$3.25. Oxford University Press. Price 15s.

This volume is one in a series published for *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*.

The whole survey, it is stated, will consist of some two hundred volumes published in an assortment of languages—English, French, German, Scandinavian, and Japanese. The object is to describe and consider the effects of the War on civilization. The general editor claims that this has never been attempted in connection with previous wars—a contention which indeed is open to argument. Nevertheless, the magnitude of the task is fully apparent, its usefulness to the present generation not so completely obvious, whilst its value to posterity, judging from the work before us, has definite limits.

It has been said that nothing should be entered in a war diary unless the information is likely to be of value twenty years afterwards. If that were in any degree true, the reviewer might in his notice of Dr. Emin's book find material for legitimate criticism.

We must recall that the *Division of Economics and History of The Carnegie Endowment* realized as early as in the autumn of 1914 that its programme would need modification, and it was thereupon decided to set to work to measure the economic cost of the War. But during the progress of the War nothing of value, of course, could be done, so the whole plan had to be postponed.

Again, one of the principal difficulties the general editor has had to face has been obtaining confirmatory and documentary evidence of important and relevant facts. To some extent he and his collaborators have been obliged to fall back upon the memoirs and papers of Important Persons. But we lesser observers, who may be more cynical in regard to public affairs, do not invariably see a direct ratio existing between Important Persons and Veracity, or even, alternatively, between Them and Statesmanship. It might be almost equally true to say that a ratio, not always an inverse one, may actually be

discerned at times between Important Persons and Opportunism. Such reflections must necessarily arise, when it is found that reliance has had to be placed on monographic sources of information and subsequent deduction on the part of the historian. In the case in point, however, we are saved to a great extent by the perspicuity, acumen, and knowledge of affairs of the general editor, whose reference to "picking cotton" whilst engaged in disentangling historical threads is most apt.

Again, so far as it were possible to find one of Turkish nationality qualified by training and possessed of that necessary *evanimitas*, no better choice than that of Dr. Ahmed Emin could have been made by *The Trust*. He has relied on an extensive bibliography, the list of which alone is guarantee of his range of research. As regards the Turkish daily papers, which he looks upon as offering the chief material for his investigation into the social results of the War, a certain feeling of scepticism arises. Your reviewer was so fortunate at one time, during a period when it was either unsafe or unremunerative or both to attempt to run a Turkish paper of any shade of opinion, as to obtain the services of an idle editor as a teacher of the Turkish language. In the course of hours and hours of conversation with this very active-minded gentleman the whole field of politics, religion, economics, and literature was surveyed and argued over. But the impression gathered from these chatty hours was that the editorial mind was as the mind of one in the first stage of alcoholic stimulation, in which, although the range of thought is vastly widened, it has become in no measure deepened. Had the editorial opinions been allowed to appear in print they could not have been regarded as in any degree more digested than those, say, of his Arab confrère writing in the vernacular Press during the troubled days of Lord Balfour's visit to Syria. And it would be an imaginative man who would be entitled to say that his views were a guide to the social conditions of his day. For the rest of it, the editor of this volume was a war correspondent, though he does not tell us upon which front he served. Later, naturally, he got himself exiled to Malta, where he had an opportunity of getting in touch with some of those who had been behind the scenes during the War.

We have thus examined the object of this survey. The editor regards the considerations affecting the object as falling into two main groups. There is naturally the antecedent history of the country, which he dismisses in a matter of forty pages, and there is the story of Turkey and her struggles during the actual period of the War, a section which occupies some 200 pages of the book. The after-effects of the War take up 20 pages, and then there are tables filling about 15 pages. One cannot be overpleased with the historical section. To all students of affairs in the Near East the conventional history of Turkey in recent times is well known, so that forty pages is too long for a *résumé* and not long enough for a full-dress affair. Conditions in Yemen, for example, are lightly touched on, only to afford an instance of a military exaggeration. "Yemen," says the author, "was held to be the graveyard of two millions of Anatolian soldiers." The military strength in Yemen never exceeded 40,000 men, and operations there lasted in all about forty years. Had the casualty rate been 100 per cent. per annum, the true loss would still have been handsomely under the figure given. The casualty rate, of course, was nothing like 100 per cent.

An analysis of the factors leading to Turkey throwing in her lot with the Central Powers on the outbreak of war does not serve to throw very much fresh light on the lack of statecraft characterizing the Young Turk of 1914. Dr. Emin's view is that Turkey was "tricked into war," the Entente being

"guiltily and fatalistically inactive," whatever that may mean. He rightly places the whole blame on Enver, with Talaat running a bad second. But for Dr. Emin to try and persuade us that Enver was principally activated by Pan-Islamic dreams is not only anticipating the Khalifate movement, but is, it is submitted, a hopeless task. Turkey went into the War with her eyes wide open, but with her mind dulled and stupefied by Teutonic propaganda, and with her leaders smothered by pressure from their German friends. Enver and dreams of Pan-Islam, dreams of Pan-Turanism—nonsense! Dreams of aggrandisement, dreams of personal glory for her leaders; ambition, yes. Trickery, no!

"... The Germans were marching on Paris. The War might end in a few weeks. Turkey would lose the opportunity of strangling Russia by keeping the Straits closed. She would also fail to take advantage of the great advantage of sitting at the peace table side by side with the victors. The extremists refused to think of the possibility of a German defeat and believed dogmatically in the final success of Germany."

And then suddenly on October 28 a German Admiral in Turkish employ attacked the Russian Fleet and bombarded Russian harbours. In that premature act he sealed the fate of his Turkish masters. So Turkey entered the War, lost it, and possibly in so doing has found her soul.

It was not, however, until August 22, 1926, that *The Angora Tribunal of Independence* discovered this whilst indicting those it held to be guilty of war offences. There is no word in this book of any of those miscreants who were in any way responsible for the doing to death of those of our people taken prisoner at Kut, despite the Tribunal and its futile findings.

In subsequent chapters there is to be found an analysis of Turkish resources, material and moral, this forming a section which may prove of some small use to the student in the future. A discussion of the economic problems facing the Government at the outset proves more interesting. The monetary and the food questions had to be settled. The marvel is that "Black" Kemal's system, with himself as Food Dictator, worked at all, much less as well as it is said to have done. A comparative table of prices and wages for the years 1915-18 is given, with Swiss francs as the comparator. As the book is in English, it would have been of greater value had sterling or the dollar been preferred in this respect.

As in other countries affected by the War, and as all history shows, reforms, administrative as well as social, followed the course of the war years. Turkey proved to be no exception to this generality. The country saw a growing freedom, and religious fanaticism lost a power it may never regain. The emancipation of women was an enormous step forward, but was bound to come in a war of the character in which Turkey found herself engaged. Even the fine arts, we are told, were encouraged to a considerable extent.

Chapter XV. deals with the Holy War which was proclaimed on November 23, 1914. This is of definite interest to us Britishers. The proclamation of the date quoted heaped the sins of some of the Balkan peoples on to their Latin and Anglo-Saxon allies. The appeal failed. Even the Anatolian agriculturalist could make out the Teutonic hand guiding the pen that wrote the *Fetha*.

With an empire like that of Turkey in 1914, not only were there enemies without the gates, but those within were an ever-constant source of danger. The Turk had no idea whatever as to how to deal with such a situation. His available population was made up to an appreciable extent of men of alien races and of alien origin. No Turkish statesman of importance took the long

view. Armenians must be deported or massacred—synonymous terms; Kurds were to be enlisted or repressed; Jews and Greeks, being of small military value, were found to be a financial strength and were alienated in the process. We make no attempt to disguise the fact that the Armenians were not disposed to take things lying down, like the Persians in the days of Hulagu.

There remains one more chapter to which we must call attention—that on the emancipation of women. It is interesting in this respect, for it shows that not for the first time in history had women a man-leader in their struggle for economic and social freedom. Zia Goek Alp (a fine Turki name) was the leader whom Turkish women of today have to thank for many advantages that have come to them during and after the War. *The Society for Finding Employment for Women* not only gave free lunches to its needy members, but, what is more original, found husbands for them, and if there proved a need a trousseau accompanied the lady.

Some small quibbles arise in conclusion. There is no index. There is no map of the Turkish Dominions. Although statistical tables are brought down to 1927, the information contained in the appendix tables is, in some instances, unnecessary, and forms "padding." For instance, "horse-power" in 1927, referring to mechanical transport, is given as 163,548. In 1930, does it matter if we did not know that? We are not told if there is a horse-power tax in Turkey.

D. S.

ARABIAN PEAK AND DESERT. By Ameen Rihani. 9x6. Pp. 280. Illustrations. Constable. 1930. 15s.

Mr. Ameen Rihani is a poet—he tells us so himself. He is, besides, obviously well versed in Arabic, and conversant to a certain extent with pan-Arabian politics. It cannot be believed, however, that he went to Al-Yaman purely because he thought that the Imam of Sana was poetically inclined, or because he hoped to find poetic inspiration there. Although he appears to scoff at the measures taken for his safety by the British authorities at Aden, he appears at the same time to have taken what steps he himself could take to ensure that safety. A Syrian by race and a Christian by religion, is it possible that he concealed, so far as he could, at least the latter attribute while in the fanatical land of Arabia Felix? When one has completed reading his book one is left still in the dark as to the object of Mr. Ameen Rihani's visit, and consequently as to the object of the volume which records his travels. In the course of his book he himself, in detailing a conversation with the Shaikh of Walan, said that he was visiting a country to see it and to write a book about it. The object is harmless, but one may legitimately consider whether such an object would make the tour worth while for an American of Syrian extraction—and a poet. One wonders whether commercial prospects were not mixed up in some way with the tour of Mr. Ameen Rihani and his companion.

The account of the journey is on the whole interesting, and especially when the very real difficulties and dangers of travel in the south-eastern corner of Arabia are understood. The account of the people of Yaman, though to a certain extent superficial, certainly adds to our knowledge of a little known country, but after reading the book one could have wished either that the author had met Playfair or Wyman Bury, or that his descriptions and conclusions could have been submitted to one of those two authorities for criticism. Mr. Ameen Rihani does not give the Jews of Yaman that mead of recognition which, by reason of his sojourn among them, he might well have done. The author has glossed over a good deal that is unsavoury or un-

pleasant, and "Arabian Peak and Desert" leaves the reader without a very concise idea either of the Zaidi Imam or his people. Let me, however, quote a passage from page 109, which runs as follows :

"I am not exaggerating, therefore, when I say that a permanent state of war, with short intervals of peace, is the prevailing condition in Al-Yaman. It was an open field always for one Saiful-Islam (Sword of Al-Islam) or other during the Turkish régime.

"The needs of life are three, my lad—
Water, food, and the Jihad."

Here we have the poet and the observer in one. We could have told him before he went to Sana of the truth of the observation, but we would never have dared to have rhymed "my lad" with "Jihad." We have long known that the Imam covets Aden, basing a claim to the place on the grounds that it was formerly possessed by his ancestors. Mr. Ameen Rihani does not apparently know the other side to the case, or else it does not interest him. He appears to share the Imam's view that the English are the villains of the whole story. But then Mr. Ameen Rihani's historical faculty does not appear to be very strongly developed. It is refreshing, but at the same time disconcerting, on page 100 to find attributed to George Washington the famous tag of our schoolboys (and, alas, afterwards), "Si vis pacem para bellum," and the author probably does not know the condition of Aden as we found it in 1838. Neither does he know that but for the presence of the English in Aden his life as a traveller in Arabia Felix would not probably have been worth five minutes' purchase.

"Arabian Peak and Desert" is not without interest, but it does not make a serious contribution to our really scanty knowledge of the territory ruled by the fanatical Imam Yahya. Mr. Ameen Rihani tells us that the coffee in Yaman is good. That is already known. Had he told us how the vines are cultivated he would have given us information not so well known. Is it possible that the poet was interested in the commercial possibilities of the Yaman coffee?

The book suffers from having no index, and although published in 1930, it purports to record the doings of 1922. Why this long delay of eight years before the story is given to the world? So much has happened since 1922!

H. WILBERFORCE-BELL.

THE LANDS OF THE EASTERN CALIPHATE. Mesopotamia, Persia and Central Asia, from the Moslem Conquest to the time of Timur. By Guy Le Strange. First Edition, 1905. Reprinted, 1930. 8" x 5½". Pp. xx + 536. Maps. Cambridge: University Press. 21s.

This new impression of Mr. Le Strange's invaluable guide to the historical geography of the Abbasid dominions (without Arabia) is to be warmly welcomed.

From the considerable, if uneven, supply of information flowing from Arab, Persian, and Turkish sources the author has contrived to strain off material enough to recreate the physical structure of the wide-flung provinces of the Eastern Caliphate at as many different stages of their existence as that material allows. After an introductory sketch of the provincial boundaries and the imperial road-system, the provinces are considered in turn, the physical characteristics of each described, the position of its principal towns fixed, and an outline given of the vicissitudes through which it passed. The relationship of each town to its own province and to the empire as a whole

becomes manifest, and many important notes on communications and trade, as well as on place-names, are included in each chapter.

All is made clear by a number of simple maps or, rather, charts, for, as the author is careful to indicate, two towns shown on the same chart were not necessarily contemporaneous; each chart carries the region to which it relates through centuries of flux and change. An index running to 45 pages enables the reader to lay his finger, as it were, on any point within the regions under consideration at any period with which the Moslem sources deal.

Naturally Iraq (as then constituted) takes pride of place in the quantity of information available over a long period. Asia Minor (Rum) was little known to the earlier Arab geographers, for whom it existed only as a Roman province, nor has much information concerning it come down from other sources. Khurasan, on the other hand, received considerable notice at the hands of Moslem geographers, and offers proportionately less resistance to the historian. Much or little, the available information on each of the two dozen provinces of the Caliphate is caught and sifted in the wide net of Mr. Le Strange's erudition, and moulded into definite shape under his practised hand.

This second impression differs to the extent of only two pages of minor emendations from the first impression—published five-and-twenty years ago—of a work which the author introduced both as the complement of his "Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphate," and as a further contribution to the geographical record begun by him in "Palestine under the Moslems." Authorities are given throughout in the footnotes. (By the way, an obvious slip—"western" for "eastern"—in line 10 of the footnote to p. 29 remains uncorrected.)

It should be added that the "charts" are so managed as to be readily consulted when required, without distress to the reader or damage to themselves.

E. D.

THE PIRATE WIND. By Owen Rutter. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xvii+292. London: Hutchinson. 1930. 12s. 6d.

This book gives an account of the rise and suppression of the Malay pirates in the years 1830-1860.

Mr. Rutter has consulted many authorities, gives chapter and verse for his statements, and on this framework has built a narrative of continuing interest.

The suppression of the pirates was done in part by force and in part by the influence of that great character, Rajah Brooke.

The iron hand came first; pirate fleets were defeated and strongholds burned.

It is wonderful to read of what the men of those days did in pulling boats and under tropical heat. Whole pirate flotillas were joyously taken on by single gigs and cutters. Boats from ships pulled up rivers, destroyed booms, and captured forts.

There were compensations, and naval officers will read—with envy—of the "Account Rendered" on p. 252:

"D^r to the Comm^d Officers and Men of *Albatross*, *Royalist*, and *Nemesis* for services rendered on the night of 31st July, 1849:

For 500 men killed—at £20	...	...	...	£10,000
For 2,149 men not killed—or taken—at £5	...	...	...	£10,700

£20,700."

And they got it. Happy days !

But it was not for long ; they were just in time, for following this and a similar little bill put in by Sir E. Belcher for £10,000, the Act of 1825 [under which the award was made] was replaced by the Act of 1850, less accommodating.

Mention must also be made of the active part taken by ships of the Honourable Company.

The illustrations are good. There is a full list of authorities and chapter notes. One complaint only is made—that the excellent chart of the Archipelago is not mentioned in the list of plans, and one does not come on it till the last page is reached.

D. N.

OUTLAWS I HAVE KNOWN ; AND OTHER REMINISCENCES OF AN INDIAN JUDGE.

By Sir Theodore Piggott. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 310. Blackwood. 1930. 10s. 6d.

A most interesting book with every line exhibiting an intimate knowledge of many of the races that people the Great Indian Peninsula gained during long service there in a position that gave Sir Theodore Piggott special opportunities of closely studying those he came in contact with. But the title of the book is, however, somewhat disappointingly misleading, for only a small portion of it is devoted to outlaws. In fact, the reader is just, as it were, in the throes of following the daring adventures of the "Three Brothers" and wanting to hear more of the outlaws when the author turns to reminiscences of a different kind which, perhaps, will not hold the attention of the general reader so closely. But to those who know their India and to those whose future will take them there the chapter dealing with the religious differences of the Sunni and Shia Mahomedans should prove most interesting and instructive. Those of us who have witnessed the *Moharram* and its procession of *tazias* and watched the seething mass of people worked up into a frenzy, some by excessive religious zeal, others by madness come with dope, will be able to appreciate more fully some of the difficulties which face the officials responsible for the preservation of peace and order in India during the observance of this Mahomedan holy day. And what distressing reading is the account of the Chauri Chaura tragedy ! That unfortunate Sub-Inspector of Police, Gupteshwar Singh ! Who will not sympathize with him ? And what an unenviable position was his when, facing that mob, he had to decide in a few minutes the best thing to do. Ever before him was the fear that whatever he did he would be made the scapegoat. He knew the people he was dealing with ; he knew the lies that would flood the country-side and the outcry that would be raised ; and he knew, we are sorry to say, what to expect from those sitting in the high places of government. He and his small band of police were foully and cruelly butchered to death in the cause of duty. While appreciating the difficulties the authorities had at the time in singling out the guilty from that mob of three thousand which had rioted, butchered, and looted public and private property, yet we are inclined to think that the case might have been made easier if the fountain-head of all the trouble had been tapped and Mahatma Gandhi and his lieutenants jointly held criminally responsible for this bloody tragedy. We even go so far as to say that if this mad ascetic and his satellites had in the early stages been punished for their criminal folly, perhaps India would have been saved from the recent shocking events which have blackened her history. However, as far as Sir Theodore is concerned, he has placed before us with an impartial pen the whole account of what happened from start to finish at Chauri Chaura and

the judicial trial that followed thereon. It is for the public to draw its own conclusions and findings. We who know the East can form some idea of the task which Mr. C. E. W. Sands, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police of that Circle, had to tackle and the lies through which he must have had to wade before he could pick up sufficient grains of truth to warrant a prosecution of the guilty. The ordinary Indian takes to perjury like a duck to water. The oath as administered in our courts holds no fear for him, and when found out in one lie he unblushingly apologizes for his *bhul* (forgetfulness) and launches forth on another lying story. But we must be careful not to judge the Indian too harshly for this weakness, for, if we are to accept Mr. Justice McCardie's dictum about perjury in our English courts at the present time, we are living in a glass house and cannot afford to throw stones at others. The only way, undoubtedly, to get the truth out of some witnesses is to pursue Judge Jeffry tactics, which we notice Sir Theodore is inclined to favour in dealing with a certain class of persons. It might be added here that the whole chapter on the Judge of the "Bloody Assize" is worthy of careful reading.

Sir Theodore's book throughout is full of incidents which help to give us an insight into the Eastern mind, one so totally different from the Western. The Kachins have a saying to the effect that it is easy to detect crookedness in the bamboo, but crookedness in the mind of a man may not so easily be seen. How truly could the Rev. Stephen Pridmore endorse this pithy saying as regards that arch swindler and cheat, Parmatma Sahai, of whom the author tells us in the pages of his interesting book! How many missionaries, we wonder, as they read of this much abused and persecuted *brahman* gentleman (!), will be able to trace similar experiences amongst those who sought them in order that they might escape from their heathen darkness? So clever indeed was this Parmatma Sahai in his tactics that he very nearly escaped being caught in the net of the law as framed in the Indian Penal Code. This is only one of the incidents with which the author entertains us. What for real humour can beat the story of "Black Sammy alias Swarthy Samuel" or the "Suck it muttany chop." And then the incident of the British corporal and the truculent *thakurs*. Surely a little knowledge is a dangerous thing! There is no knowing what the consequences of this misunderstanding might have been if the corporal had not so praiseworthily kept his head. But we must not give away too much of this good book, which may be strongly recommended to those wanting to learn a little about India and those fond of interesting reminiscences.

J. T. O. B.

IMPERIAL AIR ROUTES. By Major A. E. W. Salt, M.A. 7½" x 5". Pp. xiii + 380. Maps. Murray. 6s.

Major Salt's book is of particular interest at this moment in view of the Imperial Conference which has just taken place. The importance of rapid inter-communication between units of the British Empire has been fully realized for many years, and it is becoming more and more apparent that aviation affords a means of providing this, both for mails and for passengers.

The past history of the various Imperial routes and the degree of progress which has been made up to the present time is exhaustively discussed in this volume, and useful maps of these routes have been included. There are three outstanding facts as far as the East is concerned: the first is that the route from Great Britain must necessarily pass over a great deal of Europe; the second, that Egypt becomes of increasing importance as the start of the all-red routes to the Cape and to Australia; and the third, that the development

of the flying boat is of immense importance to the British Empire, for by its means a route to Egypt may be found which does not pass over any foreign country. (The longest distance which has to be traversed—namely, between the British Isles and Gibraltar—is already within the compass of the most modern boats.)

The author rightly lays considerable stress on the necessity of laying out the routes for night flying whenever the ground is suitable, and it may be pointed out that much of the country in the Middle East and India is ideal for this purpose. It seems inevitable that the type of aircraft used for mail services and for passenger carrying will become different in the future; while multi-engined craft will be essential for passenger work, a fast, single-engined machine seems more suitable for mail carrying.

It is quite apparent that for a long time to come direct or veiled subsidies will be necessary to enable passenger or mail routes to be operated. Mr. Winston Churchill's dictum "Civil aviation must fly by itself" is, and must be for many years at any rate, merely a pious hope. A system of rapid communications is the life-blood of the Empire. Is it too much to hope that increasing funds may be found for the purpose of building up such a system?

It is to be regretted that a number of inaccuracies detract from the historical value of Major Salt's interesting book, and it is to be hoped that these may be corrected in the next edition.

J. F. A. H.

JOHN LORD MONTAGU OF BEAULIEU: A MEMOIR. By Lady Troubridge and A. Marshall. 9×6. Pp. xiv+318. Illustrations. Macmillan and Co. 21s.

Lord Montagu was a member of the Central Asian Society and gave us a lecture on the North-West Frontier of India in 1924. He was born to great possessions; but in addition to leading the life of a wealthy country gentleman, he became intensely interested in engines of all kinds. Starting with a training in railway workshops, he developed into an enthusiastic motorist. It is in this capacity that his career in the East became important. He was appointed Inspector of Mechanical Transport in India in April 1915, and held the post for four and a half years. It is generally considered that he did a great deal for the Mechanical Transport Services in India, and that he had a hard struggle with finance and other difficulties. It was fortunate for India that Lord Montagu was able to push matters in a way that an ordinary officer could not have done.

Lord Montagu was a very popular man, a keen shikari and aviator.

It is a pity that his Life should have been written with such snobbery. There is a treacly flavour about it that is very nauseating.

H. S.

HISTORY OF PERSIA. By Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G. Third edition. 9½×6½". Vol. I, pp. xxix+563; illustrations, maps. Vol. II, pp. xx+616; illustrations, maps. Macmillan and Company. Two vols. £2 2s.

There are hundreds of good and bad English books on Persia, but these handsomely-produced and well-illustrated volumes represent the only complete history available to modern readers. Students will always prize the noble work of Sir John Malcolm, whose style was worthy of his matter, and whose work remains a pattern for a possible successor; but the Persia of the Napoleonic years in which he wrote is already lost in antiquity, and his

legendary narrative will not serve for an age that is vastly better informed with exact knowledge. Markham's History is not the work of a specialist; Watson's covers only the first half of the nineteenth century, and is chiefly notable for an account of our one "war" with Persia. Browne's Literary History is a whole museum of enthusiastic scholarship, and his Persian Revolution is an intimate and accurate, if somewhat one-sided, description of the political awakening that accompanied the decline of the Qajar Dynasty. Curzon's great work was invaluable thirty years ago, but from its nature it early demanded that revision for which he could never spare the time.

Sir Percy Sykes had thus the field to himself, and he took it with characteristic all-inclusive energy. With the fruits of modern research at his command he gives us a compendium that surveys, in time, as vast a period before Darius as after him; yet his pages are never dull with mere chronology, for their interest is grounded in much sojourning and pioneer adventuring on the scenes and among the descendants of Persia's heroic past, and the narrative is coloured throughout with its author's abounding personality.

The first edition of this work appeared in 1915, and in a second edition, published in 1921, an account of the eventful years of the World War was added. These supplementary chapters, particularly the last of them, might well have been rewritten in the light of later knowledge. Their running accounts and anticipations, written nine years ago in the present tense, must surely confuse the reader who discovers, in the chapter now added, that 1930 has created an altogether new present and has falsified, to a great extent, the still unblinking forecasts of 1921. The abortive Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 stands out, at this late date, like a simpering dowager defying time. The discussion of railway projects and transport problems (pages 530-1) has a merely curious interest, and may possibly test the reader's confidence in a historian turned counsellor.

In the "Final Essay" of some twenty pages, which comprises new matter, the narrative of recent events is continued up to the summer of this year. A valuable account is given of the rise to power of the present ruler, who naturally takes the centre of the stage. Reza Shah, the one-time junior officer of the Cossack Division, who took military control in 1921 and rose to the throne in 1925, has been tested by five years of virtually absolute monarchy and is at the present time no less respected, feared, and obeyed than he was as Minister of War, when his superb physique, his indefatigable energy, his patriotic policy, and his surprising excellence in statesmanship marked him out for a national hero of the highest order. His word is still law with Parliament and people, and not the least astonishing thing about him is that he survives in spite of enemies, and notwithstanding the less adorable aspects of his own character. In pursuit of his constant aim to develop a strong and independent nation, he has built up an effective military force that has already quelled and disarmed most of the predatory tribes. Religious leaders have been managed with the requisite mixture of firmness, deference, and support. Foreign powers have relinquished without a murmur their extra-territorial jurisdiction. The revenues have been reformed and strengthened under the guidance of foreign experts, and the pace of material progress has been quickened. Several millions sterling have been spent on the Shah's pet project of a trans-Persian railway from the Gulf to the Caspian Sea. This enterprise has so far proved a bitter disappointment, in the south at all events, and it is to be feared that further disillusionment may be in store. Construction has halted short of the mountains, and efforts are now being initiated to save from disruption the southern section between Dizful and Khur Musa. Transport development

by motor and aeroplane has extended rapidly, and pack transport is now almost done away with.

The American financial advisers, headed by Dr. Millspangh, who left the country in 1927, have been succeeded by Germans, who now administer the National Bank and its branches throughout the country. The Imperial Bank of Persia is relinquishing its concessionary right of note issue, and the currency standard is to be changed from silver to gold. The preliminary steps to this end were taken in March, 1930, when the import of silver was prohibited and dealings in foreign exchanges were brought under Government control at a pegged rate of sixty kran to the pound. Imports, however, aided by Government requirements for reserves abroad and for purchases of railway and military materials, have so far exceeded the country's exports that the value of the kran, as represented in commodity prices and unofficial exchange dealings, has fallen (in December) to 110. British and other exporters to Persia have suffered serious loss and delay in consequence, and the foreign trade of the country has been impeded and disorganized.

Foreign political relations appear to be highly satisfactory. A friendly understanding with Iraq has at last been attained, and the danger of embroilment with Turkey over the frontier Kurds is reported to have been removed by the cession of Mount Ararat in exchange for a realignment farther south. From our own point of view it has to be recognized that German influence at the capital is increasingly evident, and it is to be hoped that the choice of our future representatives in Teheran will not be lightly made.

F. H.

PLANT HUNTING ON THE EDGE OF THE WORLD. By F. Kingdon-Ward.
8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 383. Illustrations. Gollancz, London.

The book before us is the account of two journeys made in search of plants on the north-east frontier of India. The first portion deals with a collecting trip in the Seingku Valley on the farthest fringes of North Burma, and includes a venturesome trip over the snowy Irrawaddy-Bramaputra divide into the valley of the Lohit, inhabited by Tibetans from the province of Zargul.

The second part of the book is an account of a stay of some months in the Delei Valley—a branch of the Lohit—made a year later in company with Mr. Clutterbuck.

Captain Kingdon-Ward deals with his plant hunting in the most fascinating way; interspersed with thrilling accounts of the finding of botanical gems are interesting observations on the growth and reasons for the habits of the plants discovered. The author also gives us valuable accounts of the people among whom he lived—the patient Nung and the surly Mishmi. The reader must feel glad that he was not born a Nung, to pass his life in a constant struggle to wring a livelihood out of Nature in her most uncompromising aspect.

The unreliability of the Mishmi and lack of any desire to supply the services necessary to a traveller must have made the second journey a nightmare of uncertainty.

The point of view of the Mishmi (even though generously paid) should also be considered. He lives a very self-contained life; the only necessity of life not provided by his own land and forest is a little salt. Why should a stranger come to trouble him to carry his loads and give him other assistance in his search for plants? But it is part of the explorer's task to overcome these feelings, and Captain Kingdon-Ward, by the display of boundless tact and perseverance, won through. The Delei Valley had been visited fifteen

years previously by a strongly escorted survey party. The report on the country was brief. "The country is — and so are the people!"

What strikes one with admiration is the enthusiasm of the author in his quest—when abandoned by his coolies, with his loads on which his life depended lying in the snow on the Diphuk La, his chief thought seems to have been to obtain the seed of a rhododendron. When we gaze on some lovely garden few of us realize the dangers, hardships, and risks undergone by white men and brown to please us.

Does the form of the blood pheasant found in Sikkim *Ithagenes cruentus* extend as far east as the Delei Valley? We would expect to find *Ithagenes kuseri* there.

There are only two small maps in the text. These are quite inadequate and out of proportion to the value of the journeys described. The illustrations are good but might have been more numerous.

F. M. B.

THE KANGCHENJUNGA ADVENTURE. By F. S. Smythe. 9½ × 6. Pp. 464. Forty-eight illustrations. London: Gollancz. 1930. 16s.

This book is the account, written by Mr. F. S. Smythe, of the International Expedition of 1930, to attempt the conquest of Kanchenjunga, which may be bracketed with K2, Mount Godwin-Austen (which is itself situated in the Baltoro Glacier in Baltistan), as the second highest mountain in the world.

The organizer of this expedition was Professor Dyhrenfurth, who, for over twenty years, had as his ideal the conquest of Kanchenjunga. The War of course interfered, but in the year 1929 he saw his way at last to the fulfilment of his ambition.

Mr. Smythe's account is excellent reading. He writes not only as a mountaineer of very great practical experience, but also as a true lover of mountain country, mountain life, and all that it stands for. It is seldom that the reviewer has read a book of mountain travel and adventure with so much pleasure.

The book also records an expedition which for terrible hard labour and for danger can compare with any expedition yet undertaken in the Himalayas.

The members of the party consisted first of the organizer, Professor Dyhrenfurth, and his wife, who is especially to be congratulated, not only on her wonderful pluck and powers of organization, but also for her exceptional strength and stamina. It might have been considered that on an expedition of such strenuousness, living the life which is now much more understood in Europe than formerly—that life of extraordinary hardness which is necessary if one pits oneself against the greatest mountains in the world—a lady would not be equal to the occasion. But Frau Dyhrenfurth proved herself a great asset even during this most strenuous time. The members in all belonged to four different nationalities: German, Austrian, Swiss, and British.

Kanchenjunga is a mountain which must be treated with the very greatest respect. Before undertaking such a task a knowledge of the whole mass must be acquired. This is furnished firstly by the story of Mr. Freshfield's journey completely round Kanchenjunga in 1898 and later on by the experiences of Dr. Kellas. Mr. Freshfield's very careful examination of the mountain—an examination more valuable in that he was a most experienced mountaineer himself—suggested that the north-west ridge from the Nepal side was probably the only safe approach to the mountain.

When the expedition reached Darjeeling they had not received permission to enter Nepal, which is necessary in order to reach this great north-western ridge, and their first idea was to follow the line taken by the Bavarian Expedition in the previous year over the Zemu Glacier. But later, permission having been received from Nepal, it was decided to attack the mountain from the western side.

This meant a complete change of the kind of transport necessary for such a journey. Instead of mules to near the base, man carriage was the only possible transport, and here they ran across the first weakness of this expedition. For certainly all methods of approaching the mountain should have been carefully considered and permission to use alternate routes obtained some time before the members left Europe. This change of direction necessitated a very hurried collection of local porters, and also nearly produced a disaster to the expedition. They had previously fitted themselves out with a special corps of those splendid Sherpa porters from Nepal, many of whom had actually been on both the Everest expedition and on the Bavarian expedition, and were thoroughly seasoned to Himalayan travel. These men were excellently equipped, but the remainder of the local porters hurriedly got together were deficient of any equipment as was natural, and in consequence in traversing the high passes and ridges to arrive at their base, as will be seen from Mr. Smythe's book, immense difficulties were naturally encountered. And how could it be otherwise?

The first obstacle was the Kang-la, 16,300 feet, with a yard of fresh snow on it, and followed by the Mirgin-la, 14,800 feet, and much broken country until they arrived at their first base, Khunza, in the upper valley of the Tamar River, which is one of the tributaries of the great Kosi. Luckily for the expedition they were able to obtain three very efficient additions to the party to run their transport, and no expedition could have been better served. Colonel Tobin and Mr. Hannah, and especially that splendid young mountaineer Mr. Wood Johnston, rendered the arrival of the expedition in Nepal possible.

However, as always is the case in the Eastern Himalayas, time was short, so they pushed on with the greatest speed right up the Kanchenjunga Glacier under the great mountain. The scenery is beyond anything gorgeous, it is inconceivable. Almost overwhelming mountain scenery can be found in other parts of Asia, but none more colourful, more rich, or that impresses more by its scale; and such a marvellous icescape!

Now all this country is humid, the rainfall is enormous and therefore the snow deposit great, and in the summer monsoons probably as great, over 20,000 feet, as in the winter. Therefore time is short, and there are no seasons in which the mountain could ever apparently be considered to be in good condition, and with such masses of ice, such enormous hanging glaciers, the danger of disaster from ice avalanches is always very terrible.

The route taken in this attempt, described so vividly by Mr. Smythe, was, in the judgment of the reviewer, entirely unjustifiable. They were in fact asking to be killed. Nor does it seem correct that Himalayan exploration and attempts to conquer the Himalayan giants should be quite considered in the nature of a desperate battle, in which all the odds are on the side of the mountain. All who read the account will be thrilled by the efforts made by the climbers in their attempts on the north-west ridge, exposed the whole time to avalanches of the most gigantic type, and one can only marvel at the luck of the expedition that it escaped with the loss of but one life.

The account of these episodes given by Mr. Smythe is most vividly told.

It cannot be too clearly impressed that accidents in lesser ranges, let us say in the Alps for instance, are bad enough in all consciousness, but in remote regions such as they were exploring accidents are infinitely more terrible. How wounded or damaged men could have been got away it is difficult to imagine. But with a little less luck there would not have been such a thing as a wounded man left.

The subsequent climbs of the expedition, and the conquest of the Jonsong Peak and other excellent expeditions, and the crossing of the Jonsong-la were fine incidents. One has nothing but admiration for the determination of the different members of the party—the wonderful strength of Schneider and Hoerlin and Weiland, and the skill and endurance shown by all members of the party.

The photographs in the book are quite beautiful, and one awaits with pleasure the results of the films taken by M. Duvanel, the official photographer of the party, and also of the survey of M. Marcel Kurz.

One is obliged to criticize against one's will, but one may assuredly say that far too much baggage was carried by the expedition; that the expedition was certainly over-organized in Europe and not enough attention was paid to its organization at its base at Darjeeling. Again, the information contained in numerous books on Himalayan exploration with regard to foods for high work, clothing, boots, and other general equipment, appears to have been completely disregarded, and yet such information is very easily available, and much comfort and ease to the party would have accrued if it had been profited by.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, the Kanchenjunga adventure will always remain as one of the most daring and skilful explorations ever yet carried out in the great Himalayas, but, as Mr. Smythe remarks, the Himalayas make no mistakes; they are not friends, the great mountains. They are, further, the greatest umpires in Himalayan manœuvres, and relentlessly punish any errors made by the troops attacking them.

C. G. B.

REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF 'IRAQ. 1929.

Under the usual formal exterior, the Report submitted to the Council of the League of Nations, on the progress of the 'Iraq State during the year 1929, contains matters of vivid human interest. The outstanding event was the suicide of Abdul Muhsin Beg al Sa'dun. The country sustained another serious loss in the untimely death of Sir Gilbert Clayton, who had been High Commissioner for less than six months. He was a single minded man, versed in Arab administration, not closely connected with the past history of 'Iraq, but familiar with the Arab people and with the dynasty to which has fallen the task of governing this section of the Arab world. It cannot be doubted that he would have dispelled many of the misunderstandings which, perhaps inevitably, have existed.

That there was often need for some harmonizing influence is easily discernible from the opening pages of the Report, which deplores the "annual change of Government." Indeed, the year 1929 saw more than a single change. The Ministry of Abdul Muhsin Beg resigned on January 20, but remained nominally in office—a Cabinet of ghosts—until April 28, when Tawfiq Beg Suwaidi formed a new Ministry. This in its turn resigned on August 25, and on September 19, after much persuasion and negotiation, Abdul Muhsin Beg al Sa'dun once more consented to form a Government. In the interval, on September 11, had occurred the death of Sir Gilbert Clayton. Abdul Muhsin

Beg's Government was cut short by his suicide on November 13, and on the 19th a new Ministry was formed with Naji Pasha al Suwaidi as Prime Minister. The remaining Ministers were, with one exception, members of the previous Cabinet.

It is worth while to note the explanations offered in the Report for the various changes of Government. The first Cabinet resignation in the year (January 20) was due to dissatisfaction with the Anglo-Iraq Treaty of 1927 and the subsidiary military and financial agreements. The resignation of the second Cabinet (August 23) followed the advent of a Labour Government in Great Britain and that Government's pronouncement on Egyptian policy. These two events, which were regarded as highly auspicious, stimulated the desire for a stronger Cabinet; and Tanfiq Beg Suwaidi took the hint. For the third change of Government—that which followed on the death of Abdul Muhsin Beg—it is not necessary to seek an explanation. That tragic event was the inexorable cause; but what is the clue to the tragedy itself? The Report narrates the incident with simple and sympathetic sincerity. It points out that it was immediately preceded by the most liberal and explicit promises that had hitherto been made of Great Britain's support of the political aspirations of the 'Iraqi nation; and contends, with reason and fairness, that the Prime Minister's suicide cannot be ascribed to a feeling of resentment or disappointment at the attitude of the British Government. Some documents relating to the subject are quoted—*e.g.*, Abdul Muhsin's letter to his son just before the act, and King Feisal's reply to the acting High Commissioner's message of condolence. It is clear that there were still some disagreements. They are foreshadowed in the speech which the late Prime Minister made on the occasion of the promulgation of the Royal Irada appointing his Cabinet, where he says that the British Government "have now acceded, to a certain extent, to the claims put forward by 'Iraq," and, later, that "their new offer satisfies part of the aspirations of the 'Iraqi nation." In his last letter he is perhaps a little more explicit on this point. What were the remaining disagreements is revealed in the account given of the programme which Abdul Muhsin's Government published on their assumption of office and which was adopted in full by his successor. Undoubtedly the salient points were, firstly, the question of the rate at which complete administrative responsibility should be transferred from British hands to the 'Iraqi Minister and permanent officials, and, secondly, the question of conscription.

But, when all is said, the tragedy remains an unsolved enigma.

Material and administrative progress were naturally impeded by political difficulties and by the customary inelasticity of 'Iraq finance, but the report records some very satisfactory features. With the Persian recognition of the 'Iraq State, her relations with all her foreign neighbours are now on a correct footing, and this happy international comity is being rapidly strengthened and consolidated by numerous improvements in postal and transport communications. There were few serious tribal conflicts with the Government authorities, and law and order in the areas bordering on the desert were put on a more systematic basis by the substitution of the admirable 'Iraq police for the garrisons of 'Iraqi regular troops.

Medical services were augmented in spite of many financial obstacles and difficulties in recruitment, and their benefits, as measured by statistics, now extend to more than two-thirds of the population of the country.

A slight but welcome development of natural resources is observed. Oil production in the Naft Khana field attained 75,000 tons in the year, from which the 'Iraq Government drew royalties amounting to nearly two lakhs of

rupees. The newly established 'Iraq Petroleum Company is not yet in a position to produce oil on a commercial scale, but its drilling operations are being pressed on rapidly, and it has become an important employer of labour. The attention bestowed on the conditions under which that labour works, and the high standard of sanitation and amenities provided, serve, by way of example, as perhaps a more efficacious measure of amelioration than the suggestion of labour legislation made by the Permanent Mandates Commission, to which a cogent and tactful reply will be found on pages 26 and 27 of the Report.

The efficient system of oil distribution established by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company has stimulated pump irrigation, which employed over 2,000 pumps in 1929.

The Ministry of Finance must be congratulated on their successful arrangements (due, it is believed, to the initiative of Yasin Pasha al Hashimi) for removing the incubus of the Ottoman Public Debt at about a quarter of the originally estimated price. They have also made a notable contribution to the development of land revenue policy by passing the Land Tax Assessment Law of 1929.

But, apart from these features and a few minor reforms and improvements, it cannot be said that the financial or economic condition of 'Iraq is satisfactory. Its most important sources of revenue (land tax and customs) are still on an *ad valorem* basis, and, consequently, liable to considerable fluctuations. The total revenues have increased in the last five years by little more than fifty lakhs, and while customs show only a moderate growth, the revenue from agricultural produce shows a tendency to diminish—a tendency which is likely to be accelerated by the operation of the two "well-established causes" mentioned on page 95 of the Report—viz, the drop in world grain prices and the prevailing fiscal leniency. Nor are the expenditure figures satisfactory, though perhaps the actual pinch has not yet been severely felt. Far too much still goes in overhead charges. So small a country, with such attenuated resources, can ill support the elaborate structure of a monarchical and parliamentary constitution. The Civil List is, indeed, commendably modest. But the allowances of senators and deputies and the salaries of numerous Ministries and departmental staffs constitute a drain much of which must, frankly, be described as unproductive. Finally, increased expenditure on the army has swallowed up four-fifths of the increase in general revenues during the quinquennium.

There is, moreover, little sign of economic progress. Cotton, of which so much was hoped, has so far proved disappointing. Improved methods of tobacco cultivation show some promising results. But no signs of a real addition to the country's wealth are apparent.

The railways are now apparently the property of the 'Iraq State, details of the mode of transfer having no doubt appeared in an earlier report. But with working expenses representing the astonishing ratio to earnings of 98·4 per cent., the property looks as if it might prove a *damnosa hereditas*; since, however, the Report does not give comparative financial statistics for previous years, it is impossible to express any definite opinion on its prospects.

In the sphere of education, on which there will be found some very valuable observations at pages 141 and 142 of the Report, it is clear that 'Iraq is in some danger of succumbing to the delusion, not unknown in India, that education exists for the purpose of filling Government departments. "Every Government schoolboy," says the Report, "carries in his satchel the fountain-pen of a head-clerk." Non-Government schools, it seems, pursue a more

practical ideal, but for that very reason are not generally popular, and receive, presumably, no State aid.

The chapter in the report on Defence (the first subdivision of which is—most unexpectedly—also the last) is disappointingly meagre. This topic must be admitted to include one of the most vital problems the 'Iraq Government is called on to solve. But of the policy they mean to pursue, or of the success achieved, this chapter gives no limit. Reading Yasin Pasha's vehement denunciation of the "squander-mania" of the Ministry of Defence in his speech in June quoted at page 23 of the Report, the complacency with which the subject is treated in this chapter is surprising, if not irritating. We are told that, by a process of handing over some frontier posts to civil police, concentration of regular troops in six centres instead of fifteen has become possible. "This greater concentration," it is added, "has rendered administration and training easier, less expensive, and more satisfactory." This is what might be expected, but why, then, does an army of 6,000 to 7,000 men cost nearly 150 lakhs now when an army of practically the same strength cost less than 100 lakhs five years ago? If this is not a substantially accurate comparison it would be well to make the matter clearer.

Then the question of conscription is touched upon but vaguely. "There is a body of opinion," we are told, "which wishes to replace the present volunteer army by one raised on a conscript basis." We should like to know whether the 'Iraq Cabinet belongs to this school of thought, which apparently has the support of the British Military Mission. The general reader, who perhaps has no easy access to previous reports, derives little satisfaction from the statement, on page 23 of the Report, that "in regard to conscription, His Majesty's Government have adhered to the policy enunciated in 1927, details of which were given in the Report for 1928." There are several other tantalizing, though perhaps inevitable, references to previous reports, but in a matter of such importance as this a brief résumé of previous statements would have been welcome.

Another small criticism of the form of the Report may, with deference, be submitted. Such documents must, no doubt, be the work of more than one hand, each department being responsible for contributing its own material. This perhaps explains one or two apparent discrepancies—as, for instance, the statement in the Finance section (at page 69) that the cost of the Latifiya Canal falls initially on the 'Iraq Government, contrasted with the statement in the Irrigation section (*vide* page 160) that the Government undertook the work at the expense of the Company. Again, the statement in the Finance section (also on page 69) that the special protective measures on 'Iraq's southern frontier accounted for a supplementary vote of 8 lakhs is difficult to reconcile with the account given at pages 40 and 41, where we are told that the control of operations in this area was taken over by the Air Officer commanding, except on the assumption that the cost of the Air Force operations was borne by the 'Iraq Government, an arrangement which seems unusual.

Nevertheless, whatever doubt and misgivings may intrude in regard to certain points, no one can fail to read with the deepest interest this latest record of the progress of the remarkable experiment undertaken ten years ago. The results have been very striking, especially in the political or diplomatic aspects, where what threatened at one time to be an almost hopeless tangle has been gradually straightened out by the exercise of patience, forbearance, and goodwill on both sides. If the problem of defence can be wisely solved, and the enquiry into land tenures and settlement policy

recently conducted by Sir Ernest Dowson fructifies in prudent and beneficent legislative and administrative measures, the admission of Iraq in 1932 into independent membership of the League of Nations may well be hailed as a visible sign of her attainment of a genuine national unity and independence.

The Council wish to thank Sir Sidney Burrard, Mr. Rassam, Sir Claude Hill, and Mr. C. M. Browne for their valuable gifts to the library.

The following books have been received for review :

- "An Indian Diary," by E. S. Montagu. 9" x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". xv + 410 pp. Illustrations. (London : Heinemann. 1930. 21s.)
- "The Changing Fabric of Japan," by Captain M. D. Kennedy. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". vii + 282 pp. (London : Constable. 1930. 16s.)
- "Chinese Civilization," by Marcel Granet. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6". xxiii + 444 pp. Illustrations and maps. (London : Kegan Paul. 1930. 25s.)
- "The Cultural Significance of the Indian States," by L. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 18 pp. (London : Milford. 1930. 1s. 6d.)
- "Dawn in India," by Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". xvi + 331 pp. (London : Murray. 1930. 10s. 6d.)
- "Durch Tibet und Turkistan : Reisen in Unberührten Asien," by Walter Bosshard. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6". Illustrations and maps. xv + 246 pp. (Stuttgart : Strecker and Schroder. 1930.)
- "Elementary Arabic," by Reynold A. Nicholson. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". (Cambridge University Press. 1930. 7s. 6d.)
- "The Experiment of Bolshevism," by Arthur Feiler, translated by Stenning. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". 236 pp. (London : Allen and Unwin. 1930. 10s. 6d.)
- "A History of Japanese Religion," by Masabaru Anesaki. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6". xxii + 423 pp. (London : Kegan Paul. 1930. 21s.)
- "A History of Persia," by Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Vol. I. : xxix + 563 pp.; Vol. II. : xx + 616. Third edition. Illustrations and maps. (London : Macmillan. 1930. £2 2s.)
- "Imperial Air Routes," by Major A. E. Salt, M.A. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5". 280 pp.; introduction, xiii pp. Maps. (London : Murray. 1930. 6s.)
- "Indian Islam," by Murray T. Titus, Ph.D., D.D. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". xvii + 290 pp. (London : Milford. 1930. 12s. 6d.)
- "The International Aspect of the Missionary Movement in China," by Chao-Kwang Wu, Ph.D. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". ix + 285 pp. (London : Milford. 1930. 11s. 6d.)
- "John Lord Montagu of Beaulieu," by Lady Troubridge and A. Marshall. 9" x 6". xiv + 318 pp. Illustrations. (London : Macmillan. 1930. 1s.)
- "The Kangchenjunga Adventure," by F. S. Smythe. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". 464 pp. Illustrations. (London : Gollancz. 1930. 16s.)
- "The Key of Progress," by A. R. Caton. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". ix + 250 pp. (London : Milford. 1930. 7s. 6d.)
- "Lands of the Eastern Caliphate," by G. Le Strange. Second impression. 8" x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". xx + 536 pp. Maps. (Cambridge University Press. 1930. 21s.)
- "The Mandates System," by Norman Bentwich. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". x + 200 pp. (London : Longmans, Green and Co. 1930. 15s.)
- "The Meaning of the Glorious Koran," by Marmaduke Pickthall. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6". viii + 693 pp. (London : Knopf. 1930. 18s.)

- "Loyalties : Mesopotamia, 1914-1917," by Lient.-Colonel Sir A. T. Wilson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O. 11" x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 340 pp. Illustrations and maps. (London : Milford. 1930. 25s.)
- "The Mongolian Horde," by Roland Strasser. 9" x 6". 347 pp. Illustrations. (London : Cape. 1930. 12s. 6d.)
- "Outlaws I have known," by Sir Theodore Piggott. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 310 pp. (Edinburgh and London : Blackwood. 1930. 10s. 6d.)
- "Papers on the Indian States Development." 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6". vii + 143 pp. Map. (London : East and West, Ltd. 1930. 5s.)
- "The Pirate Wind : Tales of Sea Robbers of Malaya," by Owen Rutter. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". xvii + 292 pp. Illustrations and maps. (London : Hutchinson. 1930. 12s. 6d.)
- "Shirin," by C. Colliver Rice. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". vii + 183 pp. (London : Sheldon Press. 1930. 2s. 6d.)
- "Stark India," by Trevor Pinch. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 288 pp. Illustrations. (London : Hutchinson. 1930. 10s. 6d.)
- "The Spirit of the Chinese Revolution," by Arthur N. Holcombe. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". vi + 185 pp. (London : Knopf. 1930. 7s. 6d.)
- "Turkey in the World War," by Ahmed Emin, Ph.D. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". xviii + 310 pp. (New Haven : Yale University Press ; Oxford : University Press. 1930. 15s.)
- "Turkey, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," by Sir Telford Waugh. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". xii + 305 pp. Illustrations and maps. (London : Chapman and Hall. 1930. 18s.)
- "Three Wise Men of the East," by Elizabeth Bisland. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". xii + 275 pp. Frontispiece. (London : Chapel Hill. 1930. 13s. 6d.)



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WEIHAIWEI*

BY SIR REGINALD JOHNSTON, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., LL.D.

MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The subject on which I have been asked to address you this afternoon is that small portion of the Chinese province of Shantung which till four months ago was the British leased territory of Weihaiwei. The many happy years I spent there, and my affection for the place and its people, make my task a very agreeable one. But I am a little uncertain as to how far the subject is already a familiar one to the members of this learned Society, and how much knowledge I should therefore take for granted. However, I must not be unmindful of the fact that my audience includes some who are not members of the Central Asian Society; and if I begin by alluding to certain political, historical, and geographical facts which to some of you may seem trite and elementary, I hope I shall be forgiven for the sake of those to whom Weihaiwei is little more than a name—perhaps not even that to those who have hitherto been a little diffident about pronouncing it.

Weihaiwei is situated near what is known as the north-eastern promontory of the province of Shantung, and its port lies about sixty miles by road, forty by sea, from Chefoo. It therefore occupies a rather important strategic position on the south side of the gulf that constitutes the sea approach to the lately deposed capital of China—Peking or (as it is now called) Pei-p'ing. From Dairen and Port Arthur its distance is about 100 miles, from Taku (near Tientsin) 243 miles, from Shanghai and Hong-Kong by sea 475 and 1,186 miles respectively. Though it was occasionally visited by British men-of-war and other foreign vessels from about 1815 onwards, it was a place of very small political or naval importance till it was turned into a fortified naval base and the headquarters of the *Pei-yang* or Northern Chinese fleet in the years that preceded the China-Japan war of 1894-95. During that war it was captured by the Japanese. The land forts, which were of modern design, constructed under the supervision of a German engineer officer, were attacked from the land side and speedily taken, and the Chinese fleet was bottled up in the harbour and soon destroyed. Admiral Ting, the Chinese commander-in-chief, committed suicide in his headquarters on the Weihaiwei island of Liu-kung, in a room which now forms

* Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on January 18, 1931, Lord Lloyd in the Chair.

part of the British United Services Club. After the war, Weihaiwei remained in Japanese hands pending a settlement of the indemnity question.

The Liao-tung peninsula, with Port Arthur and Dairen, also fell to Japan as part of the spoils of war, but she subsequently found herself constrained, by the veiled threats of Russia, France, and Germany, to restore them to China. That the efforts made by those countries ostensibly on China's behalf were not wholly altruistic was revealed in 1898, when Tsingtao (Kiaochow) was occupied by Germany and the Liao-tung peninsula by Russia. In the same year France obtained a lease of the territory of Kwang-chow-wan in the southern part of the Canton province, and Great Britain obtained a ninety-nine years' lease of about 800 square miles of territory adjacent to Hong-Kong. At the same time Great Britain also obtained a lease of the territory of Weihaiwei.

So far as Weihaiwei is concerned there is good reason to believe that the British occupation of that territory was not objected to by the Chinese Imperial Government, who well knew of the jealousy and antagonism that existed in those days between the Russian and the British Empires, and realized that the Russian peril in Manchuria and North China (a very pressing peril to China at that time) might be largely neutralized by the presence of British naval forces within striking distance of Port Arthur. The Chinese dragon was quite powerless, and knew itself to be powerless, to withstand the onrush of the Russian bear; it was therefore willing enough to acquiesce in the occupation of Weihaiwei by the British lion, especially as the terms of the Anglo-Chinese lease of the territory made it sufficiently clear that the lion's main object was to keep an eye on the movements of the bear.

The Convention for the lease of Weihaiwei was signed on July 1, 1898, and it stipulated, among other things, that the lease was to continue for so long as Russia was in occupation of Port Arthur. The insertion of such a clause as this must, I think, be almost unique in diplomatic history, and it affords a very clear indication of the considerations that guided British policy when the lease was being negotiated.

The original Russian lease of Port Arthur was for a period of twenty-five years, which would have expired in 1923. As everyone knows, the Russians were turned out of Port Arthur by the Japanese long before the termination of the lease. The defeat of Russia by Japan in the war of 1904-05 led to the transfer of the Russian lease of the Liao-tung peninsula to the Japanese, and an extension of that lease was subsequently effected by means of Japanese pressure on China.

At the Washington Conference in 1921 Great Britain announced her intention of restoring Weihaiwei to the full sovereignty of China

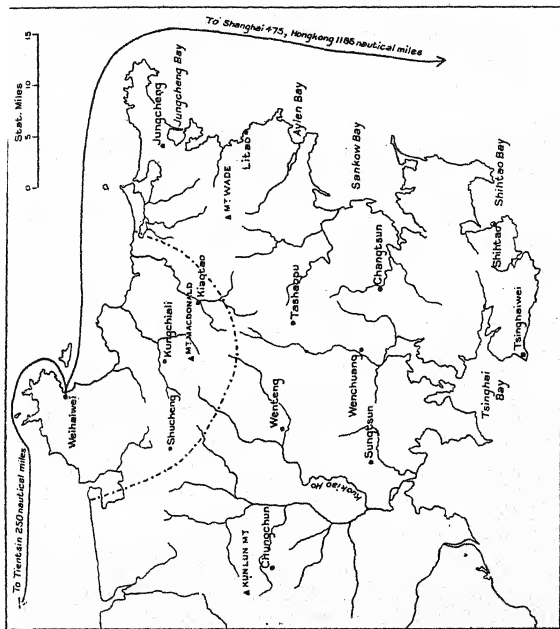
under suitable conditions whereby the British might be enabled to continue to use the harbour, not, of course, as a naval base (as a matter of fact it has never been used as such by Great Britain), but as a summer resort and exercising ground for the China squadron of the British fleet. A treaty of retrocession was drawn up between the two Powers in 1924, and the territory would have been handed back to China at the end of that year but for a *coup d'état* in Peking which overthrew the Chinese Government. Till 1929 there was no Government which was recognized by Great Britain or the other Powers, and the negotiations for the surrender of Weihaiwei had to be suspended. They were resumed in that year after the formal recognition of the Nanking Government as the Government of China, and were finally carried to a successful conclusion in the spring of 1930. The "Convention for the Rendition of Weihaiwei" was signed on April 18, and in accordance with Article XX. of that instrument ratifications were exchanged and the formal ceremony of rendition took place on October 1 last. On the morning of that day it fell to my lot to order the Chinese flag to be hoisted at Government House, where it flew alongside the British flag until sundown, when both flags came down together. On the following morning, October 2, the Chinese flag alone was flown from the masthead.

During the thirty-two years and three months that Weihaiwei remained under the British flag its status was equivalent to that of a British colony. For the first year or two, before the British Government had made up its mind as to how it was to be administered, it was controlled—though hardly governed—first by naval and then by military officers, among whom should be mentioned Captain King-Hall, who first hoisted the British flag; Commander Gaunt, R.N., now Admiral Sir E. F. A. Gaunt, K.C.B.; and Colonel Dorward, R.E., now Major-General Sir Arthur Dorward, K.C.B. In 1900 the territory passed under the control of the Colonial Office, and in 1902 the first Civil Commissioner was appointed in the person of Sir James Stewart Lockhart, who I am happy to observe is present among my audience this evening. From that date ordinary Crown Colony government was introduced, though being a leased territory Weihaiwei never became an integral part of the British Empire. At the head of the local government was a Commissioner, whose powers and privileges were similar to those of a Colonial Governor. In certain respects he was rather more of an autocrat than a Colonial Governor, for legislative powers were vested in himself alone (subject of course to disallowance by the King), and not, as in most colonies, shared with a legislative council. The Commissioner was appointed by the Crown, and was directly responsible to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Under him was a European staff, consisting of magistrates, district officers, medical and police officers, a financial secretary, and a collector of revenue. The subordinate

staff in all departments consisted of Chinese appointed by the Commissioner.

Alexis Krausse in his "China in Decay" informs us that the name "Weihaiwei" means "Depôt of Terrific Warships." I am sorry to have to disappoint those who have contemplated this inspiring name with gratification, but in the interests of truth it must be pointed out that in the name "Weihaiwei" there is nothing about a depôt, nothing about warships, and nothing to suggest anything terrific. The first *wei* means dignified or majestic; *hai* means the ocean; the second *wei* is the name given in former days to a small town or district fortified for the purpose of resisting the attacks of pirates or bandits. So if we are to translate the name "Weihaiwei" (which is unnecessary) we might say "Guard-station of the Majestic Ocean." To be strictly accurate, the second *wei* should be omitted; for Weihai, which like three or four other strategically-placed havens on the north-east coast of China was turned into a *wei* or guard-station against pirates in the year 1398, ceased to be so in 1735, when the system of special guard-stations to ward off piratical attacks was officially abolished. Thus those Europeans in China who speak familiarly of "Weihai," and perhaps think they are using a kind of pet name, are really more accurate than they may be aware, for Weihaiwei ceased to be a *wei* 196 years ago.

The pirates whose depredations made it necessary to provide Weihai with the means of self-defence were both Chinese and Japanese, but it was the Japanese who were the most frequent visitors and whose attacks were the most dreaded. Strictly speaking, the name Weihai, or Weihaiwei, is applicable only to the little walled city, which by the terms of the Anglo-Chinese Convention was expressly left under Chinese jurisdiction, and was never included within the territory leased to Great Britain. In practice, though the city was ruled by a petty Chinese magistrate, who was responsible to the district magistrate at Wên-téng, beyond the British frontier, he recognized his dependence upon the British Government for the maintenance of good order, and was generally willing to accept or act upon British advice in matters affecting public health, sanitation, and police administration. The city owes its description as such merely to its walls, for it is still the mere village that it was thirty years ago. Most of its substantial merchants, indeed, found it expedient in recent years to move into the adjacent British town of Port Edward, and while the latter grew and prospered the former stagnated. Just before the retrocession of the territory I was informed by the incoming Chinese authorities that they intended to pull down the walls of Weihai city with a view to its amalgamation with Port Edward. While agreeing with them as to the wisdom of this course, I expressed the hope that



they would preserve at least two of the picturesque city gates, and also the *Huan Ts'ui Lou*, or Kingfisher Tower, which had literary and historic associations, and was worthy of preservation for its own sake. Whether my suggestion will be acted upon remains to be seen. The wall was first built early in the Ming dynasty (in 1403), five years after the "city" had been raised to the dignity of an anti-piracy guard-station; but it was never a very imposing or substantial structure, and its appearance has been marred by several perfunctory restorations.

The harbour of Weihaiwei is one of the best on the coast of China north of the Yangtse, though certainly inferior to that of Tsingtao. The deep-water naval anchorage is on the landward side of Liukungtao, or the island of Liu-kung. *Tao* is the Chinese word for "island," Liu-kung means "Mr. Liu," so the term "Liukungtao" means "The Island of Mr. Liu." Who this Mr. Liu was nobody knows, though many guesses have been made. Anyhow, he and his wife seem to have earned the good opinion of their fellow-islanders, for after their deaths—though how long after is another mystery—a temple was erected on the island in their honour, and up to the date of the commencement of the British occupation it was frequented by worshippers who did not really know who it was they worshipped, or why.

The British authorities required the use of this temple and most of the other buildings on the island for administrative and other purposes, and therefore bought them all up—at prices, I may add, which largely exceeded their value. A pleasing story has been handed down to the effect that British bluejackets and marines trundled wheelbarrows through the island, crammed to their fullest capacity with Mexican dollars, and handed out to each owner of property whatever sum he demanded in return for his title-deeds. There is no foundation for this legend, which I suspect was invented by a jocose gunroom officer. The fact is that all privately owned lands and buildings on the island of Liu-kung were bought by the British Government for a total sum of about £30,000 sterling—a very substantial sum to be divided among the few and mostly poverty-stricken inhabitants of the island thirty years ago. Among the buildings taken over was the temple I have just alluded to, and it was converted into the naval Commander-in-Chief's office. British admirals, therefore, have since occupied the place of honour once adorned by Mr. and Mrs. Liu, and I have no reason to believe that the temple lost thereby much of its reputation for sanctity. A new temple was erected on the mainland at Port Edward for Mr. and Mrs. Liu, and there their images may be observed to this day, still the objects of a local cult of which the real origin is quite unknown.

The island of Liu-kung (it retains its name in spite of the migration of the local saint and his lady) was the headquarters of the British fleet

during its annual summer visit to Weihaiwei, and will, I hope, remain so for many years to come, for by the recent treaty of retrocession the Chinese Government grant to the British Government "as a sanatorium and summer resort for the use of His Britannic Majesty's Navy a certain number of buildings and facilities . . . on the island of Liukungtao in the Bay of Weihaiwei for a period of ten years, with the option of renewal on the same terms by agreement or on such other terms as may be agreed upon between the two Governments."

I do not know whether among my audience there are any naval officers who have served on the China station. If there are, they at least will not need to be reminded by me of the delights and advantages of Weihaiwei for play and work—for British naval officers do work sometimes, when no one is looking. I need not recall to their memory the facilities for football, cricket, lawn-tennis, and squash racquets; of the good sport afforded by snipe, quail, duck, geese, partridge, pheasant, and even swan. The names of *Glory Marsh* (H.M.S. *Glory* was well known on the China station more than a generation ago), the third and fourth lagoons, and other sportsmen's paradises will always call up happy memories in the minds of naval officers who have had the good fortune to be stationed in summer or winter at Weihaiwei. Nor need I recall to them the joys of the weekly Ladies' Night at the United Services Club (the scene of many romantic episodes during the past thirty years) or the open-air dinners and picnics among the hills and temples of the mainland, with their glorious ginkgo trees, their mysterious tunnel of the Four Winds, and their delicious bathing-pools. Even in the sober and austere precincts of Government House modest revelries were not wholly unknown, revelries at which no guests were more welcome than the officers of His Majesty's fleet. Certainly anyone acquainted with the language of flowers could cull many a pretty tale from the rose-garden of Government House.

Among the pleasantest of my own recent memories connected with the activities of the British Navy at Weihaiwei will always be the exhilarating flights over the territory and its adjacent waters in seaplanes piloted by flight officers of H.M.S. *Hermes*, and many mountain rambles in the company of strenuous naval mountaineers, among whom admirals were not unknown to put wardroom officers to shame. I also look back with great pleasure on a march through the border districts of the territory in September, 1929, in the company of a detachment of Royal Marines from H.M.S. *Suffolk*. The object of that march, as I stated in my Annual Report to the Colonial Office for 1929, "was to demonstrate to those bad characters who were constantly threatening the tranquillity of the territory that the Government was able, when necessity arose, to concentrate armed forces at any point that might be menaced, and to reassure the Weihaiwei villages as to the willingness

and ability of His Majesty's Government to afford them protection." I may add that to an officer of H.M.S. *Suffolk* was due the bright idea of mounting a naval gun on the wheels and axle-tree of a Chinese farmer's cart. The experiment, I understand, was entirely successful.

The area of the territory of Weihaiwei as it was under British jurisdiction is 285 square miles. It is thus larger by about 58 square miles than the Isle of Man and about twice the size of the Isle of Wight. For a territory that is almost wholly agricultural, and in some parts rugged and mountainous, it supports a population which in Europe, with its higher standards of living, would be considered very large. At the last census (taken in 1921) the number of inhabitants was found to be 154,000, but during subsequent years there was a very considerable increase, partly owing to the influx of refugees from less tranquil parts of Shantung, and at the date of the retrocession to China the population was estimated at over 180,000. The only urban centre is Port Edward—so named in commemoration of the coronation of King Edward VII—which was a little fishing village when the British occupation began, but in recent years has grown to a town of 20,000 inhabitants. It was the centre of the British administration, and contained the barracks and officers' mess, the Government offices and law-courts, and Government House; and it has a public park which I had the pleasure of opening on His Majesty's birthday, 1928. Port Edward was gradually becoming a commercial and industrial centre of some importance when rendition took place last October, though it is doubtful whether its progress can be maintained in view of the establishment of a custom house and the loss of its status as a free port. The last stages in the commercial development of Port Edward under British rule were marked by the opening of a new Chamber of Commerce, the inauguration of electric light, and the introduction of motor traffic, which till 1928 was absolutely forbidden throughout the territory, mainly owing to a belief, which proved to be erroneous, that our roads and bridges were incapable of supporting such a traffic. It is perhaps a matter for some regret that the introduction of horse carriages and motor-cars into Weihaiwei, as well as the improvement and extension of the road system, have tended to bring about the extinction of the primitive *shan-tzu*, or mule litter, formerly the most common of all means of transport on the roads of Weihaiwei.

The territory contains more than 350 villages. The houses are mostly built of good local stone, though sun-dried bricks, made by the villagers, are also used for domestic buildings. There are very few wealthy families in the territory, and dwelling-houses are mostly small and unpretentious. Some of their outside walls bear auspicious inscriptions in large Chinese characters, and favourite ornaments are the well-known *yin-yang* and other symbols derived from ancient Chinese philosophy. The most imposing buildings in nearly every village are the

local temples—Buddhist, Taoist, and ancestral. The temples and more substantial private houses are roofed with locally made tiles, other buildings are thatched. The best and most highly prized roof-thatch consists of seaweed, which is raked up from the sea at low tide by means of long wooden rakes. The farms are all very small owing to repeated subdivision, but nearly every adult male is a landed proprietor on a small scale, and is deeply attached to the little plot of land that he has inherited from many generations of ancestors. The laws and customs relating to land tenure are intricate, and clan rules make it difficult for anyone to purchase agricultural land in a locality with which he has no family connection. Any landowner who is compelled to sell his farm is obliged to offer it to his nearest male relatives, and only after they have all refused to purchase it at a fair price (and such refusal is extremely rare) is he at liberty to sell it to one who is not a member of the clan. The graveyards—which are not public cemeteries, but family burial-grounds—all contain evidence of the antiquity of the families whose names are recorded there, and show how lovingly the Shantung peasant proprietor clings to the soil of his ancestors. The beautiful burial-ground of the Ts'ung family near the village of Liu-lin-tzu ("Willow Grove") may be cited as an example. The oldest tombs which it contains are shown by their inscriptions to have been erected in the latter part of the thirteenth century, and the members of the Ts'ung family whose names are recorded there were the direct ancestors of the people who inhabit the Willow Grove village today.

Soon after the inauguration of British rule in Weihaiwei steps were taken to raise a regiment of Chinese troops. They were recruited not only in the British leased territory, but also in the adjacent Chinese districts and in other parts of the provinces of Shantung and Chihli. This fine body of men—officially known as the First Chinese Regiment of Infantry—was trained and led by British officers seconded from various British regiments, and did good service at Tientsin during the allied march on Peking in the "Boxer" war of 1900. Colonel Bower, now Major-General Sir Hamilton Bower, K.C.B., was in command of the regiment in the early days, and it was Colonel C. D. Bruce (now Brigadier-General C. D. Bruce) who commanded it during the last years of its existence. At one time the regiment numbered 1,300 officers and men, but the numbers were subsequently reduced, and when the British War Office—partly for reasons of economy—decided on its disbandment in 1906 it numbered about 600. A number of men of the disbanded regiment formed the nucleus of a new police force, and three English non-commissioned officers were appointed police inspectors. The police force at the time of the retrocession of the territory last October numbered about 200 men, and as I observed at a farewell speech in Weihaiwei a few days before the hauling down of the British flag, in our

police force the old Chinese regiment might be said to have continued to carry on a shadowy existence, for in that force had been preserved the discipline, many of the admirable traditions, and even the uniform of that splendid body of British-trained Chinese troops. During the twenty-four years that had elapsed since the disbandment of the regiment the men in the police force who had actually served as soldiers in the regiment had necessarily diminished to a very small number; yet on October 1 last there were nine men who had been members of the force for over twenty-four years, and six of them were old soldiers.

Between 1906 and 1911 Weihaiwei had no garrison, and depended wholly on its police force for the maintenance of order. The men carried out their duties, which were often of a semi-military nature, with great success, and to their zeal and activity must be largely attributed the enviable reputation which Weihaiwei under British rule always enjoyed for good order and tranquillity. The unrest throughout the greater part of China which accompanied and followed the fall of the dynasty in 1912 did not mar the peace that reigned at Weihaiwei, but there was a great deal of turmoil and disturbance in the adjacent parts of Shantung, and the British authorities considered it advisable, as a precautionary measure, to invoke the aid of a few British soldiers to protect our forty-mile land frontier against bandits and undisciplined Chinese troops. From that time onward Weihaiwei was never without its small military contingent—generally detached from the British garrison in the Tientsin area—though sometimes it consisted of no more than a single platoon. Soon after the arrival in China of the Shanghai Defence Force in 1927 it was decided to establish a military Convalescent Depot in Weihaiwei—a well-deserved compliment to its excellent climate—for the officers and men of that force. The result of this decision was that during the last three summers of the British occupation the barracks and officers' quarters of the old Chinese regiment were once more put to their legitimate uses, and Weihaiwei became accustomed to the uniforms of a dozen or more well-known British regiments. During the closing years of British rule the permanent garrison of the territory consisted of a single company. The last two regiments that supplied us with our garrison were Scottish: the Royal Scots and the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

The British troops in Weihaiwei were fortunately never called upon to engage in more serious operations than catching bandits and disarming deserters from Chinese armies. From time to time, when the frontier seemed to be threatened by the gangs of ruffians who lived by looting villages on the Chinese side and carrying off their richer inhabitants for ransom, a British detachment carried out route marches along the border-line. On such occasions they camped in the open or, if they were lucky, found temporary quarters in the outbuildings of

Chinese temples. I personally accompanied them on some of their marches, and can testify to the high good humour with which they did their job and the facility with which they established friendly relations with the villagers wherever they went—especially with the young people. But I think it would be unfair to give the British soldiers sole credit for the delightful friendliness that always seemed to exist between soldiers and villagers. Some of it was undoubtedly due to the charming qualities and characteristics of the villagers themselves, whose natural kindness, hospitality, trustfulness and gratitude were readily elicited by their knowledge of the fact that it was to British troops that they owed their immunity from the horrors of banditry and civil war. The arrival of British troops in an outlying village was invariably welcomed whole-heartedly by the people; and I have a very vivid recollection of an episode which took place in the spring of 1929, when civil war, accompanied by the most horrible atrocities, had been carried up to the boundary of British territory, but not an inch beyond. I had been spending a few days in a temple on the border with a detachment of the Royal Scots, and when I considered that all immediate danger of the violation of our boundary had passed away, I notified the officer in command of the troops that he might now withdraw his detachment to barracks. As soon as it was known in the neighbourhood that the troops were being withdrawn, I received, in my temple, a deputation of headmen from more than twenty villages, who implored me not to send the soldiers away. Nevertheless, when I explained the reasons for my belief that the danger had disappeared for the present, and promised to send the troops back to protect them on the least sign of its recurrence, they expressed themselves satisfied and returned to their homes fully tranquillized, after leaving behind them basket-loads of melons, eggs, and cakes for the departing British soldiers. Later on I was informed by my Chinese police that before the interview with me the panic-stricken villagers had begun to send their wives and daughters into the interior of the territory or to Port Edward, where the danger from bandits and Chinese soldiers would be much less than on the frontier; but that when the returning deputation reported to them that the Commissioner had promised not to abandon them, the panic immediately subsided and the women were recalled to their homes.

An account of Weihaiwei would be incomplete without some reference to the festivals that are observed there. Perhaps we shall soon have to say "were observed," for the present Government of China is showing a disposition to put a stop to many picturesque old customs on the ground that they are superstitious and derogatory to the dignity of an emancipated and progressive China. The British authorities, it is scarcely necessary to say, made no attempt to interfere with the local festivals and observances, which were alw

character and often most interesting and picturesque. The lunar New Year festival, which the National Government is persistent in its efforts to abolish, obviously against the wishes of the people, was always joyously observed at Weihaiwei, though the merchants and headmen out of compliment and respect to their foreign rulers also observed (on a much more modest scale) our own New Year's Day, just as they observed the birthday of His Majesty the King and turned out in thousands to observe the British troops and bluejackets carrying out the usual ceremonial parade on that occasion.

The most delightful festivals of the year—much looked forward to by Chinese and Europeans alike—are the Lantern Festival of the first full moon of the lunar year and the Resurgence of the Dragon (*Lung T'ai-T'ou*) at the beginning of the second month. What makes the ceremonies connected with these festivals particularly charming is that the performers in the lantern dances, processions, and masquerades are nearly all children. The children, by the way, are boys dressed up as girls. There are various explanations, into which I have no time to enter, of why the boys masquerade as girls. The fact that girls with their bound feet could not take an active part in the dances and processions does not go to the root of the matter. Perhaps it is not very well known that in the nunneries of medieval England boys used to dress up as girls on certain feast days. It would be extravagant to look for any trace of relationship between the customs of Eastern Asia and Western Europe in these matters, yet it is interesting to compare the *puerilia solennia* of Christendom on the Eve of St. Nicholas, Innocents' Day (the day of the "Boy Bishop"), and other delightful "Childermas" observances, with the Chinese children's masquerades and mimeries during the two spring festivals. Last year, for example, some of the small boys at the festival of the Resurgence of the Dragon appeared in improvised imitations of the uniform of the Weihaiwei police, and took delight in gibing at the real police, who of course took the antics of the urchins in great good humour. In principle, the youngsters were doing what English boy-bishops and girl-abbesses did—enjoying the rare privilege of making fun of the constituted authorities, knowing that for a few hours they could do so with perfect impunity. Whether they ever masqueraded as British officials I do not know. They never did so, I regret to say, when carrying out a "command" performance on the terrace in front of Government House, but I should not be surprised to learn that "boy Commissioners" made their appearance in more sequestered spots.

Lantern dances, accompanied by folk-songs and brief farcical interludes, are the main features of the festival of the first full moon. Processions of lions and dragons made of paper, cloth, and wood are the chief attraction of the *Lung T'ai-T'ou*. This phrase literally means

"the raising of the head of the dragon." The moving of the dragon after his long winter sleep symbolizes the reawakening of the slumbering forces of nature. Clemenceau, in his last book, said that a certain English statesman had a smile like that of a Chinese dragon—a not inappropriate similitude to enter the mind of a French Tiger; but in China the dragon is a being of too exalted and august a nature to be brought into comparison with a mere man.

One of the greatest of the Weihaiwei festivals is that of the birthday of *T'ien Hou* (the Queen of Heaven), which falls on the twenty-third day of the third Chinese moon. There is in Port Edward a large temple dedicated to this divinity—who is pre-eminently the goddess of junkmen, fishermen, and others who go down to the sea in ships—and for two or three days about this time it is thronged with worshippers and sight-seers, and presents the animated appearance of a country fair. A theatrical performance is, of course, an essential part of the proceedings, and it takes place in the largest courtyard of the temple. Mr. Bertrand Russell says somewhere that "the intensity of religious belief among seafaring folk is inversely proportional to the size of their vessels." Well, the junks of the seafaring folk of Weihaiwei are not large, though they are manned by crews as courageous, patient, good-humoured, and stout-hearted as any of their kind in the world. I do not think their religion, in spite of the small size of their vessels, reaches a very high degree of intensity; but if the Heavenly Queen who looks after them at sea is human enough to have a birthday, they in their turn are content to take an equally human delight in burning a little incense in her honour, and in participating at the same time in all the mundane merrymakings incident to a typical Chinese holiday.

If I had time to go through all the periodical festivals observed at Weihaiwei I should like to say something about the feast of Ch'ing-ming, which the National Government is trying to convert into a tree-planting festival or "arbour day" in order to discourage the "worship" of ancestors and at the same time to promote afforestation. I do not propose to dwell upon the advantages and disadvantages of the ritual ceremonies connected with Ch'ing-ming, which has hitherto been the spring festival of the ancestor cult, when the Chinese visit the graves of their forefathers and perform there certain rites which are as simple as they are harmless. What Europeans in Weihaiwei cannot fail to observe with pleasure is that this is the time when the graves are covered with jasmine in full bloom. This is the fragrant yellow blossom that greets the Weihaiwei peasant when he visits the graves of his fathers for the first time after the New Year. Is it not appropriate that the Chinese name for this flowering shrub should be *ying-ch'ün*, "the flower that welcomes the spring"—the season of new birth?

Only one more of the Weihaiwei festivals can be mentioned here,

that is the "Festival of Spirits," which is observed on the fifteenth of the seventh Chinese moon, and therefore falls in or about the latter part of August. When a wreck occurs on the coast of China and people are drowned, the inhabitants of the district often put lighted candles on pieces of wood and float them out to sea. The spirits of the drowned are supposed to catch sight of the candles, which give them light to guide them back to shore, where they may be reincarnated or—this is perhaps a happier destiny—lead them safely over the symbolical ocean of life and death to Paradise. The ceremony of committing the bits of wood with their lighted candles to the water is called *fang hai têng*—"sending forth the ocean lanterns"—and it may be performed at any time of the year. But the Spirits Festival of the fifteenth day of the seventh moon is the great annual occasion on which "ocean lanterns" may be sent forth for the benefit of all who have been lost at sea during the preceding year and whose spirits may still be wandering aimlessly and homelessly in the ocean depths. The little lamps are supposed to guide them home—either back to this tumultuous world of men and women (if they really hanker after a return to such a world), or back to their real and ultimate home in the happier spirit world that lies beyond. Granted a calm sea and windless air, the sight of the harbour of Weihaiwei after sundown on the night of the Spirits Festival is one of the most beautiful imaginable. The water is starred with innumerable little lamps, consisting of candles shielded by shades of coloured paper and fixed on miniature wooden rafts. These tiny rafts are let down very gently from the decks of dozens of junks and "sampan," and allowed to drift slowly out to sea. Some are soon extinguished by lapping water or upset by an untimely breeze. Gradually, as they float further and further away, the lights diminish in number or are swallowed up in the darkness. Meanwhile, the seashore is thronged with a happy but perfectly orderly crowd of men, women, and children, all in holiday dress and all interested in the fortunes of the particular lamps which they themselves took delight in constructing. They, too, are taking part in a religious rite which not only brings salvation, it is hoped, to the spirits of the dead, but also sends a gleam of radiance into the dark places of their own lives.

There is so much that is drab and ugly, cruel and terrifying, in the China of today, that it seems a pity that the Chinese reformers of our time should think it necessary to extirpate the little bits of brightness, the shy evidences of a snubbed artistry and æsthetic sensibility, that lurk in the byways and villages of their unhappy country. In China today there is so much human misery that it is difficult to understand why the country's zealous reformers should go out of their way to silence the few sounds of merrymaking that may still be heard in the land, or to check the mirth and laughter of children.

I regret to say the practice of female foot-binding is still prevalent in Weihaiwei. To sum up the present situation in that respect, perhaps I cannot do better than give an extract from a speech which was delivered by me at a meeting of district headmen a few days before Weihaiwei was handed back to China.

"Although I think I may fairly say that all the British officials who have been sent to administer the affairs of this territory have carried out their duties to the best of their abilities, I know it would be absurd to say that we have satisfied you in every particular. There are differences between British and Chinese legal and other practices and principles which alone would make that impossible. We have interfered very little, or not at all, with Chinese customs, and we have administered justice in our law-courts as far as possible in accordance with Chinese law and custom, modifying that law and custom only when they conflicted with British conceptions of morality and justice. The only Chinese custom which we have really tried hard to get you to abolish is the thoroughly iniquitous and barbarous practice of female foot-binding. We felt that we as foreigners could not resort to forcible measures to make you give up this custom; but we tried every method, short of force, to induce you to do so, and it is a matter of great regret to me that our efforts have met with so little success. Some day, as I have often warned you, you will regret that you did not act upon our exhortations in this matter; and the day will certainly come when your descendants, if not yourselves, will look back with amazement and disgust upon that horrible custom and wonder how it was that you ever tolerated it."

I have been informed, since we left Weihaiwei, that the women are now being compelled, under threat of pecuniary and other penalties, to unbind their feet, as has happened in many other parts of China. Perhaps nothing short of physical compulsion or heavy penalties will effect this very necessary reform, and if that is so I cannot seriously blame our Chinese successors for having recourse to drastic measures. But it was because I foresaw that the women of Weihaiwei would sooner or later be subjected to such measures, and because I wished to save them from this, that I made every effort to get them to give up the custom of foot-binding voluntarily before the rendition of the territory took place.

I may perhaps be expected to say a few words about post-rendition Weihaiwei—Weihaiwei as it is and as it is likely to be in future under Chinese rule. From the British point of view the most important articles in the Rendition Convention were, of course, those which provided for British naval facilities. The British fleet is to be allowed to pay its customary summer visit to Weihaiwei, and certain naval

buildings and recreation grounds on the island are lent to the British Government for a period of ten years, and for such subsequent period as may be agreed upon between the two Governments. For the steps taken to protect the vested interests of British civilians, reference may be made to the published Convention.

Before rendition the Chinese Government announced its intention of treating Weihaiwei as a special administrative area, with a Chinese Commissioner appointed directly by itself. That is to say, Weihaiwei was not to be merged for administrative purposes in the province of Shantung. Its boundary-line was probably to be slightly rectified. Our boundary was purely artificial; in one place it went through the middle of a village. Weihaiwei walled city was also to be included in the special area. The Chinese further intimated that they proposed to take over our existing police force as it stood and probably to increase its numbers. This they have done. We were also assured (this is provided for in the Convention) that in matters of sanitation and municipal government the new Chinese administration would maintain our system to the best of its ability. Port Edward was to be kept open to British and other foreign trade, unless or until the Chinese decided to turn Weihaiwei into a naval base, in which case the foreign merchants who might be obliged to leave the port would receive compensation to be assessed by an Anglo-Chinese Claims Commission. It was also provided that a British Consulate should be established in the port. In accordance with this arrangement, a consular officer who had previously occupied the post of Secretary to Government under my administration opened the British Consulate and assumed the duties of British Consul on the day after the rendition of the territory.

There was a good deal of nervousness among the Chinese, and to a smaller extent among European residents, as to whether it would be possible for the Chinese authorities to maintain order and keep bandits at a distance after our departure, but so far there does not appear to be any cause for complaint, though I understand that my Chinese successor, Commander Hsu Tsu-shan, recently had to request the Chefoo authorities to send a body of troops to Weihaiwei to reinforce the enlarged police force and patrol the frontier. A body of marines, who are said to be disciplined and well-behaved, is also stationed in the territory. The Chinese Government have therefore done their best, and so far with success, to carry out the pledge referred to in the following extract from my farewell speech to the people of the territory from which I have already quoted.

"I cannot refrain from mentioning the undoubted fact that there exists a good deal of nervousness in the territory with regard to the

immediate future. In view of the turbulence and unrest that still prevail in the districts immediately beyond our frontier, it is not surprising that such nervousness should exist. I think I am in a position to relieve your minds on this question. The British Government in England, having been associated with the people of Weihaiwei in a most intimate and harmonious way for over thirty years, were naturally unwilling to carry out the actual rendition of the territory without first obtaining satisfactory assurances from the Chinese Government that they were in a position to afford you full protection and willing to guarantee your immunity from disaster. I am glad to be able to inform you that those assurances have been given to His Majesty's Minister by the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Nanking. Besides giving a written statement of the actual measures which it intends to adopt to ensure the welfare of the people of the territory, the Chinese Government has given the British Government to understand that for your safety and protection it not only accepts full responsibility—that goes without saying—but that in this grave matter it is actually able to fulfil its obligations. You thus see that your welfare is guaranteed by solemn promises, and that in this respect the honour of the Chinese Government is deeply pledged."

As regards the trade and shipping of Weihaiwei, I fear the outlook is not very promising. Already, within four months after rendition, many of the Chinese merchants are reported to have gone bankrupt or to have migrated to other ports. But it would be a grave mistake to assume that this lamentable state of affairs is due to inefficient administration. During the British occupation, Weihaiwei enjoyed the status of a free port, and a great deal of such commercial prosperity as it attained was due to that fact, and can therefore only be described as temporary and artificial. Weihaiwei, indeed, got a much larger proportion of the trade of Shantung than it was entitled to, and during the last few years robbed Chefoo of an appreciable part of its prosperity. Immediately after rendition a Chinese custom house and several other tax offices from which Weihaiwei was free under British rule were established at Port Edward, with the result that the great part of its trade which resulted from its being a free port showed immediate signs of collapse. The leading merchants recently sent a deputation to Nanking to beg the Central Government to allow Weihaiwei to revert to the privileged position it had occupied under the British, but in view of the fact that Weihaiwei's position as a duty-free port was undoubtedly detrimental to the interests of Chefoo and Tsingtao, especially the former, I do not think the Central Government can be expected to grant the merchants' petition in full; though it appears from the latest news that some special concession may be made to Weihaiwei as

a temporary measure, or that the Nanking Government will grant the territory an annual subsidy to enable it to balance its budget and pay its way.

I have thought it necessary to draw attention to the real cause of the sudden shrinkage that has taken place in the trade of Weihaiwei during the few months that have elapsed since the retrocession of the territory, because it would be most unfair to the Chinese Government, and to the Chinese administration of Weihaiwei in particular, to allow it to be supposed that the substitution of Chinese for British rule has *per se* brought about Weihaiwei's commercial decay. Long before rendition both British and Chinese merchants fully understood that after rendition Weihaiwei would almost inevitably lose its status as a free port, and that this would unquestionably and necessarily have the effect of transferring a large proportion of its trade to more conveniently situated ports.

Nevertheless I think it is only due to ourselves to say that for many reasons besides those connected with the absence of a custom house, the people of Weihaiwei were sincerely sorry to witness the hauling down of the British flag, under the protection of which they had enjoyed thirty-two years of tranquillity and quiet prosperity such as had long been unknown to the vast majority of their fellow-countrymen. Whatever may be said of the circumstances in which British rule in Weihaiwei was originally established, we have no reason to be ashamed of our work there, and I think we have left a good name behind us. As for our feelings towards the people to whom we have regretfully as rulers said good-bye, I think I cannot express them in better language than that employed by Lord Passfield, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who authorized me by telegraph, a few days before rendition took place, to deliver the following message to the people of the territory:

"The Government of His Britannic Majesty have been associated with the people of Weihaiwei for more than thirty years. Now, in accordance with their policy of friendship and goodwill towards the Republican Government of China, they hand back the government of the territory to the sovereign authority of China.

"It is the earnest hope of His Majesty's Government that the people of Weihaiwei will in years to come continue to enjoy the peace and prosperity which have been theirs for a generation past.

"In relinquishing their active association with you, His Majesty's Government desire to bear grateful witness to the co-operation and sympathy which have always been extended to them by the people of Weihaiwei and to express the hope that in the near future you may, as an integral part of a united China, attain a still greater measure of culture, wealth, and influence."

Sir JAMES STEWART LOCKHART said he wished to thank Sir Reginald Johnston for his lecture and to emphasize his praise of the amenities of Weihai and of its inhabitants. The population was peace-loving and law-abiding; with a population of some fifteen thousand, the jails were empty, averaging twenty-five inmates. Sir Reginald Johnston had that touch which produced goodwill and co-operation. He (Sir James) would like to second his good wishes for the future prosperity of this little territory and to thank Sir Reginald for his lecture.

The CHAIRMAN said: It is very encouraging to hear from Sir Reginald Johnston of the fine record of our country during the years of our occupation of Weihaiwei, of the spirit of goodwill and co-operation which grew up under our rule, and of the peace and prosperity which it developed. He has said nothing of the feeling we must all have at the rendition of this little outpost; we have heard of the loss of trade resulting on our departure. It is perhaps not of so much importance to note the reasons for this as the fact that our trade has been lost here as in other places. May we not hope that a policy which bears so hardly on British prestige in the East may be soon abandoned? We thank Sir Reginald for his fine story, one which makes a worthy chapter in the history of Great Britain. (Applause.)

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF MODERN TURKEY*

By D. TALBOT RICE.

THIS evening I am going to try to tell you something about the new Turkey, and I hope that we will be able to discuss the future of this extremely interesting country together. My information is, I am afraid, hardly up to date, for, since the summer, I have only been in Turkey for a short and very busy visit, during which I had little opportunity for making enquiries as to the political events of this summer. The most notable of these events were the formation of a new political party, a severe criticism of the policy of the old Prime Minister, Ismet Pasha, the appointment of various new ministers, and finally the complete collapse of this new party some months later. Of all these things I know no more than I have been able to glean from the daily papers. On other points, too, there are probably many among my audience who have more detailed or more accurate information than I. I ask, therefore, for leniency, and I shall attempt only to give an impression of the country and of its development as I have been able to observe it during long visits in four successive years.

But first I will hark back a little farther to the spring of 1925. I was travelling home from Mesopotamia by way of the southern coast of Asia Minor and Constantinople, and I had not visited Turkey before. All reports I had heard in Mesopotamia were rather unfavourable; there was, it seemed, much corruption, little civility, and still less honesty. If one called on the Wali, as in the old days, he would not bother to return the visit, or sometimes even to receive the visitor; if one chanced to meet an ill-tempered passport official, one would as likely as not be refused admittance to the country, even though one's visa was in perfect order. I first touched at Mersina, where an untidy, ill-shaven scallywag appeared and wrote down the usual details as to my mother's Christian name, and so forth. A little bribery, administered with the aid of the purser, obtained permission for me to land, but other passengers on the boat were less successful. At the quay an aged customs official, typical of the worst of the old régime, clothed in a tattered blue uniform, felt me all over and examined the contents of

* Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on February 18, 1931, Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond in the Chair.

my pockets. I was, to my surprise, allowed to keep my camera. But in spite of this, the attitude of the officials and the general impression which they gave of the country was not very favourable. At Smyrna a smarter official in a fur kolpac was more efficient, but worse tempered. At Constantinople the police were efficient, but as often as not very surly; the customs officials were inefficient beyond belief and surly as well, in spite of the fact that they had been well tipped by the dragoon of the hotel at which I was going to stay.

These impressions were those of a tourist who knew neither the country nor the language, but on comparing notes with friends and travellers who visited Turkey at this time, I think that this impression is a fairly just one; not as bad as I had been led to expect, but still not very favourable.

Two years and a half were to elapse before I returned to Turkey. The first change I noticed was a superficial one—the abolition of the kolpac or fur hat, which had come into general use after the end of the fez. Going slightly deeper I noticed that the police and officials were much more polite than they had been two years before; one felt no longer that resentment at the presence of a foreigner; or was it perhaps resentment of an Englishman? For we, as a nation, were distinctly in disfavour for some time after the days of the military occupation. There were other changes, too, in Constantinople. The police had new uniforms and were doing point duty at the corners with the greatest energy; a system of motor traffic organization had been introduced which, however arduous it made the procuring of a driving licence, had made motor stealing impossible; there were numerous groups of students, male and female, walking freely about together in the best of spirits; there were newer and smarter taxis. But the town seemed quieter and more provincial; business men complained of the lack of trade, agents of the lack of shipping. The Turks talked of Angora, the Greeks of the unjust treatment they were receiving and of the impossibility of making money or even of trading in the most modest way. All those who understood business in Asia Minor had been exchanged, and those in Constantinople were so hampered by restrictions that there was little for them to do.

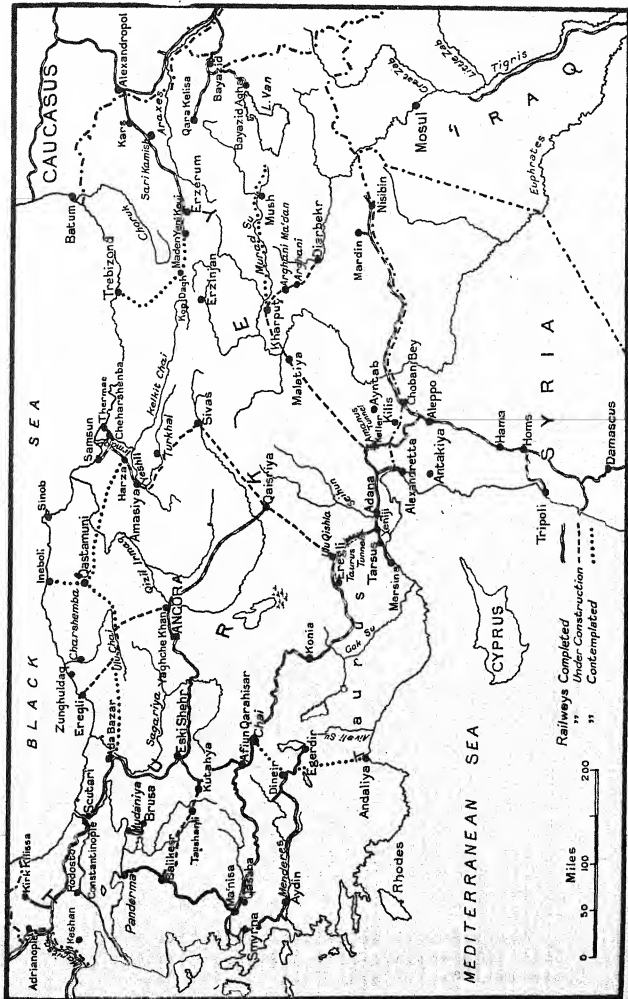
The town had lost its gaiety. Levantines and European residents spoke of the good old days when everyone had their yachts and went for perpetual picnics. In 1927 few could boast such luxuries; those who could not for the most part seemed to blame the new Government, rather than acknowledge the real cause—namely, the change of life and amenities there brought about by the war. The Greeks, too, the most cheerful of people when in luck, are the most downcast when in adversity, and the Turks though often happy are never gay. And at this time they were all too busy for much enjoyment; the more serious

ones thought of the future of their young and much admired country, while the more frivolous were well occupied in an attempt to make money and to out-Greek the Greek and out-Armenian the Armenian.

In this attempt some of them seem to have been fairly successful, as far as one can gather from those who do business in Turkey today. But it is much to be regretted that the business classes did not follow the Government's advice, and turn to the West of Europe for their instruction rather than to the old minorities whom they so much deride. In the long run, I think, they would find that a more honest and less adventurously grabbing policy would be the more satisfactory. This criticism, of course, is not applicable in every case, and it still remains to be seen whether the Turk of Asia Minor will be able to conduct the business and exploit the numerous resources which have been thrown in his way by the exit of the Greek. Up to now little has been done, any enterprises on a large scale being invariably foreign, or else, in a few cases, Government supported. Of the latter class one may note two large sugar refineries, which seem to be working quite successfully.

But to return to our survey. We find that in two years the people had become more friendly, more civil, and more efficient, but that business, in Constantinople at least, had declined. And the same facts are true of Smyrna and other large trading centres. In all areas the population had decreased, and in none of the large ports did the shipping approach the pre-war standard; whereas Athens and Salonica had not only increased their population by thousands, but had also doubled, if not trebled, their trade, shipping, and prosperity.

In the course of the next two years we find that the same factors gradually develop. Each year, on my return to Turkey, changes, mostly of a minor character, strike me afresh. They can perhaps all be summarized as a gradual settling down of the people into a new mould. Streets are cleaned; the countryside is no longer brigand infested; students wear uniforms and learn with well-nigh German avidity; the police become smarter, both in appearance and in activity; the countless permits and red tape which made life unnecessarily difficult are gradually disappearing; trains are clean, comfortable, and punctual; here and there roads are being made, though there remains a vast amount to do in this respect; there is considerable building activity in some of the larger towns; already education is having its effect, and the lower professional classes, small shopkeepers, police, and so forth, often seem to have as wide an interest in the world as their counterparts in more Western countries. When leaving Constantinople this summer, for instance, the policeman who stamped my passport, seeing my profession "archæologist," asked me numerous questions about our work that year, and as to how successful we had



been. He ended by asking me to his home on the Upper Euphrates, where, he assured me, there were more interesting things to excavate than at Constantinople, and for anyone but a Byzantinist he was probably right.

All this change of outlook has come about in a very short period, but it seems to have come to stay, and the effect on the younger generation, more especially on those who have known no other life than that of today, is one that is rooted fairly deeply. Some students of modern Turkey maintain that these characteristics were always there, and it was only necessary to bring them out, not to instil them. Such is the main thesis of Halide Edib's recent book "Turkey Faces West." Other critics, on the other hand, maintain that the Turk of today is little different from the Turk of yesterday, and that, were the Government to fall, the majority of the population would lapse into their pre-war apathy. This opinion may be right as regards the peasantry and the older generation, but I think that it is thoroughly unsound in respect of the towns. And it is, after all, the younger or middle-aged inhabitants of the town who count most in the conduct of a nation.

I think, too, that one factor of the greatest importance has escaped the notice of many writers on, or students of, the new movement—namely, the extreme docility and the disciplined obedience of the majority of the population. What they are told to do, or even what they see their leaders doing, they themselves wish to do, and do in the shortest possible time. The Ghazi praises those who live a gay and cheerful life, who like dancing, drinking, and amusement. The population therefore dances and drinks. But the Ghazi also works; he produced the seven days' speech, writing it, on the best authority, without any interval for rest. The population therefore works with a keen and ready zeal, very foreign to a Near Eastern nation noted throughout European travel literature for its slowness and procrastination. A Greek friend of mine tells me that since the signing of the pact between Venezelos and Ismet Pasha last autumn the attitude of the general population towards the Greeks has changed considerably. It has changed at a sign from those who govern the country without any great difficulty or any great effort. This rapid adoption of new ideas is, I think, due to an almost German discipline, to a great respect for all in authority. But it is a fault as well as a virtue, for a population which is so easily swayed cannot be at heart very sincere. What would happen should Kemal depart, and no strong hand arise to direct the swaying? The answer to this question rests with the youth of the country.

Ethics and morals are not the only factors that make a nation successful. Commerce and with it finance are perhaps even more important. The great traders of Constantinople, of Smyrna, of the old

Greek towns of the Black Sea coast, are unanimous in their accounts of the decline of trade. Constantinople is no longer one of the greatest ports of the Mediterranean; it is almost a quiet provincial town. Smyrna is no longer a busy trading centre; it is still practically a ruin. The once flourishing commerce is dead and it seems hard to believe that it can ever be fully revived.

Near Constantinople there are fields which grow crops today which were bare five years ago; one asks why and is told that refugees from Thrace are responsible for the cultivation. The old Turkish peasants were far too lazy to do more than was absolutely necessary. The same is true of the peasant today all over Anatolia, and the colonies of energetic Thracian refugees are few and far between. Whether education will change the peasant, whether the town dwellers, whom the young men meet during their military service, or the new parts of the country that they see, will make them more diligent agricultural workers, we cannot tell. But it seems probable that the more intelligent and quicker ones will themselves want to become town dwellers, will themselves want to drive cars or work machines, while the stolid ones will work on in their old lazy manner. Tractors and machinery can simplify agriculture, but they can never create an ambitious or energetic peasantry.

The actual Turkish peasants appear on the whole to be in rather a bad way. They have always been poor and it has always been difficult to form any estimate of their actual means owing to their habit of keeping everything to themselves and readiness to tell a lie if it were likely to benefit them. Tax collectors have thus always been confronted with the most difficult of tasks. But a story I heard a few months ago in Turkey is not without significance. A tax collector in the neighbourhood of Smyrna is reported to have met with such ill-success in the fulfilment of his duty that he not only returned from his quest empty-handed, but also approached the Wali with a request that the people in his area were so poor that they could hardly subsist unless Government support were forthcoming.

The story may be an exaggeration. But the fact of extreme poverty is nevertheless true, and in spite of its title of "The People's Party," the present Government does not really seem to do all that it can to remedy matters. The spirit of the age of the Sultans is not dead, for only this year vast sums have been spent on the creation of a new summer resort at Yalova. Buildings and roads of the most elaborate character have been constructed to attract visitors to this singularly unsuitable place, situated some sixteen miles from the town of Yalova, where stand the hotel, restaurant, hot-baths and other features designed to enhance the fame of the resort. And all this has been done when there are already quite as good bathing beaches close to Constantinople and when there is

an age-old health resort at Broussa. To create a new capital away from the corrupt influence of Constantinople was a wise and praiseworthy action; to attempt to create a purely fictitious pleasure resort seems to be both waste of labour and of money, at a moment when the country can very ill afford it.

But to return to the problem of agriculture, really the most important as regards the economical future of the country. I have not visited the great agricultural lands of the south since I first saw Mersina in 1925. But in the north, along the southern coast of the Black Sea, there seems little hope of a trade revival. The peasantry are not over-energetic and the depopulated areas are considerable. Inland of Trebizond, for instance, I passed through several large villages or small towns of 300-400 houses which were deserted when the Greek population was exchanged in 1923, and these towns remain absolutely uninhabited today. The houses stand just as they were left seven years ago! And one hears from all observers that depopulation in the south and east is just as serious. There seems, therefore, little chance that Turkey will produce a large surplus of corn for export. Some of the last few years have been unusually bad, and as a result Turkey has more than once had to buy corn for home consumption. This was owing to ill-fortune; but in the future it seems that Turkey will probably be able to do little more than guarantee her home supply in general, though occasionally there may be a certain surplus. There remain tobacco, raisins, opium, nuts, and other commodities, which are produced almost entirely for export; but there seems little prospect of increasing the production to any large extent. And even if it is increased there is not always the possibility of selling at an advantageous profit. Turkey must always beware of producing commodities for a market in which there is already a slump.

Business men at Constantinople blame the lack of trade and prosperity on the Government and its policy. It would seem fairer to blame it on the exchange of population, which deprived Turkey of a section of the population who were hardworking and ambitious, although they were aliens.

The customs and tariffs of Turkey are, however, singularly oppressive to the foreign trader and this with a definite reason. Whatever happens Turkey does not wish to return to the pre-war state of affairs, where the country was commercially entirely under foreign control. She resents bitterly the idea of the capitalizations, as much as that of a control of business by the Greeks and Armenians, and I think that the present tariffs are designed to destroy the memory of the former and to exterminate the few business men belonging to the minority races who remain. Each year their numbers become smaller in Constantinople. When they are finally squashed there seems every reason to believe

that the nature of the taxes will be changed, for the Turks are not blind to the financial difficulties in which their country stands. They are willing to trade with Greeks, as with any other nation, and to be on the most friendly terms with them, but it must be understood once and for all that the Greeks come as foreigners and not as a powerful minority population. One regrets the state of affairs when one visits towns all over the country which were once gay and flourishing and which are now deserted and decaying, but one sympathizes with the Turkish attitude. One must sympathize, too, if she is at times rather obstinately proud with respect to Europeans. I have often heard the criticism that the Turks think they know everything and refuse to learn from those who know better. This fact is a true one. But Turkey has hardly forgotten the somewhat summary treatment she received at the hands of the Great Powers before the war and after the Armistice. Lord Salisbury's cynical remark: "We have backed the wrong horse," and the policy of Lloyd George's Government in 1919 still aggravate a sore spot, perhaps even more so than they did some years ago, for Kemalist Turkey is far more nationalistic than the old country ever was, and the more ardent nationalists are very touchy on certain points and are very apt to resent criticism, however well meant it may be.

The nationalist spirit of today is very strongly marked and there seems to be a universal belief in the unity of the country; there is a striking thoroughbred feeling, although anthropologically speaking the population is made up of several different stocks. This idea of nationalism and breeding is one which is doing a great deal for the stabilization of the Republic, and it has helped to the greatest extent to build up a shattered morale. But there is danger that it may be carried a little too far, and that a narrow nationalism may cause Turkey to throw aside her present and extremely wise policy of being on good terms with everyone, especially her neighbours, and cause her to enter instead into that still bubbling pot of petty nationalism which is the Balkans.

Of recent events one of the most notable is the growing power of Italian influence. Mustapha Kemal, as a figurehead, has always been rather similar to Mussolini, and it seems quite probable that a more advanced nationalist movement, akin to Fascism, in nature if not in name, will soon become one of the characteristics of the nation. We have already laid stress on the obedient character of the population; if they become Fascists, they will probably do so with the greatest zeal and energy, and with an effect which will have its influence on external as well as on internal politics.

I have noticed, too, that during the past few years Turkey has, with the fez, cast aside much of her near Eastern garb and that she is rapidly becoming more and more Central-Europeanized, if one may use the term. A recent journey through the Balkans gave the impression that

Roumania and Yugo-Slavia were in some ways more typically Near Eastern than was Turkey; that Greece was a Near Eastern country who looked to America for inspiration, whereas Turkey modelled herself with growing success on Germany, or at least on the Central European Powers.

One further matter, and that of considerable interest, calls for comment—namely, religion. Europe today seems to be characterized by two very distinct attitudes: either a definite agnosticism or atheism, or a very sincere religious belief which calls for a stricter and more enthusiastic adherence, in England at least, than was common in the last century. But the Eastern nations in their youth are more violent than are we in the Western countries in their condemnation of religion. It is thus that we see sometimes such a marked intolerance of the old faith. But I think that there is today in Turkey a considerable religious freedom. The Moslem faith is no longer State supported, but the country remains a Moslem one nevertheless. Those who wish to go to the Mosques are not interfered with; even the irreligious go now and then at the more important feasts, adopting for the occasion as often as not a pose of cynical curiosity. Like all people, the Turks dislike being laughed at, and as the scientists, reformers, and modernists have no great faith in the old creeds, the educated and often the uneducated population follow the example set by their superiors. The majority of them have, I think, a slinking affection for the old State-supported religion, though I doubt if it would carry them very far in the event of a turn of the tide. In parts of the interior, of course, more especially in the north-east, the population is sincerely Moslem and would doubtless support a Caliph, were one to arise. But in general the new Angora, a mosqueless town which looks to the West, is more in favour than the old Stamboul with its narrow restrictions upon life. One thing, however, for which all are thankful, is the end of the old Ministry of Evkaf. The office survives as a department, but its power is declining and soon one hopes this much-abused concern will have met the fate it deserves.

I will try to summarize my impressions in a few words. The Kemalist Government set out to recast the morale of the people in a new mould and I think that the casting process is being accomplished with considerable success, and the new generation is one of a very different type from the old. In this respect, in fact, there remains little more to be desired in what has been done. A continued effort of the whole people, over a long period, is still necessary to set the new casting with absolute sureness.

But nearly as important as morale is finance, and in this respect the position of the country is far from secure. In a short article which was published in the Society's JOURNAL for last July I noted that the Government seems to consider that a certain increase in industrialism might

solve their financial problems. But present conditions over the whole world show us that we, like the people of Erewhon, are suffering from a disease of industrialism, and I think that Turkey has little chance in world competition. Let her produce for her own markets as much as she can. Let her develop her natural resources, which are of the finest in many respects and which in general remain practically virgin. But if she is wise she will leave world manufacturing to others. Turkey is primarily an agricultural country, and in agriculture lies her future and the final stabilization of her, at the moment, none too secure currency.

Sir DENISON ROSS: I should like to ask the lecturer two questions. First, is there any truth in the rumour that Santa Sophia is being turned into a broadcasting station? (Laughter.) Secondly, what is the effect on education of the compulsory change to the Latin alphabet? The first question was a joke, but this is of real importance, for the old education was based on the Koran, and the Koran was based on the Arabic script.

To me one of the most interesting points that the lecturer has made is the very real reverence which the modern Turk has for Mustapha Kemal; this hero-worship has prevented that "blank of religion" which must otherwise have occurred.

Mr. TALBOT RICE: The first question was meant as a joke, but it is a very useful one, for it illustrates the point I have made about the Evkaf. The mosque we call Santa Sophia was a Christian church, and now is one of the best-known mosques; thousands of tourists flock to it. A few years ago the leading on the roof had fallen into disrepair; the Ministry of Evkaf has had it repaired; the work is very well done, and a considerable sum was spent on it. As to the change of script, this is extremely interesting, and is, perhaps, the most important change of recent years. I have not dwelt on it in this lecture, because I attempted to give my opinion on it in a short article that I wrote for the JOURNAL in the summer. This change will, I think, have a very great effect upon education, and more than anything else will do away with the old system of education, which was purely a religious one; no longer will whole chapters of the Koran be learnt by heart, but there will be substituted in its place rather a wide education in the Western sense of the word. But—as a result of the incredible enthusiasm with which the Turks accomplish their sudden decisions—very little attention is being paid to the old Turkish language, and it is gradually falling into disuse; it is a great pity that this old heritage should not be preserved. There is a definite despising of the old script and the old language, just as there is now a definite despising of the fez as a hat. The new alphabet has been learnt not only by the younger generation but by old, decrepit men, who have sat

down and diligently learnt the Western alphabet with extraordinary energy. It is very admirable to see them doing it. I wanted a pair of shoes in the bazaar at Istamboul only five months after the change, and the shoemaker wrote down my order in the new script! I was immensely impressed by this. Imagine the position reversed, and a European shoemaker being expected, after five months' practice, to write down his orders in Arabic script—I don't think he could do it. But this shows the enthusiasm and docility of the people in learning things foreign to them if it is (so to speak) hinted to them that it is the right thing to do.

Mr. E. R. P. MOON: Following upon the subject of education, I should like to ask the lecturer whether there is any idea of establishing any university or universities in modern Turkey. He spoke of the enthusiasm of the students for the education they receive, and I imagine that these are students of something under sixteen years. I should like to know whether there is any adolescent or adult education.

One other question.

The lecturer has told us of the tendency towards Fascism. Could he tell us what the Turks think about the Russians as a nation and the Soviet as a political force?

Mr. TALBOT RICE: There is a large university at Constantinople, and I think there are one or two others in the country. I certainly was referring in general first of all to people under sixteen who attend primary schools, and, secondly, to a large class of students who go on for two or three years; these are principally architectural or commercial students who are working in technical colleges. I was working for a time close by an architectural college in Constantinople and was struck by the way in which these young men and girls worked together. The universities are, as far as I know, very successful, and the students in them seem to have very much the same attitude as the students in the technical colleges; perhaps they study more elaborate subjects, but in general there is a preference for rather more material success in learning, something that will be of use in business or commercial life. Such things as art are not, in general, studied keenly or very seriously.

As to the second question—about Russia—Turkey is anxious at all costs to keep on good terms with Russia, who is her most powerful and nearest neighbour, and she knows she has more to fear from her than from others. Russians have a great influence in the country. At Trebizond, for instance, there is a Russian consul with a staff of seven secretaries, and huge Russian consulates are established in many towns. The Russians are attempting to get a good deal of influence in Turkey in every way. They already have a good deal of commercial importance. Most of the tyres used, for example, are of Russian manufacture,

while petrol is of Russian make. The Russians are anxious, I think, to achieve this commercial success in Turkey, but they are keen to keep on good terms with the Turks. They realize that they must not go too far. As to whether there is much Communistic propaganda in the country I don't know, but I think it could not survive long.

A MEMBER: What is the ethical system that the Turks are trying to train their young people in? Is there any tendency at all in Turkey towards Christianity? Then, what has happened to the admirable "Robert College"? I would like to say further that in matters of *business* it is difficult to come to terms at all with Turkey at this present time. I was concerned recently with a large order which might have gone to Turkey, but the credit of the Turkish people with whom we were dealing was not consistent with the amount of money they were prepared to pay out in accordance with the terms of their contract, and the contract fell through. Are there any real signs of improvement? Another question, How far is Russia attempting to permeate Turkey with her ideas of government?

MR. TALBOT RICE: Christianity has had no effect in Turkey whatsoever, to my knowledge. There is no oppression in religion; those who wish to go to the mosques are allowed to do so; but the younger generation have adopted the worship of Mustapha Kemal, or, in its place, and to a very definite degree, of modern "success," if I may call it so, and are fully occupied with the future of the country. As regards the Robert College. It still exists, and is very prosperous. A great many of the students are, of course, Turks; others are from neighbouring Balkan countries, especially Bulgaria, and they are turning out a very important and interesting set of people; but there are strict and narrow laws governing colleges as in the case of other institutions. The lectures are given in Turkish, and although the Government are in favour of colleges, they are anxious to bring the Turkish universities or colleges to the fore, and prefer to give their favour to the Constantinople university, for instance, rather than to a foreign foundation such as the Robert College.

As regards the question of payment in business contracts, the speaker has brought out an extremely interesting point. It is a fact that Turkey is not very keen on meeting her obligations, and very often does not pay. The Turks will give guarantees, but no more, and in general, they find somebody who is prepared to take the risk. If we have lost contracts in Turkey, it is because we have not taken the risk. I have heard of several orders which might have been given to English companies, but they were not prepared to take the risk.

With regard to Russia: I do not think that Russia permeates Turkey with her ideas of government to a very great extent. Turkey being so near to Russia, there is bound to be a certain amount of

permeation, but I think that the Russians are more occupied with their *commercial* success in the country. I think, as far as Government principles are concerned, that they are content to leave things as they are for the time being.

MADAME ANDRÉ RIEDER: I would like to ask a question with regard to the women of Turkey, for there have been such colossal changes during the last five years. Four women consuls were elected the other day in Istamboul. Can the lecturer tell us something of the present position of women? And I would like to know whether the native university in Constantinople (which was the old War Office) is still co-educational as it was five years ago; also, whether the "national clubs"—the "Turk-Ojak"—have still a large membership, and whether they have not done much in helping to teach the new alphabet? If religion is not taught any more, there seems some sort of ethical code which permeates the country.

MR. TALBOT RICE: Co-education is essential. All schools practically are on that basis. Women, in modern Turkey, are in exactly the same position as the men. They get the same chances and they get no advantages—or, possibly, they do get an advantage through the fact that they were rather put in the background during the last régime. (I think that is a characteristic of any reform—that it gives advantages for a few years after it has come into force.) The "Turk-Ojak" are extremely important and very flourishing indeed. The members comprise equal numbers of either sex. The clubs are closely associated with the Government, while to them is given the same sort of "worship" as is given to Mustapha Kernal. They are occupied with lectures, concerts, and so on; these are thronged, and are listened to with very great interest by the audiences, for the people show an extraordinary aptitude for hearing and profiting by instruction.

MADAME ANDRÉ RIEDER: Did these "clubs" not do much of the voluntary teaching of the new alphabet?

MR. TALBOT RICE: Yes, a great deal. They are largely responsible for it.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it remains for me to convey to the lecturer our thanks for the extraordinarily interesting lecture he has given us. I will ask you to convey your thanks in the usual manner. (Applause.)

MANDATES: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE "A" MANDATES OF THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST *

BY NORMAN BENTWICH

THE LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The subject of mandates would be difficult to deal with in the space of three-quarters of an hour; so I shall for the most part deal with the mandates of the Middle East, which are the so-called "A" Mandates. The mandate system was first created in the treaties made at the end of the war. Two principles had been laid down during the war by President Wilson, and adopted by the Allied Powers, with regard to the countries which had belonged to Turkey and were being delivered from the Turkish rule, and with regard to the German colonies. Those principles were "no annexation" and "self-determination." The principle of self-determination was one of the great ideals to be fulfilled as the result of the war, and was applied to the settlement of European nationalities. Something had to be done with the German colonies and with those Arab countries that had been detached from Turkey which would satisfy those principles; but it was realized that the peoples of those countries were not able to govern themselves entirely and stand alone in the strenuous conditions of our time. They were not fitted for complete self-government, and so the idea was established that they should be administered for a time with the advice and guidance of the more advanced Powers. As it was said in the Covenant, the well-being and development of those countries was to be regarded as a sacred trust of civilization, and that idea could be best carried out by placing those countries under the tutelage of the more advanced Powers who would act as mandatorys—that is, as it were, as agents for the League of Nations. "Mandate" is a term derived originally from the Roman Law, the mandate being a document of agency and the mandatory being the agent. But really at the back of the idea of the international mandate, the mandates applied to the government of countries, is the English conception of a trust, of an office held by a person for the benefit of and on behalf of another person, where the trustee has to act with full conscientiousness,

* Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on March 18, 1931, Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond in the Chair. In introducing the lecturer, the Chairman said that Mr. Bentwich was well known as the Attorney-General in Palestine and a well-known authority on International Law, on which he had lectured at The Hague; he had also written a book on Mandates and could speak with full authority on them.

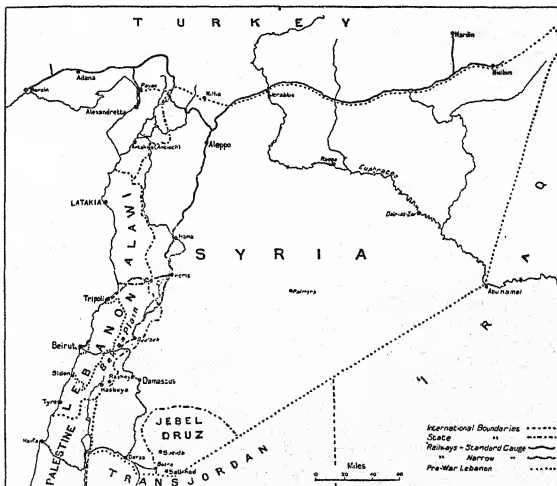
not making any benefit for himself, but holding the property for the benefit of another. The Mandatory Powers therefore in all cases exercise a trust on behalf of civilization over the countries which are entrusted to their care.

Now there was a clear and obvious difference between the condition of the countries detached from Turkey, the Arab countries, and of those lands which had been the German colonies in Africa and Polynesia. Article 22 of the Covenant, which is the general article dealing with the mandate system, makes that distinction, and says that there are certain countries which have already reached a condition of civilization in which they can be regarded provisionally as independent nations, subject to receiving administrative aid and advice. Those countries were the Arab provinces of Turkey—viz., Palestine, including the area now called Trans-Jordan; Syria, including the Lebanon Province on the coast; and Iraq. The other countries that were placed under mandate—the former colonies in Africa and Polynesia—were to be directly governed by the Mandatory Power. They were inhabited by semi-civilized peoples who clearly were not yet able to rule themselves, and therefore the Mandatory was to exercise directly the powers of government, but subject to a trust for the material and moral well-being of the inhabitants. That general trust is common really to both mandates. But while in the "A" Mandates the Mandatory is to give aid and advice and not directly to govern, in the so-called "B" and "C" Mandates he is actually to carry on the government subject to this trust and to certain specific duties and obligations in the interest of the native peoples. The Mandatory also, in the interest of the world as a whole, is to see that there is equality of opportunity for foreigners of all states, and no preference for the subjects of the Mandatory over those of any other state; that there is complete freedom of conscience and freedom of worship; and that there is no oppression of minorities or religious sects. Those are principles which apply generally.

I do not propose to deal more with the mandates for the tropical colonies. Large as is the orbit of the Central Asian Society, I do not think it extends to Central Africa or the Polynesian Islands. I shall restrict myself to dealing with the development of the mandates in the Asiatic countries detached from Turkey—Iraq, Syria, and Palestine—and I would say right away that I do not propose to say much about Palestine for two reasons. I expect you have heard recently more than you want to hear about Palestine, and I know more than I want about Palestine.

It may be said, I think, broadly that the Arab peoples have from the beginning never liked or acquiesced in the idea of a mandate or mandatory guidance. Before the treaty of peace was negotiated, at the very end of the war, the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in

the East issued a proclamation in Syria, Iraq, and Palestine, in which it was stated that it was the aim and purpose of the Allies to bring about a complete redemption of those countries from Turkish rule, and to establish national governments which should be based on the free choice of the peoples. That perhaps led the Arab peoples to hope and expect that they would have complete national independence. So the system of mandatory guidance for a period, of the peoples being



schooling, as it were, in political life, has never been acceptable to them. As regards Iraq, in fact, no mandate instrument as such has been brought into force. The resistance to the mandatory idea having been expressed very early, Great Britain more or less accepted that opposition, and introduced a modification or transformation of the mandate system in Iraq from the beginning. Part of the dislike of the mandate, it has been pointed out, arose from a misunderstanding of what the mandate was. The word "mandate" is sometimes used in the sense of an order or command, and "mandatory" sometimes means an imperious order. A mandatory injunction as a legal term of our courts is an order to somebody to do something. And the translation of the

words "mandate" and "mandatory" in the early days apparently gave the idea to the Arab peoples that they were going to be placed under the orders and command of those guiding Powers. And that they resisted. As regards Iraq the mandate for that country was drafted with the mandates for Palestine and Syria in 1920, and was laid in 1921 before the Council of the League of Nations, which is the controlling body over the mandatories. The general idea of the draft mandates for Iraq and Syria was that the governing Power was to draw up an organic law—*i.e.*, a constitutional law—with representatives of the people for the development of self-governing institutions in those countries. Then there were a number of other provisions in the mandate applying the principles I have mentioned. In 1922, when the mandates were brought up again before the Council of the League of Nations for ratification, Great Britain announced that she proposed a change of plan with regard to Iraq. Instead of a mandate issued by the League of Nations to Great Britain for the government of the country, she proposed to ask the Council of the League of Nations to accept a treaty between Great Britain and Iraq in which the fundamental principles which had been in the draft mandate were carried out, and then to make herself, as it were, the guarantor for the fulfilment of those conditions in an Act or an undertaking which she would give to the League of Nations. That modification of the mandate system was accepted by the Council, and actually carried into force in 1924. The relations between Great Britain and Iraq have, then, from the beginning been treaty relations, and in the form of a treaty of alliance. There was this provision in the treaty, that the King of Iraq—King Faisul, who was elected King in 1921, made the treaty with Great Britain in 1922—undertook to accept the advice of Great Britain in all matters of foreign policy and financial policy which concerned the fundamental interests of the two countries, and Great Britain undertook to give that advice. So we have been in the position of advisers by force of a treaty with the ruler of the country; and Iraq has been treated as an independent nation having control of its foreign relations as well as of its internal relations, but subject to the advice and guidance of British advisers.

The people of Iraq have been a young nation in a hurry: they have from the first wanted to get rid even of that amount of guidance and advice which remained in this "sublimated" mandate. The veiled mandate has been not much more popular than the naked mandate, which was originally proposed in 1920. Almost every year there have been proposals for some change in the position; and since Parliamentary Government was established in Iraq, Ministries have fallen with a regularity which is more common, say, in France than in England, because usually there is a strong party which is opposed to what

remains of the guidance and control of the British advisers. In 1925 it appeared that the mandatory control was to be conferred for a longer period, because when the Council of the League of Nations had to deal with the future of the Province of Mosul, which was in dispute between Iraq and Turkey, and it decided that that Province should be part of the Kingdom of Iraq, it attached a condition—that Great Britain should retain her mandatory position for a period of twenty-five years unless in the meantime Iraq were admitted as a full member of the League of Nations. That condition was made largely for the protection of the Kurdish people, of whom there is a large number in that Province. Nevertheless, year by year the people of Iraq have demanded the modification of the régime; and in 1928 Great Britain announced that she proposed to recommend to the League of Nations that Iraq should be admitted as a full member of the League of Nations, and become therefore a sovereign independent state in 1932, provided that she continued to show progress and to show herself fitted for complete independence. A year later Great Britain went a step further, and said that she proposed without condition and without qualification to recommend that in 1932 Iraq should be admitted as a member of the League of Nations, and any kind of mandatory control would then come to an end. That is the position which has now been placed before the League of Nations and which Great Britain is implementing. She is acting on the assumption that her recommendation to the League of Nations will be accepted, and that in less than two years Iraq will become a completely independent nation. With a view to that Great Britain has made a fresh treaty of alliance with Iraq, which was ratified a few months ago, and which sets out the terms of alliance without the remains of the British advisory control. The treaty is made, as it is said, on the basis of complete freedom, equality, and independence, and there is to be an alliance for twenty-five years and full and frank consultation in matters of foreign policy. The broad basis of this treaty, which is to come into force when Iraq is admitted as a member of the League of Nations, is that Iraq gets full control over her internal and external affairs, and becomes completely responsible for everything in her territory; but that England retains a position of military alliance with the country, and there is recognition of England's military and imperial interest: and the protection and maintenance of the communications of England with the East, which pass through Iraq, will be regarded as a matter of common concern. Therefore England is to be permitted to maintain bases for the Air Force in Iraq at two places, at Basra and to the west of the Euphrates, and to maintain troops at those places; and for a certain period, a period of five years, she may maintain troops in two other places in Iraq until such time as the Kingdom of Iraq can raise its own troops for its protection.

The development of Iraq as a completely independent state and the termination of the Mandate is, however, not a matter which lies simply between Iraq and Great Britain. It concerns the whole society of nations. It is the novel position of this mandate system that the international society is concerned for the good development and the well-being of the inhabitants of the mandated countries, and must see that those principles can be upheld and safeguarded before it will allow the advisory control and protection to be abandoned. So two things have to happen before the Mandate can cease: one is that Iraq must be accepted as a member of the League of Nations, which means that there must be a two-thirds majority of the states in the Assembly of the League that approve of that admission; and the other is that the Council of the League must be satisfied that the special purposes of the Covenant will be safeguarded when Iraq is entirely responsible for her own government and her own peoples. The Permanent Mandates Commission, which is the instrument of the League of Nations in dealing with the mandated countries, is apparently a little dubious about the complete maturity of the people of Iraq and their fitness to govern their affairs entirely by themselves. And the members have made it clear that they will need to be satisfied that certain things which are laid down at present in the treaty between Great Britain and Iraq will be assured when that guarantee of Great Britain is withdrawn. Those matters are a proper judicial system which will assure to foreign subjects and native subjects good administration of justice, freedom of conscience, and the absence of any persecution of religious minorities or religious sects, and, thirdly, and perhaps most important of all, the safeguarding of national minorities, which is particularly bound up with the Kurds. Great Britain is to render to the Permanent Mandates Commission a full report on the progress and development of Iraq at its next meeting in the summer, at which it will show why in its opinion Iraq is fitted to receive independence, and that she will be able to give proper safeguards for the maintenance of those fundamental principles of her government. It will be for the Council of the League, after getting the report of the Commission, to decide on that, and it will be for the Assembly of the League to pass upon this recommendation in 1932 that Iraq should become a member of the League.

It is clear in the new treaty that has been made, and in the annexes to it, that although Great Britain's advisory control will be reduced, she will still retain a position there in which she will be able to influence and guide, though more indirectly, the Government of Iraq; and one may expect that, when the new status comes into effect, Iraq will be prepared, from an enlightened notion of her self-interest, to follow the advice which hitherto she has been bound by treaty to follow. However that may be, you see that in a short period—ten or twelve years it

will be—the people of Iraq will have been trained and assisted and educated so as to be able to stand alone in the strenuous conditions of the modern world. She has certainly received very great benefit in these ten or twelve years from the tutelary assistance, especially in military and financial organization. The country has been strengthened and economically developed, protected from outside attack and internal troubles, and the people have been able to learn a good deal of the spirit of modern political institutions.

Now let me pass on to the other country, where it was the business of the Mandatory to introduce from the beginning self-governing institutions. That is Syria. In Syria the development has been not indeed towards complete independence, but rather towards complete internal autonomy. The French being more logical than the English, and more inclined to stick to the form and theory of things, have insisted from the beginning that they must keep control over the external affairs of those countries which have been entrusted to their Mandate, and be responsible generally for the order of those countries. They are not prepared to allow more than internal autonomy. As regards one part of their mandated territories, the Lebanon Province, they have been successful in introducing an organic law for internal autonomy and establishing a Lebanon Parliamentary Republic. The mandated territory of Syria includes two very different regions. The country of Lebanon was for years before the war under a special régime with a large French influence in it. The majority of its inhabitants are Christians, who have always looked to France as a kind of protector; but the other part of Syria, which includes the four great towns of Damascus, Aleppo, Homs and Hama, is inhabited mainly by Moslems. It is an Arab country. The people there have been as insistent in their demand for complete independence as the people of Iraq, and they have not acquiesced in this continuance of French control over their foreign relations and certain other matters. So, as you know, there was a serious uprising in Syria in 1925 and 1926, which had its origin in a small but very spirited people, the Druses, who resisted the French authority, but spread to the general Arab population. After that was put down the French made an effort to carry out more thoroughly the principles of the Mandate; and a constituent assembly was elected by the people of Syria, which was to try and formulate an organic law for Syria, just as the people of the Lebanon had been able to formulate with the French authorities an organic law for their country. After long negotiations the assembly broke down, and there is not yet in force any constitutional law for Syria. The French High Commissioner, however, issued in 1929 an organic law for Syria, and for two particular territories which are partly separated from Syria, the Druse country and the Alaouite country, which is the country around Latakia on the coast to the north

of Lebanon. He proposes when he can get the acceptance of the peoples to put that constitutional law into force, but that acceptance has not yet been forthcoming. The proposal broadly is that Syria is to become a Moslem republic, just as Lebanon is a Christian republic. It is to have an elected Moslem President, a Parliamentary Government, and ministers responsible to Parliament, while the Mandatory Power, France, still maintains its advisory position as laid down in the Covenant of the League. The exact way in which that is to be done is to be determined by some treaty between Syria and the French Republic, much in the same way as England defined her relations with Iraq in 1922 by the treaty with the King of Iraq.

This scheme of constitutional government was laid before the Permanent Mandates Commission by France last year by the High Commissioner, and received its blessing. The French administration was anxious to get that moral support for its action. It had been unable to carry out exactly what was laid down in the Mandate document, that the organic law should be drawn up with representatives of the people, because the people were not prepared to agree to any Mandatory control. But the Mandates Commission gave their approval to the scheme, and declared that in their view this constitution would carry out the principle and the idea of the Mandate. The French have had one remarkable feature in their administration throughout, that they have divided up this territory of Syria into a number of different areas and regions with different governments. Apart from Lebanon and Syria, which are the two main divisions, they have created special provinces of the Druse mountains and the country of the Alaouites, which are, according to the new organic law, to remain under more direct French administration. They will not have parliamentary government and responsibility, but are to be governed and administered by representatives of the Mandatory, with nominated councils to advise them. The French motto might be described as divide and guide. If they exercise a more direct control in a number of areas, they may find it easier to get the whole to work under this Mandatory system.

I must turn to give a short account of the Mandate of the other country which is under an "A" Mandate—it is administratively two countries—that is, Palestine and Trans-Jordan. Now the position of the Mandate for Palestine—apart from Trans-Jordan—is peculiarly difficult, because there is in the Mandate for Palestine a special purpose, which has nothing parallel in any other Mandate. The Mandatory is to carry out the policy of facilitating the establishment of a Jewish National Home, in addition to the general purpose of developing the well-being of the inhabitants. One may say that in Palestine there are three purposes of the Mandate. There is the development of the national life of the older inhabitants, the Arab people, the development

of the new national life of the Jewish people, and, finally, the trust for the whole of civilization, which is common to all Mandates. That special purpose of the Palestine Mandate has led to a radical difference in the terms of the Mandate from that of the other "A" Mandated territories: the Mandatory in Palestine is given powers of administration and legislation. Instead of his being called upon to draw up an organic law for the purpose of developing self-government, he has himself this direct power of government. And he has also the positive task of introducing administrative and economic conditions which will facilitate the establishment of the Jewish National Home. At the same time he has to encourage self-governing institutions. But it was clear from the beginning that he could not allow the existing inhabitants of Palestine to have self-government, because that would nullify and frustrate the other purpose of the Mandate, which was to establish a new national life there, the national life of the Jewish people. The Mandates Commission, the Council of the League, and the Mandatory have from the beginning recognized that the special task involved that the Government would have itself to keep control over legislation and the administration of the country. That position has led to the resistance of the Arab people to the Mandate from the very beginning, though from 1922 to 1929 Palestine was remarkably tranquil. It led two years ago to a violent outbreak in the country, of which the repercussions are not yet over.

The immediate cause of that outbreak was a matter of religious fanaticism, a religious feud over the site in Jerusalem known as the Jews' Wailing Wall. It may be regarded as a very unfortunate incident that Great Britain had not been placed in the position in which she should have been under the terms of the Mandate to deal with the question of the holy places, otherwise the trouble of 1929 might never have occurred. Palestine being a land holy to the three great faiths of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, some special regulation is required of the holy sites in the country, some of which are in dispute between two or more communities. It was proposed in the Mandate that a Commission should be set up for the purpose of finally determining the rights of claimants as regards those holy places. Great Britain made an attempt to get an agreement as to that Commission, but the various Powers were divided, and the Commission was not set up. The result was that the Mandatory was compelled in Palestine to try and maintain the *status quo* in regard to the holy places. There being a matter of grave dispute between Arabs and Jews in regard to the Wailing Wall, which is a part of the outer wall of the old Temple, in the end the Arabs broke out into violent attacks on the Jews, and it was from that religious question that the trouble spread. As regards that particular question, there should now be a final solution, because one of

the things that was immediately resolved on after the enquiry into the troubles in Palestine in 1929 was held was that a Commission should be appointed—an International Commission—to decide on the question of the rights and claims of the Jews and Arabs to this holy place. The Commission came out to Palestine in the summer of last year and took evidence there, and has actually submitted its report. The report has not yet been published, but should be a final determination of the question.

There remains the fundamental problem in Palestine of bringing about understanding between Arabs and Jews, and making them realize that the two parts of the Mandate can be harmonized. That is an essential condition in the end to the good and happy development of the country. It is one of those things in which time must have its place, which requires years and years of patience, and for which no immediate formula can be found. Until such time as that understanding can be accomplished, it seems necessary that the control of the administration of the country must remain with the Mandatory, which stands outside the conflicts and differences of the two peoples, and can see to it that the purposes of the Mandate are fairly and fully carried out, but not allowing either section of the inhabitants to dominate the other section, or to frustrate one of the ideals which it is the obligation of the Mandatory to fulfil in Palestine.

The other part of the Palestine Mandate covers the territory of Trans-Jordan, on the east side of Jordan and the Dead Sea. There a different régime is in force, because in that part of the country the special purpose of establishing the Jewish National Home does not apply. The Mandate for Palestine lays down that the Mandatory may withhold the application of certain parts of the Mandate, and may set up a special administrative system fitted to the special circumstances of that country. That has been done, and England has dealt with Trans-Jordan very much on the lines on which she dealt with Iraq. She has encouraged self-government, and made a treaty with the Amir of Trans-Jordan, by which he takes over the powers of legislation and administration conferred on the Mandatory, and carries out the government of the country, subject to English advice and receiving a certain amount of aid. In his somewhat primitive country there are self-governing institutions, an elected legislative council, and Arab ministers.

It has been pointed out that there is a certain paradox in the position of the "A" Mandated territories, that those Arab countries which perhaps are the least advanced and the least developed have received the fuller measure of self-government. In the countries of the Hedjaz and Nejd in the Arabian Peninsula there was never any question of a Mandate at all. There the Arabs are entirely their own masters and go their own way. In Iraq, of which the people are

certainly not more developed, probably not as much developed as the Arabs of Syria and Palestine, the country is well on its way to full independence. And in the small territory of Trans-Jordan, which is the part of Palestine (in the larger sense) in which the inhabitants are less developed, the Arabs have at the moment a larger measure of self-government. There is, I think, a fundamental reason for that paradox. It is that in those countries where the Arabs are most westernized—in Syria and Palestine—civilization as a whole has the greatest interest. Those countries belong partly to the Arab world and partly to the Mediterranean world. They are part of the great Mediterranean civilization, and large interests of other peoples besides Arabs exist there—Christian interests and, in Palestine, further, great Jewish interests. It is because of the greater culture, greater development, and larger connection with the outside world that there has been a fuller and must be a longer Mandatory control. The progressive development of those countries is an interest of the whole of civilization, and the Mandatory has to see that a high standard of government and administration is maintained in those countries which concern the well-being and happiness of the Western world as well as the Eastern world.

What I submit finally is that, cynical and sceptical as people may be about the Mandates, and though it is represented that they are a veiled form of annexation or a veiled form of protection, nevertheless, in fact and in deed, the system has worked its main purpose. There is a real international responsibility of the Mandatory with regard to these territories. The fact that he has every year to render an account to the Permanent Mandates Commission, which is the instrument of the Council of the League, to render an exact account of what has been done in the country and what has been the progress of the people, has been a definite influence and strong tonic force on the Mandatory to carry out the purposes laid down for him. Secondly, there has been a genuine training and schooling of the Eastern peoples under the "A" Mandates towards self-government. If you compare, for example, the position of the Arabs in Iraq, Syria, and Palestine, with that of the Arabs in Tunis, Morocco, and Algeria, you will see that a reality has been given to the idea of the Mandatory as a guardian of young nations and young peoples. An attempt is made to fit and train these peoples to become self-governing nations. If you compare again the position of the Arabs under the "A" Mandates with that of the people of Armenia, where it was intended to have a Mandate under the original treaty with Turkey, you will see how effective has been the system in creating and developing a national life. The Mandate for Armenia never came into being, because it was not possible to find a Mandatory to undertake the responsibility for the country. America refused it, Great Britain was not prepared to take it, and the League as a whole would not take

it. Armenia was thrown back partly to Turkey and partly to Russia, with the result that no Armenian national life has been developed comparable with the national life of the Arab and Jewish Mandated peoples.

I hope that you will agree that the idea of placing a guardian and tutor over young nations to help them over the early struggles of national life has been a fruitful and practical idea. (Applause.)

Captain RASSAM: In the event of termination of a Mandate, in what way can the League of Nations protect the minorities? I happen to be interested in Iraq, where in the Moslem area there is a very large Christian population of Assyrians and Chaldeans.

The LECTURER: Before the Mandate can be terminated the Council of the League must be satisfied that this fundamental purpose will be secured. It may ask that the new state will accept as part of its constitution clauses on the lines of the so-called Minority Treaties that apply to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. That may be regarded as a sufficient safeguard, or it is possible that the Council of the League will require some more specific guarantee. It has been suggested that, if there is apprehension or doubt with regard to the protection of minorities, it might be possible to appoint in those parts of Iraq where there are minorities of Kurds and Assyrians some Commissioner of the League of Nations, just as in Upper Silesia there is a Commissioner whose special function it is to look after and protect the minorities. That may be a point for the Council to consider.

Mr. BASIL WORSFOLD: Might I ask one question? Mr. Bentwich has told us that the Wailing Wall question was going to be settled by an international Commission. Might I ask Mr. Bentwich if he can give us any assurance that the finding of that international Commission will be accepted by the Arab Executive and by the Jews? I ask because of course there have been more or less authoritative decisions in respect of the Wailing Wall when the question has been considered before. The difficulty is to get the Arab especially to accept those findings. Possibly Mr. Bentwich will be able to give us some assurance in that respect.

The LECTURER: There is a good legal maxim which says that everything is assumed to be done which should be done. (Laughter.) We trust that the Arabs and Jews and any persons concerned with the findings of the Commission on the Wall will act in accordance with that maxim. Of course, if the other thing should happen, it would be for the Mandatory Government to consider what steps it should take. But at least both parties placed their case fully before the Commission. There was no withholding of their case, and those who come and state a case fully before a tribunal usually accept the verdict and award of that tribunal.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, if nobody else would like to ask any questions we must proceed to thank Mr. Bentwich for the speech that he has given us. I do not think that ever before within the course of three-quarters of an hour I have heard the question of these four Mandates put more clearly and succinctly than it has been put by Mr. Bentwich (applause), whether we think of it from the point of view of his having outlined the intentions, or the actual way in which those intentions are being incorporated in practice. He brought out very early in the day one thing, that the French interpret the word "Mandate" in a totally different sense from ourselves. They think of the word mandate as they think of the word *mandat*, which is different. We think of it in a different way. While we have pursued one practice they have pursued another, and which is the better time alone will show.

But it is rather curious that with our three mandated territories—Iraq, Trans-Jordan and Palestine—we should be proceeding differently practically speaking in each of them. We see two being hurried into self-government; from my point of view I very much agree with all that we have done in Iraq in trying to get it forward, put it on its feet, get out of it and get the responsibility to the people as soon as possible. But it seems curious the same thing should happen in Trans-Jordan, which is hardly so advanced as Iraq. My impression is that it is unfortunate that we are unable to extend the policy to the last of all, Palestine. I should like Mr. Bentwich to answer one question, Why he says we are more interested in Palestine and Syria, why they are more "European" countries than the others, and why European interests are more bound up with them? I cannot see that. They are admittedly on the fringe of the Mediterranean. But there are very great European interests in Iraq. I do not think mere geographical contiguity of countries to the Mediterranean seas gives them much greater interest to us, or makes it necessary for us to maintain the position longer than in these two other places. I will ask Mr. Bentwich to say something about that. I am bound to say that if I were an Arab, and had had the promises made to me that the Arabs appear to have had made to them, I should feel very much as the Arabs do. I feel a little bit that we are taking the attitude—we people who have got the Mandates—we are taking the attitude of highbrows in talking about these young peoples. But they have an ancient civilization of their own: there was a very high civilization in Baghdad. Admittedly it has gone phut, but they had it, and I think we are a little inclined to take too patronizing a view of them. The French are, of course, as Mr. Bentwich said, severely logical. *Mandat* means taking charge of the thing, and taking charge they intend to do. Whether they will ever change their outlook to the thing, whether they will ever try to make the country walk towards external independence I do not know. But I would like Mr.

Bentwich to say whether there is any sign in the Lebanon of the French contemplating an eventual independence or not, or whether they look upon their position there as one to go on for ever.

The LECTURER: As regards the special and deeper European interest in Palestine and Syria compared with Iraq and Trans-Jordan, I think that interest arises in part out of the difference in religions of the population which is so marked in Palestine and Syria. Palestine more particularly is a holy land, as I mentioned, of three great faiths of the Western world—Christianity and Judaism as well as Islam—whereas Iraq and Trans-Jordan are primarily Moslem countries. That makes the need of guidance and control stronger, because the world is concerned that the strong feelings of one creed or nation do not lead to any oppression of or injustice to the others. In Palestine, too, there is further the special national position of the Jewish people as well as of the Arab. It is one of the purposes of the world settlement laid down in the Peace that Jewish national life shall be revived in its old home. Palestine is associated in the mind of the civilized world with what came from it at the time when the Jews were there. That has been the special gift of the country. And it was one of the purposes of the Peace to give again to the Jewish people the chance to revive their national life and genius in the country, as well as to enable Arab national life to be revived and developed. That purpose, I think, intensifies and strengthens the trust for civilization. There is not merely the trust for the development of a simple national life of a people, assisting them and seeing also that foreigners get a fair opportunity. But the trust involves direction of the government and administration of the country in such a way as to enable two national lives to grow up side by side, and finally, as it is hoped, to combine and be fused into a strong feeling of common citizenship in that country. But in order that it shall be done it is obvious there must be Mandatory guidance. It may be, as the Chairman says, that the Arab people, filled with hope that they would have complete independence, are disappointed by what has happened. The Mandatory has to take the long view for the Arabs themselves, as it were; to look to the future as well as the present. And the conscience and the statesmanship of the world having decided that there shall be in Palestine the revival of two national peoples—a double national life—it is the business of those who are acting for that society to see that the two purposes are realized and carried out, however hard it may be to do it.

With regard to the prospect of the development of Syria into an independent country, the organic law which is in force for the Lebanon—that part in which the French have been able to carry out their Mandatory responsibility in full—does provide that France will in due time recommend the admission of the Lebanon as an independent state

and a member of the League of Nations, and give her the assistance that she can with the Council of the League. It is clear, then, that she is contemplating at some time, which is left indefinite, that the Lebanon will become, as Iraq has become, an independent state. The constitution for Syria does not provide that article expressly, but it is presumably one of the matters to be settled in the treaty between the Republic of Syria, when it comes into being, with the Mandatory Government. But the French have shown that they do in the fulness of time propose to put an end to the Mandatory system for Syria, as Great Britain is proposing to do for Iraq. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am very much obliged to Mr. Bentwich for his answer. It seems to me that the French will be in Syria about as long as we shall be in Palestine. We shall both get out about the same time, which is rather a long way off. It remains for me to ask you to express your thanks to Mr. Bentwich for his delightful lecture, clear explanations, and the answers he has given to our questions. (Applause.)

GLIMPSES OF PERSIAN HISTORY THROUGH TWENTY-FIVE CENTURIES

SIR ERNEST RENNIE took the Chair at the lecture given by Miss Ella Sykes on January 14 on "Glimpses of Persian History through Twenty-five Centuries." The Chairman said it was not necessary to introduce the lecturer to such an audience, as she was already well known to them, if not personally, at any rate through her delightful books on Persia, and as being the sister of Sir Percy Sykes, whose authoritative "History of Persia" had already run into its third edition.

Miss Sykes started with a short account of early Persia, of Zaratrusthra and the great religion which he gave to Persia, and passed on to the Achæmenian dynasty, with its wealth of heroic legend, which served the Persian poets and artists of all succeeding generations, and illustrating her lecture step by step with slides of places, palaces, and miniatures, she followed the history through the centuries and through those periods so sharply separated and defined whose influence is so well seen in Persian architecture, art, literature, and splendid handicrafts.

The lecturer did much to help in placing the exhibits in the Persian Art Exhibition in their definite historical setting. Unfortunately, she is not able to give a paper on it to this JOURNAL, but we hope for one later.

NOTES

THE RUSSO-PERSIAN FRONTIER, 1810

THE following account of affairs on the Russo-Persian frontier in 1810-12 is extracted from the diary of Mr. James Campbell. Mr. Campbell was an assistant surgeon in the H.E.I.C.S. and went to Persia with Sir John Malcolm. From 1810 to 1814 he was surgeon to H.R.H. Prince Abbas Mirza, son of Fath Ali Shah, who was then Governor of Azerbaijan. He accompanied Sir Gore Ouseley to Russia in 1814.—J. A. D.

When General Gardanne, Bonaparte's envoy, left Persia in 1809, the French officers had made some progress in disciplining the troops under Abbas Mirza, who had all along had the conduct of the war against the Russians. His Royal Highness was in all the height of the enthusiasm which the novelty, utility, and even necessity of the measure could inspire, when Sir Harford Jones arrived and insisted on every Frenchman leaving the country, in conformity with the treaty which he had just concluded, assuring the Persian Government at the same time that he would faithfully fulfil his part of the engagement and that they should have every requisite in officers and stores to enable them to go on with the *Nizam* or European discipline. The Prince was, of course, obliged to consent to the departure of the Frenchmen, and had soon after the satisfaction to hear that General Malcolm had arrived at Bushire with a numerous suite composed of officers and men who were supposed to have been picked out for the express purpose of disciplining the Persian Army.

General Malcolm reached Tabriz in July, 1810, exactly at the time when the Russians had taken Migri, a strong, fortified village on the banks of the Araxes and within sixty miles of Tabriz. Captains McDonald and Monteith were sent off to reconnoitre, but before they returned the Russians had attacked the Persian position in the night-time and had driven them across the Araxes. This piece of service was performed by Kutleruski, who was at that time a Major, and has since made so conspicuous a figure in the history of Persia. Many circumstances foreign to the present subject combined to render the Persian service extremely unpopular at this time, and it was with great difficulty that even two officers, Captains Monteith and Lindsay, could be induced to stay. They were afterwards joined by Captain Christie, who was at that time performing a most hazardous journey through Makran and Baluchistan to Herat and Persia. Monteith had the engineer depart-

ment put under him, and the disciplining of the Persian Army was left to the exertions of Lindsay and Christie. Lindsay had a mule party of Madras native flying artillery with him and two three-pounders; Christie had only two or three European sergeants.

These officers arrived in this place (Julfa) in August, 1810, and in the course of less than a month we marched to attack Hamamlu, a strong Russian entrenchment on the frontiers of Georgia. It was intended to be a *coup-de-main*, and we marched seventy miles almost without stopping in hopes of surprising them. The Prince went on in advance with his cavalry and was defeated with a trifling loss before we got up to him with the main body of the army. He returned immediately to Erivan, having first sent his brother, Ali Shah, to ravage the country about Ganja, and ordered Christie and Lindsay to go down to Nakhichevan to commence their labours there. They were soon after ordered down to Tabriz.

When the Prince came into Tabriz in November he was delighted to find that Lindsay had made considerable progress with his Corps of Artillery—both Sir Harford Jones and His Royal Highness gave him every assistance and encouragement, while Lindsay himself was indefatigable in his exertions. He not only taught them their duty and exercise, but he contrived to infuse an *esprit de corps* into them that made them have a proper pride in their profession and hold their heads much higher than their fellow subjects, so that at last it became quite an honourable employment and was as much sought after as it was at first avoided. The Prince himself attended parade every day; he took the sponge staff in his own hands; marched about with the men; and spared neither expense nor trouble in bringing his favourite *Tupchis* (artillery men) to perfection.

Sir Gore Ouseley having arrived in Persia, Sir Harford Jones took his departure for England. He left the Corps of Artillery as I have described it. He established an arsenal: the ordnance department was put under Mr. Clarke, a conductor from Bombay, and the carriage manufactory under Mr. Armstrong, a mechanic of the first ability from Calcutta. A corps had also been raised from the tribe *Shigaji* for Captain Christie, but were never properly collected, nor had that officer an employment commensurate to his merits. This was principally owing to the difficulty of bringing over the commanding officers of the French Corps to the English discipline, for they were conceited enough to believe themselves perfect, though they were ignorant of even the rudiments of their profession.

Sir Gore Ouseley brought out two officers and twelve privates with him from the Royal Artillery. The officers were Majors D'Arcy and Stone, both gentlemen of great abilities, but an unfortunate misunderstanding existed between them and often stood in the way of the public

service. They arrived in Tabriz in December, and in January, 1812, we took the field.

We crossed the Araxes, to Aslanduz, a small mount (said to have been built by Tamerlane) forty miles above the junction of the Khur with the Araxes, and marched into Karabagh. The first part of our journey was excessively cold, so much so that copper vessels full of water were burst in our tents. The troops (including about 2,000 infantry) slept in the open among the snow, never marching less than twenty miles a day, and eating nothing but plain bread; we did not, notwithstanding all this, lose a single man, nor could a murmur be heard among them. So much for the capability of the Persian soldiers to undergo fatigue. When we got into Karabagh the weather was perfectly mild, and although it was then about the end of January the ground was covered with verdure. This beautiful country is entirely inhabited by Iliats or wandering tribes who spend the summer in the mountains where they may have snow in the dog-days, and come down to the plains on the banks of the Khur in winter, which enjoy the climate of spring even in January. The Chief of one of these tribes, Jafer Kuli Khan, nephew of Mahdi Khan, the Governor of Karabagh, was suspected by the Russians of having a correspondence with the Persians, and he was put into confinement by the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. Notwithstanding all their care however, he contrived to let Abbas Mirza know that if he would come over to Karabagh he would make his escape and join him with all his tribe, which amounts to about 10,000 families. This was the cause of our moving out in the middle of winter and of our marching with so much expedition.

After crossing the Araxes we marched about seventy miles into the country and were joined on the second day by Jafer Kuli Khan, who told us the Iliats were encamped at a little distance on the banks of the Khur and were ready to join us, but we must first dispose of a Russian battalion who, with two guns, were strongly entrenched in the neighbourhood for their protection. All the irregular horse was immediately sent off by the Prince to bring them over, and Major D'Arcy was sent on next morning to reconnoitre the Russian position, which he directed to be attacked on two sides. Lindsay had eleven guns with him, six and three pounders, with 200 of his newly-raised artillerymen. We had also about 2,000 of the French disciplined infantry, 150 of Christie's Shigajis, and a few irregular horse. The Russians were strongly entrenched in the mud fort of Sultanbut. They had 840 men and two guns, an eighteen and a twelve pounder. The Russian major who commanded thought he had to do with irregulars whom he could easily repulse, and said he would send out a company of infantry to drive them off. They were not a little astonished when Lindsay's guns opened upon them from the distance of about 700 yards, and that after

firing from thence about half an hour he limbered up and, instead of walking off as they expected, he advanced to within 250 yards of their entrenchments. Their guns were soon silenced, and the infantry, with Christie at their head, advanced to the storm. They took half the place, but immediately dispersed to plunder and were driven out by the Russian grenadiers, who were prevented from pursuing by Lindsay's grape. About the same time a ball from D'Arcy's guns on the other side blew up their magazine, and before evening they had lost more than half their men, almost all by cannon shot. Their guns were disabled, and they had not one artilleryman left to work them. I went in at midnight, at their own request, and found their Commanding Officer killed, and the Major, who was second in command, mortally wounded. When I came up to his bedside, he squeezed my hand, and told me he knew a great number of my countrymen in Petersburg, and trusted that I and all of us in camp would be kind to him and take care of him and of his men if they delivered themselves up. I promised, of course, to do all we could for them, and they marched out next morning. We were soon after joined by Amir Khan with the 10,000 Iliat families, and we marched back to Tabriz in triumph.

To do the Persians justice they gave us the whole credit of this affair, and Lindsay's artillery became the theme of every tongue, as well as the gallantry of Christie, with which they were perfectly astonished.

This success, trifling as it may appear, gave the Persians unheard-of confidence in our discipline. A second corps of Horse Artillery was raised and put under Major Stone of the Royal Artillery, who began to discipline them according to the latest improvements made in England. Christie's Shigajis were increased to two battalions, and he had also a battalion of Kingarlus, with Ali Khan at their head, put under him.

In May of this same year M. Freygang, Conseiller de Cour, arrived at Tabriz with a letter from the Duke of Sierra Capriola, the Sicilian Ambassador at St. Petersburg, begging Sir Gore Ouseley to use his endeavours to conclude a peace between Russia and Persia. As there was at this time no doubt of the approaching alliance between Great Britain and Russia, Sir Gore Ouseley immediately set about doing so, and despatched the Hon. Robert Gordon to Tiflis in company with M. de Freygang. The purport of his despatch was to beg of General Rtischiff to come down to the banks of the Araxes, where a conference might be held between His Excellency and the Prince Royal, at which Sir Gore would be present, and he trusted would be able to arrange everything to the satisfaction of both parties, but gave the General at the same time to understand that some cession of territory would be expected, and that the Persians would never consent to make peace without it. Georgia was at this time in rebellion.

In the meantime we took the field and marched towards the banks of the Araxes, there to await the arrival of General Rtischiff. A detachment of the army was sent off to Talish, a province on the banks of the Caspian, the Khan of which (Mustafa Khan) refused submission to the King of Persia, and kept up a treasonable correspondence with the Russians. The Prince Royal, in his letter to General Rtischiff, expressly told him that Talish, being the country of a rebel, could not be considered as included in the truce which he had just agreed upon.

We marched into Talish in August, during the greatest heat of the dog-days. We had the thermometer as high as 110 degrees in the shade, during which we marched one day for fifteen hours without stopping, except perhaps for half an hour to allow the infantry to drink a little water. They bore it in the most astonishing manner, and proved themselves equally capable of enduring heat and cold.

The country of Talish is, after the desert of Mughan, the first country which lies on the banks of the Caspian Sea to the south of the Araxes; on the south it is contiguous to the province of Gilan, and on the west it is bounded by that high range of the Caucasus which encloses the south of the Caspian like a basin. This range separates it from the provinces of Mishgin and Ardebil. The passes in these mountains are extremely difficult, but it is easy of access from the plain of Mughan, before they commence on the south of the Araxes. The country itself is full of woods and marshes, thinly inhabited, excessively hot, and very unhealthy.

The road lay through an exceedingly thick and impenetrable forest, which they might have defended against us with the greatest ease. We left a garrison in Arkavan, a fortress at the commencement of it, where the forest begins to widen and to lose itself in the plain which extends to the desert of Mughan. We marched on with great caution, every moment expecting to be attacked; they had not the courage to do so, however, and allowed us to take undisturbed possession of the whole country, including Lenkoran, the capital, which we found perfectly abandoned and empty. But the enemy was not far off; they had taken refuge in Gamishuvan, a long peninsula, separated from the coast by a *murdab* or dead water, and joined to the mainland by a narrow neck, which they had strongly fortified, besides having several ships and gunboats moored within cannon-shot of it.

After taking possession of Lenkoran, we went down along the beach towards the entrenchment, and found a large party of Talish horse in front of it. Lindsay brought up four 6-pounders and soon put them to flight with his shrapnel shot. The Persian horse pursued them, but were driven back by the ships, which opened their broadsides upon them. They had a great advantage over us here, for our guns could not reach the ships, being only 6-pounders, whereas theirs

were 32-pounders and their mortars 10-inch. We carried on a desultory sort of warfare for about a fortnight, when Vesilago, who commanded the fleet, wrote a letter to Major D'Arcy saying that it was a most extraordinary circumstance that English officers should be fighting against the Russians in Persia, while our Government was assisting them in Europe. This leaving no doubt in our minds of peace having been concluded between the two kingdoms, we proposed to set off, and soon after left the Persian camp and returned to Abbas Mirza, whom we found encamped at Ak Tepe, awaiting the arrival of Sir Gore Ouseley and General Rtischiff.

The negotiations came to nothing for a very simple reason: the Persians were so *enorgueillis* with their success in the winter that they made extravagant demands, and the Russians declared that they would cede nothing at all.

During the negotiations Alexander Mirza, one of the brothers of Gurgin Khan, the last King of Georgia, took advantage of the Commander-in-Chief's absence to fly over into his native country. He was immediately joined by the whole province of Kakhet, the most fertile, rich, and populous province in Georgia. The whole country was ready to rise at the first opportunity. The Lesghians coming down took possession of the passes of the Caucasus, and thus cut off all communication between Georgia and Russia. This alarming state of affairs caused General Rtischiff to march back with all expedition. I accompanied General Akverdoff, the Russian plenipotentiary, back to his own camp, and thus commenced my first acquaintance with the Commander-in-Chief. I found him ready to march off, and therefore only stayed a night in his camp.

Upon my return I found Abbas Mirza coming down with his army. Sir Gore Ouseley was gone back to Tehran, and all the officers had left the camp except Captains Christie and Lindsay, who had been prevailed upon to stay by the earnest solicitations of the Prince and his Ministers. The Prince took up a position near the mount of Aslanduz, on the banks of the Araxes, and the same day sent off all his cavalry into the province of Shekki with Selim Khan, the ex-prince of that country, for the purpose of assisting the inhabitants to throw off the Russian yoke.

On the opposite side of the Araxes, at the distance of about twenty-six miles from Aslanduz, was General Kutleruski with the advanced division of the Russian army, consisting of about 4,000 men. Abbas Mirza's army, after the departure of his horse, consisted of about 5,000, so that a battle was daily expected; the only question was which should cross the river first, the Russians or the Persians.

On the same day that Abbas Mirza took up his position at Aslanduz I left his camp to follow Mr. Gordon to Tiflis. I found Kutleruski in a strong position at Aklogan, so near that the two camps could almost be

seen from each other. He was breathing nothing but fire and sword against the Persians, and begged me to assure Abbas Mirza that if he would come over, he would immediately leave his entrenchments and go half-way to meet him.

Soon after my arrival at Tiflis we learnt that Kutleruski had crossed the Araxes on October 20, 1812, had surprised the Persian camp at Aslanduz, and defeated the Prince Abbas Mirza with great loss.

Kutleruski crossed the river at night, intending to make a night attack, but owing to the darkness he lost his way, and it was near noon when he came in sight of the Persian camp. He had only 2,000 men with him, but he declared that nothing should induce him to recross the Araxes without hazarding an engagement. They were not a little surprised to find the Persians perfectly unprepared to receive them; not a picquet out nor a guard of any kind to be seen, and they were actually within a mile and a half of the camp before they were discovered. Everything was then in the greatest confusion. Lindsay had scarcely time to get the guns off when they entered it (the camp), and thus got possession of the whole of the baggage and ammunition. Lindsay, however, after having put his guns in a place of safety, galloped back with twenty of his men, and each person taking as many rounds as he could with him in his arms, galloped back through the whole of the Russians, who seemed appalled at his boldness, for otherwise I cannot conceive how they escaped. With these few rounds he kept the Russians at bay while Christie rallied his men, and did all that example could do to animate them; but their ammunition was soon expended, and they were obliged to retreat across the stream of Qara Su, which falls into the Araxes between the place where the Prince was encamped and the mount of Aslanduz. It is, I think, the Cambyeses of Strabo.

At this latter place (Aslanduz) the Persians, contrary to the advice of our officers, took up a position. The reason of this infatuation was that they hoped the Russians would be contented with what they had already gained, and retreat across the river in the course of the night. Another reason was the great confidence they had in a small entrenchment which they had made on the top of the mount, but they forgot that the ground below was extremely bad, being full of ravines and holes, that their ammunition was expended and their troops dispirited. They sat up all night, and towards morning (according to the predictions of our officers) Kutleruski crossed the river and attacked them. The Persians were instantly thrown into confusion, and fled almost without returning their fire. They all ran towards the entrenchment on the top of the mount, their own people firing down upon them, and the Russians, charging them in the rear, forced them in and entered with them. About this time the buildings took fire and suffocated or burnt

those who were not put to death by the bayonet. The guns, trying to get off, fell into holes, and were taken without firing a shot; two only out of thirteen escaped. The Persians had about 2,000 men killed in this affair, and have not yet (1814) recovered from the effects of it.

But the most affecting part of the history to us was the death of the brave and gallant Christie. He was found next morning by a party of Cossacks lying wounded on the ground in the same place where his battalion had stood. They demanded his sword, which he refused to give up, and with which he defended himself until he was overpowered by numbers and put to death.

Christie was one of those rare characters whom one can scarcely hope to meet with more than once in a lifetime. He approached as near perfection as human nature seems capable of. To the utmost gentleness, mildness, nay, softness of disposition, he joined the most determined firmness of character and the most undaunted courage; to the most refined sensibility for the sufferings of others the greatest carelessness for his own. His temper nothing could ruffle; his modesty and generosity were unequalled, and in short he appears to have been a being destined for a better world. When he was found next day by his friend Cormick, although his body was mangled in the most brutal manner, his countenance still wore the same angelic smile which adorned it while alive. He never considered death any evil; it had no terrors for him because his life was spotless. This character would be panegyric for anyone else; for Christie it is justice, and doubly so from me who has been so long a witness to his worth.

Kutleruski had the credit of doing a most essential service to his country by this battle. Indeed he may be said to have saved Georgia, for one half of it was already in rebellion, and the other only waited a signal to join their brethren, but this battle was a death-blow to all their hopes. The Russians soon after subdued the revolted province of Kakhet, and, not contented with taking the severest vengeance on the inhabitants, they cut up the vines by the roots and destroyed the large and ancient marble reservoirs for wine which were the greatest source of the wealth of the country, and which had been respected even by Mahommedan conquerors. They flogged some of the rebels to death in Tiflis, and sent several of the heads of families into Siberia.

Kutleruski marched into Talish in the course of the same winter and retook the country, but with much greater loss than we had suffered in taking it during the summer. The Persians had raised a small entrenchment round Lenkoran, the capital, and defended it with such obstinacy that the Russians were twice beaten back, and Kutleruski, who had headed them himself at the second charge, was so severely wounded that he fell senseless at the foot of the ladder by which he was trying to mount. It was soon all over with the

Russians, and Kutleruski's army would have been completely cut up had not the Persians very foolishly followed them out of the fort for the purpose of cutting off heads and of plundering. Prince Abkhasoff, who commanded the assault on one side, had made good his entry with a company of grenadiers, but they were all cut off except thirteen or fourteen; and the Prince (as he told me himself) was sitting down and expecting every moment, and even wishing for, the ball that was to put an end to his existence. But he no sooner saw the Persians rushing out of the entrenchments than he began to have better hopes. He made a signal to a party of soldiers who were in the reserve at a distance and was immediately joined by them; he then charged one of the Persian guns, which he took and turned against themselves. The Russians, finding a rallying point, came pouring in, and attacked the Persians in the rear. They were easily defeated, for most of them were still outside the fort. Those who were not killed either surrendered themselves prisoners or made their escape into the wood, where most of them perished from the excessive cold. The Persians lost about 1,200 men in this affair, including Sadik Khan, who commanded, and several officers of distinction. The loss of the Russians was fully as great if not greater; very few of their officers escaped.

The loss of Talish may in a great measure be attributed to the cowardice of Ali Khan, who commanded at Arkavan, the small fort which I mentioned was situated at the opening of the forest and commanded the entrance into Talish. Ali Khan's history is a curious one, and with it I shall conclude this account.

Baba Ali was in the days of his youth a "*shatir*" or running footman to the King. His Majesty was one day out a hunting and happened to make a couplet of verses, with which he was extremely delighted and which he repeated to all the grandees about him. They, of course, were in ecstasies, as all good subjects ought to be, and swore they deserved to be written in letters of gold. When the King came home in the evening he tried to recollect his verses, but in vain; the sport and the fatigues of the day had completely driven them out of his head. He called his Prime Minister, but found his memory as treacherous as his own; he then summoned all the nobles, the Amirs and Wazirs who were present, but, wonderful to be told, not one of them could recollect the short lines which they had all considered in the morning a *chef d'œuvre* of the human understanding, or rather something proceeding direct from the divinity. The wise men of Babylon could not have been more at a loss when desired to expound the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. Posterity would most certainly have had to bemoan the loss of those royal verses, had not Baba Ali (who was at his station close to the King's bridle when he recited them) stepped forward and repeated them word for word, to the great joy and astonishment of

the King and of the whole court. He immediately received a "Khalat," or dress of honour, and was advanced to the dignity of *Shatirbashi*, a personage who is always close by the bridle of the King's horse, holds it when His Majesty dismounts, and entertains him with anecdotes of the people about court when he is inclined to be merry. This situation, of course, gives the *Shatirbashi* many opportunities of being useful to his friends and formidable to his enemies, and he is therefore courted or treated with respect by all the people about court. His situation is something like that of the *Bosfan Bashi* at Constantinople, whose business it is to steer the Grand Seignor's boat, and who has thus the ear of His Majesty when his heart is expanded with cheerfulness and good humour.

But it appears that ambition, although always aiming at being highest, will condescend to visit the mind of even a running footman. Baba Ali was not proof against it any more than Julius Caesar. In an evil hour the thirst for military glory entered his mind; he thought, as he was at the top of his own profession and had an excellent memory, he was fitted to become a General and to command against the Russians. The Government appears to have been of the same opinion, for he was immediately made a Khan, by the title of Ali Khan, and entrusted with the command of Arkavan, the important fortified village which commands the passes into Talish. In this situation he behaved with proper dignity, and nobody could have commanded better until Kutleruski and the Russians made their appearance. He then showed his predilection to his ancient profession by walking away. He left the passes to guard themselves, and the subjection of the whole province was the consequence. The King in a great rage sent for the *Shatirbashi*. Upon his arrival at Tehran, His Majesty ordered him to be boiled, but "pity succeeding found place in his heart," and pleased with his running so well, he commuted his punishment into a fine of £2,000. Soon after he sent him a dress of honour and restored him to his old employment.

DATES AND REFERENCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE AL BU SAID DYNASTY

**FROM THE TIME OF ITS FOUNDER, AHMED BIN SAID,
TILL THE DEATH OF SAID BIN SULTAN (1741-1856). WITH
GENEALOGICAL TABLE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY**

BY RUDOLPH SAID-RUETE

DURING many years I have collected and studied the material available on the early history of the Al Bu Said Dynasty, which is still reigning in Oman and Zanzibar. I have already published the Biography* of the most prominent personality of the family, SAID BIN SULTAN, one of the first Honorary Members of the Royal Asiatic Society: my maternal grandfather. A lecture I delivered at a joint meeting of the Royal Asiatic and Central Asian Society on "The Al Bu Said Dynasty in Arabia and East Africa" was published in the JOURNAL of the last-named Society (Vol. XVI., Part IV., 1929).

The much scattered dates and their references are here compiled in a way which will enable students of Arabian history to find without undue difficulty the material they require when desiring to trace the history of some of the best-known members of the Dynasty.

The work is not extended to those descendants of SAID BIN SULTAN who survived him, as the more recent material is comparatively easily accessible.

In view of the great number of references, it seemed wise to do so in the shortest possible way, thus giving only the author's name or abbreviated title, but if the reader consults the Bibliography (p. 252) he will find fuller details of the books in question.

* SAID BIN SULTAN (1791-1856), Ruler of Oman and Zanzibar, "His Place in the History of Arabia and East Africa." By Rudolph Said-Ruete. London, 1929.

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- His pedigree, full name, and land of origin. Badger xlv, 156, 258, 259; Burton I 288; Caussin de Perceval I 85, 202; Guillain I pièce no. 5; Miles 280; Oppenheim II 341; Palgrave I 364, 386; Pelly 184; Ross 75 n. 2, 3, 5; Wellsted I 8; Wilson 79.
- His birthplace. G.J. Aug. 1910: 166; G.J. Oct. 1910: 424; J.C.A.S. 1929: 419; Miles 258; Niebuhr B.A. 304; Zehme 391.
- His past before being elected Imam. He is appointed Wali of Sohar and exiles the suspicion of the Imam Seif bin Sultan el Yaareba, defends the place successfully against the Persians, occupies Barkah; his treachery towards the Persians. Badger xxxvii-xlv, 133-155; Burton I 288; Curzon II 435; Firouz 66; G.J. Aug. 1910: 166; Huart 268-269; Mignan II 239; Miles 258-364; Niebuhr B.A. 301-303; Oppenheim II 340-341; Pearce 104-107; Philby 77-78; Rep. 80/81: 32-33; Rep. 82/83: 22-23; Rep. 87/88: 22; Wellsted I 8.
- He is elected Imam. Badger xlv, xcvii, 165; Bomb. Sel. 122, 169; Burton I 288; Curzon 435; G.J. Aug. 1910: 166; Germain 360; Huart II 269; Kersten 18; Niebuhr B.A. 303-304; Rep. 87/88: 22; Said-Ruete 176; Strandes 300.
- Belarab bin Himyar el Yaareba rebels against him; he is defeated and slain. Badger xlv-xlvi; Kersten 18; Niebuhr B.A. 304-305.
- He marries daughter of Seif bin Sultan el Yaareba. Badger xlv; Bomb. Sel. 7; Burton I 288; Kersten 18; Miles 266; Niebuhr B.A. 305; Oppenheim II 341; Palgrave II 256; Said-Ruete 3; Wellsted I 397.
- Naval demonstration against Bushire, 1770. Rep. 82/83: 23.
- He delivers Basrah from the Persians, 1775. Mustapha III of Turkey grants him a yearly pension, which was still paid to Said bin Sultan. Badger xlv, 169-170; Firouz 68; H.I.N. I 171-172; Huart II 270; Miles 273-274; Oppenheim II 341-342; Rep. 82/83: 23.
- He destroys a nest of pirates on the coast of Malabar and enters into a treaty with the Mogul Emperor's Nawwab of the Carnatic, who sends an envoy to Muscat. Badger xlv-xlvii, 170-171; Huart II 270; Oppenheim II 342.
- Hostilities between him and the Ghafiri and the Yaareba. Badger xlvii-xlix, 172-176, 181-186.

- Rebellion of two of his sons (Seif and Sultan). Badger xlix, li, 172, 176-179; Firouz 69; Miles 276, 278, 279; Rep. 87/88: 22, 23.
- One of his daughters (the Seyyidah) marries Muhammad bin Nasir. Badger xlvii-xlviii, 183, 240.
- His relations with the French. Firouz 74-77; Guillaín II 202-205; Miles 268-269, 274-275, 277-278; Rep. 87/88: 24; Said-Ruete 93.
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- His relations with the Yemen. Niebuhr I 430.
- He extends his reign to Hasa, Bahrein and Dhofar. Palgrave II 275.
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- His naval power. Germain 360; Niebuhr II 5; Niebuhr B.A. 306; Miles 273.
- His army. Badger xlv, 166; Huart II 269-270; Niebuhr B.A. 307; Philby 78.
- His revenue. Niebuhr B.A. 306.
- His character. Badger 186-188.
- His residence at Rostak. G.J. Oct. 1910: 424; Niebuhr II 82.
- Niebuhr visits Muscat, 1765. Niebuhr II 82-89; Niebuhr B.A. 295-308 (the first map ever constructed, Rep. 78/79: 117).
- Horatio Nelson visits Muscat, 1775. G.J. Oct. 1910: 423; J.C.A.S. 1929: 420; Miles 274; Said-Ruete 112; Wilson 185.
- His death. Badger xlix, 188; Curzon II 435; G.J. Oct. 1910: 424; Huart II 271; Ingrams 73; Kersten 18; Miles 280; Oppenheim II. 342; Palgrave II 275; Pearce 110; Rep. 82/83: 24; Rep. 87/88: 23.
- His grave. Badger 188; G.J. Oct. 1910: 424; Miles 280.
- His surviving children. Badger li, 188, 241; Rep. 83/84: 20.

2. HILAL BIN AHMED

- He is given as hostage by his father to Seif bin Sultan. Badger xxxviii, 138.
- He supports his father to fight the unrest in the country. Badger 185-186; Niebuhr B.A. 304.
- He would have been elected Iman if his eyesight was not affected. Badger lii, 188; Huart II 272; Miles 276; Rep. 82/83: 24.
- He succumbs to the climate of Sind, his grave at Diu. Badger 188; Huart II, 272; Rep. 83/84: 20.
- His only son. Badger 241
- His mother. Rep. 80/81: Pedigree II.

3. ALI BIN HILAL

- He is born about 1745. Rep. 83/84: 20.
He is in Oman when his father died. Badger lii.
He is made Governor of Barkah after death of Hamed bin Said.
Badger liv, 213, 214.
He is asked by Sultan Ahmed to leave Barkah for settling dispute
with Said bin Ahmed. Badger liv, 214, 215-216.
He is waiting upon events at death of Sultan bin Ahmed. Badger lxi.
He fights against Said bin Sultan. Badger 263; Huart II 273.
He commands the siege of Matrah. Badger 267.
He settles the difference between Bedr bin Seif and Kais bin Ahmed.
Badger 280, 281.
He supports Bedr bin Seif against Kais bin Ahmed. Badger 290.
He receives news of the assassination of Bedr bin Seif. Badger 291.
He is mentioned in a letter by Said bin Sultan. Badger 292.

4. SAID BIN AHMED

- Summary of his life. Badger 188-201.
He was Governor of Nezwa. Badger 189-190.
He introduces a monopoly for Indigo Dying in Nezwa. Badger 189-190.
His father wants to secure his succession. Rep. 87/88: 22.
He is made prisoner by his brethren Seif and Sultan. Badger xlix,
177-179; Rep. 87/88: 22-23.
He is elected Imam. Badger lii, liii, 189, 378; Burton I 289; Miles
281; Rep. 83/84: 20; Rep. 87/88: 23; Said-Ruete 177.
His relations with France. Guillain II 206-207; Miles 278; Rep.
87/88: 24; Sacy III 290, 293, 297, 301, 304; Said-Ruete 94-95.
His son Hamed displaces him in the government. Badger lii, 192-193;
Miles 283; Rep. 83/84: 20; Rep. 87/88: 23.
He sends expedition to East Africa. Badger lxii; Germain 360; Gran-
didier 35; Guillain I 557-559; Kersten 32; Pearce 110; Said-
Ruete 48.
His residence at Rostak. Franklin 14; Philby, 78.
His character. Curzon II 435; Guillain I 559; Miles 276; Said-Ruete
4, 131, 178.
His death. Badger lxxx, 213, 342, 380; Burton I 289; Guillain I 560;
Handbook 37; Huart II 276; Rep. 87/88: 31; Said-Ruete 7, 178.
His surviving children. Badger 241.

5. HAMED BIN SAID (Badger 342 n. 2)

- Summary of his life. Badger 201-213.
He displaces his father in the Government. Badger lii, 192-201;
Ingrams 74; Miles 283; Rep. 83/84: 20.

- His Régency. Badger liii, 201-213; Huart II 272; Miles 285; Rep. 87/88: 23.
- His expedition to East Africa. Badger liii, lxi, 205; Curzon II 435; Grandidier 35; Guillain I 556-558; Huart II 272; Miles 281-282; Oppenheim II 351; Rep. 83/84: 21, 28; Rep. 87/88: 31; Said-Ruete 48.
- He fights against Sultan bin Ahmed. Badger 208-212; Rep. 87/88: 23.
- Muscat his residence. Badger 202; Huart II 272; Philby 78.
- His frigate ef-Rahmany. Badger liii, 204, 213.
- His death and his grave. Badger liii, 213; Huart II 272.
- His surviving son. Badger 241.

6. HILAL BIN HAMED

- He takes no part in the fight between Kais bin Ahmed and Said bin Sultan. Badger 262.
- He supports Behr bin Seif against Kais bin Ahmed. Badger 285.
- His action at the assassination of Bedr bin Seif. Badger 291.
- He is sent by Said bin Sultan against Hamid bin Nasir. Badger 338.
- His expedition against the Wahhabis. Rep. 83/84: 24.
- His death. Reinhardt 370.

7. AHMED BIN SAID BIN AHMED (Badger 342 n. 2)

- His father made him Governor of Muscat. Badger liv, 213; Rep. 82/83: 24.
- He takes part with Sultan bin Ahmed in consultations with reference to the invasion of the Wahhabis. Badger lix, 235.
- He is sent by his father to the General of the Wahhabis. Badger lxxvi, 325.
- He is at Rostak at the death of Azzan bin Kais. Badger 329.
- He succeeds to Rostak and is dispossessed by Talib bin Ahmed. Badger lxxxi, 342-343.
- He is 1814 in Suwaiq. Mansur 173.
- His wife. Badger lxxvii-lxxviii, 329 n. 1-330.

8. HAMED BIN AHMED (El Samar, Rep. 83/84: 33)

- He takes part in Said bin Sultan's first expedition to Mombassa. Badger 348; Rep. 83/84: 28.
- He is sent by Said bin Sultan to Hamud bin Azzan at Sohar. Badger 352.
- He is made Wali of Sohar by Said bin Sultan. Badger 355.
- His expedition against Siwy in East Africa. Badger 355.
- He attacks Rostak and is made prisoner by Hamud bin Azzan. Badger 356.

He is Wali of Zanzibar and attacks Mombassa. Guillain III 100-101; Rep. 83/84: 28, 30, 31.

He is killed in attack on Siwy. Badger 360; Bomb. Sel. 217: Guillain III 102; Rep. 83/84: 33.

9. SULTAN BIN AHMED BIN SAID BIN AHMED

He assassinates Saoud bin Ali. Badger lxxxvii, 355-356; Rep. 83/84: 31.

10. NASIR BIN SAID

He takes part in an expedition of Said bin Sultan against the Beni Bu Ali. Badger 340-341.

He hands Rostak over to Talib bin Ahmed. Badger 343.

He was probably met by Ruschenberger. Ruschenberger I 137.

11. BINT SAID BIN AHMED

She wished to secure Sohar for her brother Ahmed. Badger 329 n. 1-330.

12. KAIS BIN AHMED

He is Governor of Sohar. Badger lii, liv, lxi, lxvi, lxxviii, 189; Huart II 272; Rep. 83/84: 20; Rep. 87/88: 23.

He is in possession of Matrah. Badger liv, lxxviii, 218-219; Said-Ruete, 10.

He supports Said bin Ahmed against Sultan bin Ahmed. Badger lv; Rep. 87/88: 23.

He supports Sultan bin Ahmed against tribes attacking Sohar. Badger lvii.

He rebels against Said bin Sultan. Badger lxvi-lxix, 262-289; Rep. 87/88: 23, 31.

He rebels against Bedr bin Seif. Rep. 83/84: 21.

His reconciliation with Said bin Sultan after assassination of Bedr bin Seif. Badger lxxi, 292; Rep. 83/84: 22; Said-Ruete 16.

He is killed in attack on Fakkan. Badger lxxi, 293-294; Miles 311; Rep. 83/84: 23; Said-Ruete 23.

His relations to the Imamate. Badger lii, lv-lvi, 192; Miles 282; Rep. 87/88: 23; Said-Ruete 179.

13. AZZAN BIN KAIS BIN AHMED

He is Governor of Sohar. Badger lxxi; Oppenheim 347.

He is supported by Said bin Sultan to defend Sohar. Badger lxxi-lxxii, 294-295, 298.

He contracts small-pox. Badger lxxii, 298.

- He negotiates with the Wahhabis, to whom he must pay annual tribute. Badger lxxvi-lxxvii; Said-Ruete 32.
- He confers with Sultan bin Ahmed at Barkah owing to invasion of Wahhabis. Badger lix, 235.
- He supports Said bin Sultan against Muhammad bin Nasir and Wahhabis. Badger 301-302, 315, 319, 322; Mansur 55, 59, 66, 69; Rep. 83/84: 24.
- His death at Mocca after return from pilgrimage; his grave. Badger lxxvii, 328; Oppenheim II 347; Rep. 83/84: 25; Said-Ruete 42.

14. HAMUD BIN AZZAN BIN KAIS BIN AHMED

- He takes possession of Sohar. Badger lxxxiv, 350-351; Bomb. Sel. 200, 208; Rep. 83/84: 29.
- He tries to capture Muscat. Badger 352; Bomb. Sel. 207; Rep. 83/84: 29; Said-Ruete 56.
- He conquers Rostak. Badger lxxxvii, 356; Huart II 276; Oppenheim II 352; Said-Ruete 65.
- He fights against Said bin Sultan. Badger lxxxvii, 357-358; Rep. 83/84: 31.
- He is reconciled with Said bin Sultan by British mediation. Badger lxxxviii, 360; Bomb. Sel. 211, 216, 227; H.I.N. II 331; Huart II 276; Oppenheim II 352; Rep. 83/84: 31; Said-Ruete 67; Treaties 242-244.
- He is asked for support by Thuwainy bin Said. Bomb. Sel. 212.
- He goes to Bombay to ask support of Indian Government against Said bin Sultan. Badger lxxxix, 361; Huart II 277; Miles 343; Rep. 83/84: 33.
- He resumes the garb of religion and hands Sohar over to his son, Seif. Badger lxxxix, 361; Huart II 277; Miles 343; Rep. 83/84: 33; Said-Ruete 179.
- He refuses to be elected Imam. Badger lxxxix, 361; Miles 343; Rep. 83/84: 33; Said-Ruete 180.
- He has his son Seif murdered and takes again possession of Sohar. Badger lxxxix, 362; Bomb. Sel. 228; Huart II 277; Oppenheim II 354; Rep. 83/84: 35; Said-Ruete 16 n. 1, 84.
- His dealings with the Wahhabis. Bomb. Sel. 446, 456-458.
- He is made prisoner by Thuwainy bin Said and brought to Muscat where he succumbed to his treatment; his grave. Badger xc, 362; Bomb. Sel. 229-230; H.I.N. II 331; Huart II 277; Miles 348; Oppenheim II 354; Rep. 83/84: 35; Said-Ruete 16 n. 1.

15. SEIF BIN HAMUD

- He receives Sohar from his father. Badger lxxxix, 361; Huart II 277; Miles 343; Rep. 83/84: 33; Said-Ruete 179.

His father has him killed. Badger xc, 362; Bomb. Sel. 229-230; H.I.N. II 331; Huart II 277; Miles 348; Oppenheim II 354; Rep. 83/84: 35; Said-Ruete 16 n. 1.

16. BEDR BIN SEIF BIN HAMUD

His mission to Semed. Rep. 75/76: 77.
 He goes with Turkey bin Said to Barkah. Rep. 76/77: 76.
 Turkey bin Said orders him to protect Saham. Rep. 76/77: 77.
 He is Governor of Sohar. Rep. 77/78: 128; Miles/Sohar 41.
 He was deported to Zanzibar, returns to Muscat, is appointed Governor of Matrah. Rep. 79/80: 133.
 He was in charge of Barkah. Rep. 89/90: 25.

17. KAIS BIN AZZAN

He sends his brother Hamud to reinforce the garrison of Baraimi. Bomb. Sel. 446.
 He takes possession of Sohar at the death of his brother Hamud. Badger xc, 363; Huart II 277; Rep. 83/84: 35.
 He is attacked by Thuwainy bin Said and captures Shinas, Khor Fakkan and Ghalla. Badger xc, 363; Bomb. Sel. 229; Miles 348-349; Rep. 83/84: 35; Said-Ruete 85.
 He takes vengeance of his brother's death. Badger 363; Bomb. Sel. 230; Rep. 83/84: 35.
 He fights against Said bin Sultan and Thuwainy bin Said. Badger xc-xci, 363; Huart II 277; Rep. 83/84: 35.
 He comes to terms with Said bin Sultan and accepts appanage of Rostak and a pension in lieu of Sohar. Badger xci, ciii, 367; Bomb. Sel. 231; Burton I 373; Huart II 277; Miles 349; Rep. 83/84: 35; Said-Ruete 86.
 He is killed by Hilal bin Muhammad when trying to assassinate him. G.J. Nov. 1901: 489; Said-Ruete 16 n. 1.

18. AZZAN BIN KAIS BIN AZZAN

He is Wali of Rostak, revolts against Thuwainy bin Said, forms alliens with Wahhabis. Badger cii-ciii; Huart II 279; Oppenheim 360.
 He revolts against Salim bin Thuwainy. Badger cxii-cxiii; Brode 20-23; G.J. Oct. 1910: 419; Huart II 279; Oppenheim II 360; Philby 124; Rep. 82/83: 28; Treaties 192; Zehme 397-398.
 He attacked Baraimi. Miles/Sohar 55; Treaties 193.
 He is defeated by Turkey bin Said and escapes to Sohar. Badger cxvii. G.J. Oct. 1910: 419; Oppenheim II 361; Rep. 82/83: 29; Rep. 85/86: 27.

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His election to the Imamate. Bent 53; Brode 23-24; Ctp. Rev. Dec. 95: 872; G.J. Oct. 1910: 419; Oppenheim II 342 n. 4, 360; Rep. 82/83: 28.

He is said to have incited Salim bin Thuwainy to parricide. Huart II 279; Oppenheim II 360; Zehme 397.

He revolts against Salim bin Thuwainy. J.C.A.S. 1929: 428; Philby 125, 164.

He restores the castle of Adam. G.J. Aug. 1910: 167.

He is brother in law of Salim bin Thuwainy. Treaties 192.

His character and prospects. Badger cxviii-cxix.

He is killed when attacking Matrah. G.J. Oct. 1910: 419; Oppenheim II 361; Rep. 82/83: 29; Treaties 193; Zehme 398.

19. HAMUD BIN AZZAN BIN KAIS BIN AZZAN

He resides in Rostak. G.J. Oct. 1910: 421, 423. Rep. 85/86: 27-28.
After his father's death he is under the care of his uncle Ibrahim bin Kais. G.J. Oct. 1910: 422.

He takes part in attack against l'Awabi. Reinhardt 372.

20. SAUD BIN AZZAN

He resides (1885) in Rostak. His age, his personality. G.J. Oct. 1910: 422; Rep. 85/86: 28.

21. IBRAHIM BIN KAIS

He resides in Rostak. G.J. Oct. 1910: 422, 424.

He defends and loses Sohar. Oppenheim II 361; Rep. 82/83: 29; Treaties 194, 195; Zehme 398.

He defends Baraimi against the Wahhabis. Rep. 83/84: 29.

He tries several times to conquer Barkah and Muscat. Curzon II 438, 445; Rep. 76/77: 76; Rep. 78/79: 114; Rep. 82/83: 29.

He occupies Mesnaah. Miles 458; Rep. 82/83: 18; Treaties 195; Zehme 398.

He loses Fort Hazm and receives it back, occupies Rostak. G.J. Oct. 1910: 422, 424; Rep. 78/79: 116; Rep. 82/83: 20; Rep. 85/86: 28.

He conquers Suwaiq and loses it again. Miles 457; Rep. 87/88: 5, 19.

He receives pension from Turkey bin Said. Rep. 82/83: 21; Rep. 87/88: 19; Treaties 195.

He is mentioned by Reinhardt 339, 365, 371, 380, 382.

22. BINT KAIS BIN AHMED

She marries Ahmed bin Said bin Ahmed. Badger lxxvii-lxxviii, 329 n. 1-330.

23. SEIF BIN AHMED

He resides in Naaman near Barkah. Miles 278.

He rebels with his brother Sultan against his father and his brother Said. Badger xlix, 172-173, 176-177; Miles 276-277, 278-280; Rep. 87/88: 22-23.

He went to Mekran and forms relations with Durrah bin Jumaah, afterwards Governor of Muscat. Badger 262.

He disputes with his nephew Hamed bin Said; goes to East Africa, where he dies before 1803. Badger liii, lix, 205; Guillain I 556; Huart II 272; Kersten 18; Miles 281-283; Rep. 83/84: 20-21, 28; Said-Ruete 5, 8, 48.

24. BEDR BIN SEIF BIN AHMED

Cousin and maternal uncle of Said bin Sultan. Burton I 290; Guillain II 154.

He rebels against his uncle Sultan bin Ahmed and flees to the Wahhabis. Badger lix, 232-234; Corancez 68, 121-122; Miles 296-297, 304-305; Rep. 83/84: 20, 21; Rep. 87/88: 27; Wellsted I 398.

He is asked by his relations to return to Muscat. Badger lxi, lxvii, 266; Rep. 83/84: 20.

He takes an active part in the government of the country and allies himself with the Wahhabis. Badger lxviii-lxix; Bomb. Sel. 124, 431; Corancez 121; Mansur 4-9; Miles 306-307; Philby 87; Rep. 83/84: 21.

His expedition against Bunder Abbas. Bomb. Sel. 303-304; Rep. 83/84: 21.

He is concerned in the assassination of Muhenna bin Suleiman. Badger lxviii, 270-271.

His assassination. Badger lxx-lxxi, 290-292; Burton I 290-291; G.J. Oct. 1910: 425; Guillain II 155-157; Mansur 9-11; Miles 301, 308-309, 312; Rep. 83/84: 22; Ruschenberger I 138; Wellsted I 399; Zehme 392.

His burial. Badger 292.

25. HAMUD BIN BEDR

He is in Rostak with Saoud bin Ali. Badger 355.

He takes possession of the fort of Rostak, but has to surrender it again. Badger 356.

26. SEIF BIN BEDR

Cf. Badger App. D; Kersten 3435.

27. ALI BIN SEIF

The forts of Badbad are taken away from him. Badger 271.

28. SAOUD BIN ALI

He is Wali of Barkah. Makes Hilal bin Muhammad and Muhammad bin Salim prisoners. Badger lxxxv, 353-354; Burton I 297; Guillain II 190; Rep. 82/83: 27; Rep. 83/84: 29-30.

Reconciled with Said bin Sultan he receives Rostak in exchange of Barkah. Badger lxxxvi, 354-355; Guillain II 190; Rep. 82/83: 27; Rep. 83/84: 30.

He is assassinated by Sultan bin Ahmed bin Said. Badger lxxxvii, 355-356; Guillain II 190; Rep. 83/84: 31.

29. ALI BIN SAOUD

Cf. Badger App. D; Kersten 34/35.

30. AZZA BINT SEIF

Her mother Moza bint Ahmed bin Said. She married Said bin Sultan. Guillain II 224; Ruete (London edition) 8, 158-159.

31. SULTAN BIN AHMED

Summary of his life. Badger liv-lxii, 213-240; Huart II 273-274; Miles 285-303; Rep. 82/83: 24; Rep. 87/88: 22-31.

He rebels against his father. Badger xlix, li, 172, 176-179; Firouz 69; Miles 276, 278, 279; Rep. 87/88: 22, 23.

He obtains the regency by treachery and violence. Badger liv-lvi, 213-226; Guillain I 560; Miles 285-286; Rep. 87/88: 23; Wilson 231.

He disputes with his nephew Hamed bin Said. Badger liii, 208-212; Miles 284-285.

His relations with India. Badger lvi, xciii-xciv; Bomb. Sel. 122, 123, 248-250; Curzon II 435-436; Firouz 78-79; Germain 361; H.I.N. I 325; Huart II 273; J.C.A.S. 1929: 422, 483; Miles 291, 292-293; Rep. 87/88: 25, 26, 27; Said-Ruete 7; Treaties 187, 207-209; Wilson 189, 231-232.

His relations with France. Bomb. Sel. 122, 123, 174; Brunet-Millon 69-71; Curzon II 435; Firouz 79-82; Guillain II 207-210; H.I.N. I 325; J.C.A.S. 1929: 422; Miles 189, 232-233, 290, 299-301; Rep. 87/88: 24-25, 28-29; Said-Ruete 7, 95-100.

His relations with Holland. Bomb. Sel. 122; Germain 361; H.I.N. I 325; Wilson 232.

His nephew Bedr bin Seif conspires against him and flees to the Wahhahis. Badger 233; Miles 296-297; Rep. 87/88: 27.

- His relations with the Wahhabis. Badger 234-237; Bomb. Sel. 429-431; Corancez 55-59; Firouz 71; Germain 361; Huart II 273-274; J.C.A.S. 1929: 422; Miles 293-294, 297, 298, 302; Rep. 82/83: 24; Rep. 83/84: 21; Rep. 87/88: 26, 27, 28, 29.
- He takes possession of Gwadar and Shahbar. Badger lxii, 226; Curzon II 432; Miles LVI, 282, 286-287; Rep. 82/83: 25; Rep. 87/88: 23; Wilson 173, 188.
- He takes possession of Bunder Abbas (Gamberoom). Badger lvi, xciii; Miles 287; Rep. 82/83: 24; Rep. 87/88: 24; Sadlier 18, 20.
- He takes possession of Kichm, Hormuz and Linjah. Badger lvi, lxii, 226; Curzon II 422-423; Huart II 273; Miles 287; Rep. 82/83: 24; Rep. 87/88: 23-24; Sadlier 18, 20.
- Expeditions against Bahrein. Badger lvi, 226-227; Bomb. Sel. 123, 141; Huart II 273; Miles 291-292, 294-295; Rep. 82/83: 24.
- His relations with East Africa. Guillain I 557; Rep. 83/84: 28; Rep. 87/88: 31.
- His fleet. Badger xlvi; Corancez 57; Huart II 291; J.C.A.S. 1929: 483; Miles 291-292; Rep. 87/88: 25, 30.
- His pilgrimage to Mecca. Badger lix, 232; Huart II 274; J.C.A.S. 1929: 422; Miles 296; Philby 81; Rep. 87/88: 27; Said-Ruete 8.
- Expedition to Basra. Badger xlvi, lx, 238; Huart II 290; J.C.A.S. 1929: 422; Miles 302; Rep. 83/84: 20; Rep. 87/88: 24, 30; Said-Ruete, 9.
- Negotiations with Pacha of Baghdad. Corancez 56-58; Firouz 78; Miles 289, 302; Rep. 87/88: 30.
- He is killed when fighting the Cowasim at Linjah. Badger lxi, 238-240; Burton I 290; Corancez 59; Curzon II 435; H.I.N. I 316; Huart II 274, 290; J.C.A.S. 1929: 422; Mansur 2; Miles 303; Raymond 29; Rep. 87/88: 30; Said-Ruete 9-10; Wilson 233.
- His grave. Badger lxi, 240; Mansur 3; Miles 303; Rep. 87/88: 30.
- His surviving children. Badger 241.
- Imamat. Badger lvi; Guillain I 560; Pelly 184; Said-Ruete 178.
- He makes Muscat his residence. Miles 286; Oppenheim II. 343; Rep. 87/88: 23, 31.
- His mother. Miles 276; Rep. 87/88: 23.
- His wives. Badger 230; Rep. 83/84: 22.
- Date of his birth. Miles 286; Rep. 87/88: 23.
- His personality and character. Badger 213-214; J.C.A.S. 1929: 422; Malcolm I 13; Miles 286; Rep. 87/88: 31.

32. SALIM BIN SULTAN

Summary of his life. Badger lxiii-lxxx, 241-257.

He is born about 1789. Rep. 83/84: 20, 22; Rep. 87/88: 26; Said-Ruete 10.

His mother. Miles 310.

Muhammad bin Nasir bin Muhammad al-Jabry is appointed his guardian. Miles 304.

He is made Wali of Mesnaah by Bedr bin Seif about 1804. Mansur 15; Rep. 83,84: 21.

He is not involved in assassination of Bedr bin Seif. Miles 309; Rep. 83,84: 22.

He is made Wali of Bahrein by his father (1799). Badger lvii, 227; Huart II 273; Rep. 82,83: 24; Rep. 87,88: 26.

He acts as Regent during his father's pilgrimage (1803). Miles 296; Rep. 87,88: 27; Said-Ruete 8.

He receives news from his father's death. Badger lxi, 240.

He rules together with his brother Said bin Sultan. Badger lxii, lxvi, 261; Miles 309; Said-Ruete 15.

His mission to Persia. He fights the Wahhabis with the help of Persian troops. Badger lxxiii, lxxiv, 306-317; Huart II 274; Mansur 79-81; Miles 318; Rep. 83,84: 26; Said-Ruete 28, 29-31.

He takes part in the battle of Ras el Khymah (1809). Badger 322; Mansur 55.

His character and personality. Badger lxxiii, 241-243, 257; Rep. 83,84: 22.

Sadlier meets him. Sadlier 7, 16, 138.

He dies in Muscat, 1821. His grave there. Badger lxxx, 257, 342; Burton I 310; Miles 327; Rep. 83,84: 26.

He left three sons. Badger 257.

33. MUHAMMAD BIN SALIM

He is made Wali of Sohar and Muscat by Said bin Sultan. Badger lxxxiii, lxxxiv, 349.

He makes Hilal bin Muhammad prisoner in Muscat. Badger 350.

He acts as Regent during Said bin Sultan's absence in Zanzibar (1829). Badger 350; Miles 329; Rep. 83,84: 27; Said-Ruete 55.

He acts as Regent during Said bin Sultan's pilgrimage (1824). Miles 328; Rep. 83,84: 26; Said-Ruete 42.

He settles dispute between Said bin Sultan and Hamud bin Azzan. Badger 352-353.

He recalls Said bin Sultan from Zanzibar and asks support from Indian Government against disorders in Oman (1830). Miles 332; Rep. 83,84: 29; Said-Ruete 56.

He acts as Regent during Said bin Sultan's absence in Zanzibar (1832). Badger 353; Miles 333; Rep. 83,84: 29; Said-Ruete 60.

He is made prisoner by Saoud bin Ali. Badger lxxxv, 353-354; Rep. 83,84: 29.

He is present at the capture of Shinas. Badger 366.

He accompanies Kais bin Azzan to Muscat, to reconcile him with Said bin Sultan. Badger 367.

He is sent by Said bin Sultan to Persia for peace negotiations. Badger 369.

He went in mourning at death of Said bin Sultan. Badger 261.

He is sent after death of Said bin Sultan by Thuwainy bin Said to Zanzibar. Lyne 49.

34. HAMED BIN SALIM

The revenues of Masnaah were assigned to him by Said bin Sultan.

He conspires with Turkey bin Said against Salim bin Thuwainy.

Badger cx; Huart II 279; Oppenheim II 360; Treaties 192.

He went in mourning at death of Said bin Sultan. Badger 261.

He defends el Masnaah against Saoud bin Ali. Badger 354.

His difficulties with the Bedouins. Bomb. Sel. 216.

The Biography of the Al Bu Said by Salil ibn Razik (Badger) was written on his behalf. Badger 370.

35. MOZA BINT HAMED BIN SALIM

She married Barghash bin Said. Pearce 275.

36. SIRHAN BIN SALIM

He defends el Masnaah against Saoud bin Ali. Badger 354.

37. GHALIA BINT SALIM

She marries Thuwainy bin Said. Ingrams Chro.; Ruete (Berlin edition) I 177.

38. SAID BIN SULTAN

Cf. SAID BIN SULTAN (1791-1856) Ruler of Oman and Zanzibar. His

Place in the History of Arabia and East Africa by Rudolph Said-Ruete. London 1929.

39. HILAL BIN SAID

He was born in 1815. Miles 345; Rep. 83/84: 34.

His mother. Guillain II 224; Miles 347; Rep. 83/84: 34.

He is appointed Wali of Muscat by his father (1832). Badger lxxxv, 353; Bomb. Sel. 203, 277, 634; Miles 332-333; Rep. 82/83: 27; Rep. 83/84: 29.

He is made prisoner by Saoud bin Ali at Barkah and released for ransom. Badger lxxxv, 353-354; Bomb. Sel. 203-205; Miles 333-334; Rep. 82/83: 27; Rep. 83/84: 29-30.

He is recalled to Zanzibar (1841). Rep. 83/84: 34.

- His conflict with his father. Guillaín II 225-226; Miles 346-347; Rep. 83/84: 34; Said-Ruete 79.
- He proceeds to England (1845) to represent his conditions to the Government. Guillaín II 226-227; Miles 346; Rep. 83/84: 34; Said-Ruete 81.
- He returns to Zanzibar (1846), is exiled and having first retired to Lamu dies in Aden (1851). Guillaín II 227; Guillaín III 450-451; Lyne 49; Miles 346; Rep. 83/84: 34; Said-Ruete 81.
- He left three sons. Kersten 34-35; Ruete (London edition) 140-142.
- The widow and sons of his son Muhammad. Rep. 87/88: 19.
- His personality. Guillaín II 225, 227; Lyne 49; Miles 345-346; Rep. 83/84: 34; Ruete (London edition) 138-140.

40. KHALID BIN SAID

- His age. Ruschenberger I 37.
- His mother. Guillaín II 228; Miles 347; Rep. 83/84: 34; Said-Ruete 80.
- His expedition to Mombassa (1837). Burton I 298-299; Kersten 20, 32; Miles 340; Rep. 83/84: 32; Said-Ruete 69.
- He takes part in expedition against Siwy (1844). Guillaín III 101.
- He acts as Regent in Zanzibar. Guillaín II 228; Miles 346; Rep. 83/84: 34; Ruschenberger I 37.
- His father wants to secure his succession. He asks Colonel Hamerton for support against foreign design. Lyne 49; Miles 346, 347, 350-351; Rep. 83/84: 34, 35-36; Said-Ruete 81, 87.
- He was submitted to French influence. Lyne 53.
- His death. Bomb. Sel. 238; Miles 347; Rep. 83/84: 34.
- His grave. Burton I 395; Pearce 127.
- His two daughters. Lyne 55.
- His personality. Guillaín II 227-228; Said-Ruete 80.

41. HAMED BIN SULTAN

- He is killed in expedition of Said bin Sultan against Bahrein (1816). Badger lxxix, 336; Huart II 275; Miles 322; Rep. 83/84: 25; Said-Ruete 35.

42. BINT SULTAN BIN AHMED

- She married Hilal bin Muhammad. Guillaín II 231; Wellsted I 190, 193; Zohme 185.

43. TALIB BIN AHMED

- He takes part at conference in Barkah with Sultan bin Ahmed on the occasion of Wahhabi invasion. Badger lix, 235.

He supports Said bin Sultan against the Wahhabis. Badger lxxiii, 316-317.

He is made Wali of Nakhil; resigns later. Badger 330.

He supports Said bin Sultan's government. Miles 333; Rep. 83/84: 29.

He takes possession of Rostak. Badger lxxxiv, lxxvi, 342-343, 351, 354-355.

He resides with Said bin Ahmed in Rostak. Rep. 83/84: 20.

He leaves no issue. Badger 241.

44. MUHAMMAD BIN AHMED

His mother. Miles 266.

He takes part in conference at Barkah with Sultan bin Ahmed on the occasion of Wahhabi invasion. Badger lix, 235.

He is Wali of Suwaiq. Badger lxi; Miles 286; Rep. 83/84: 20.

He holds Behla. Badger lxix, 272, 284, 288.

He surrenders Nezwa. Badger lxx, 272, 284, 289.

He submits to the Wahhabis. Badger lxxvi, 324-325.

He takes part in conspiracy of Kais bin Ahmed against Said bin Sultan. Badger 263, 272, 273, 284; Rep. 83/84: 20; Rep. 87/88: 31.

He supports Said bin Sultan against the Wahhabis. Badger 337.

45. HILAL BIN MUHAMMAD

He is taken prisoner by Said bin Sultan; is released and receives Suwaiq. Badger lxxxiv, 349-350; G.J. Nov. 1901: 487; Huart II 276; Rep. 83/84: 27; Said-Ruete 55, 58.

He attacks Rostak. Badger lxxxv; Miles 333.

Hamud bin Azzan bin Kais bin Ahmed promises to keep peace with him. Badger 360; Miles 339; Rep. 83/84: 31; Said-Ruete 67.

Said bin Sultan refuses to send him to Abu Dhabi to assist the Al Ali tribe. Bomb. Sel. 210.

He places Seif bin Soliman in charge of the fort of Honken. Bomb. Sel. 212.

He negotiates with the Wahhabis on behalf of Thuwainy bin Said. Badger 367.

He is visited by Wellsted at Suwaiq and accompanies him on the journey. Ritter 525; Wellsted I 190-191, 195-199; Zehme 185-186.

His property is divided. G.J. Nov. 1901: 489; Wellsted I 191-192.

He marries the sister of Said bin Sultan. Guillain II 231; Wellsted I 190, 193; Zehme 185.

His personality. G.J. Nov. 1901: 489; Guillain II 230-232; Wellsted I 191.

His age. Wellsted I 191.

He is killed by Kais bin Azzan. G.J. Nov. 1901: 489; Rep. 80/81 Gen. Tbl.; Said-Ruete 16 n. 1; Zehme 185.

46. SALIM BIN HILAL

He is assassinated March, 1879, in Samed. Rep. 78/79: 115.

47. HAMED BIN HILAL

Turky bin Said restores to him Birket el Muz. G.J. Nov. 1901: 488.

His education, personality, and death in East Africa. G.J. Nov. 1901: 489.

48. JOKHA BINT MUHAMMAD BIN AHMED

She defends Sowaiq. G.J. Nov. 1901: 489; Guillain II 231; Miles 332; Rep. 83/84: 29; Said-Ruete 55, 56; Wellsted I 193-194.

49-51. BINT AHMED BIN SAID

Ahmed left behind three daughters. Badger li, 188.

One was called MOZA (50).

She receives news of the death of her brother Sultan bin Ahmed.

Badger lxi, 240.

She defends Said bin Sultan's interest. Miles 333.

On her suggestion Seif bin Hamud is made Governor of Sohar.

Miles 343; Rep. 83/84: 33.

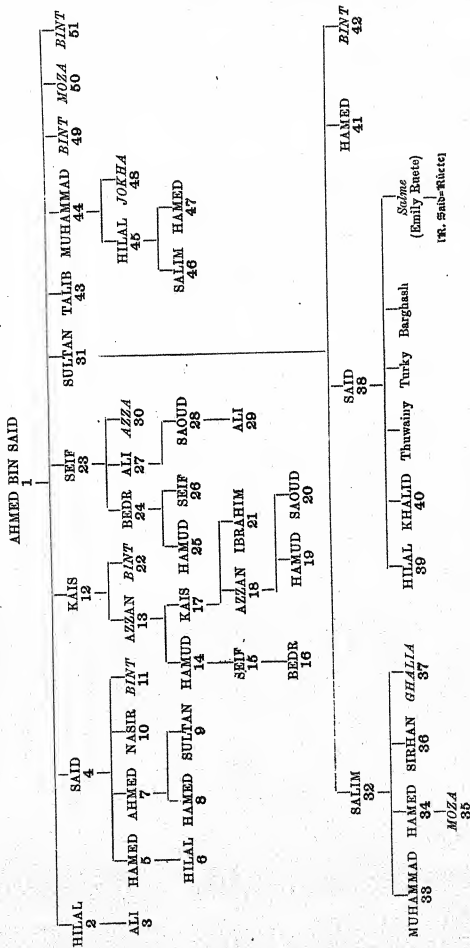
She marries Bedr bin Seif. Guillain II 224.

She takes an active part in the government. Badger lxii,

lxvii, lxviii, lxxxiv, 261, 266, 269, 273, 274, 276, 283, 296, 314, 329, 351; H.I.N. II 330; Rep. 83/84: 20, 29; Ruete (London edition) 159-162; Said-Ruete 10, 14, 56, 61, 62, 68.

One daughter of Ahmed bin Said married Muhammad bin Nasir (Nasir bin Muhammad). Badger xlviii, 183.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF MEMBERS OF THE AL BU SAID DYNASTY MENTIONED IN THIS ARTICLE



Italics denote women. *BINT* means here a daughter, whose name is unknown (cf. Badger ii, 188).

Italics denote women. *BINT* means here a daughter, whose name is unknown (cf. Badger li, 188).

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THE DOG TEMPLE AT PEKING

BY D. BOURKE-BORROWES

THE Chinese have always been dog-lovers and dog-fanciers, and dog-breeding in China goes back to remote antiquity. It is known that there were special breeds of hunting dogs in China as far back as 1760 B.C., and, with the progress of time, many different breeds were evolved. In recent years, certain breeds of Chinese dogs have gained a world-wide popularity, especially the Chow dogs, which are used as a kind of general utility dogs in their own country, and the little Pekingese breed. The origin of the Pekingese dogs seems to coincide with the establishment of the Manchu dynasty in Peking, in the seventeenth century, but the modern types of Pekingese were evolved and stabilized in the nineteenth century, mainly owing to the care and interest bestowed on them by the Imperial family. With the passing of the Manchu dynasty, the breed in Peking nowadays seems to have declined both in quality and quantity, and certain varieties seem to be extinct or nearly so—as, for instance, the white variety, which is said to have been extinct for some considerable time past, and the black variety, which is now almost unprocurable in Peking and the surrounding districts.

Amongst the multitude of temples and shrines of many kinds which the traveller may visit in Peking city, I found none more curious and interesting than the little dog temple.

This temple, which was formerly an Imperial one and said to have been larger than it is at present, is situated in Hata Men Street within the walls of the Tartar city. It is one of the oldest temples in Peking, and its origin is credibly assigned to the seventh century A.D. The building was erected in honour of the god Erh Lang, a powerful Chinese deity who is the nephew of the heavenly King or supreme God. Erh Lang has many exploits to his credit as a dragon-slayer and, besides these, after a great chase he captured the heavenly monkey who had stolen the fruit off the peach trees of eternal life—in all these achievements he was assisted by his faithful dog.

This dog has the unpleasant habit of periodically eating the Sun and the Moon, thereby causing eclipses. On such occasions, it was formerly the practice for the local people to assemble in great numbers round the dog temple and there to make a hideous din to scare the dog away and to make him drop his prey, but this practice has now fallen into disuse.

Many centuries ago it was discovered by chance that Erh Lang, who is not only a dog-owner, but the patron and protector of the entire canine race, had the miraculous power of curing sick dogs and so, from

this time onwards, the temple, which had been erected in his honour, became in consequence very famous.

At the present day the temple is divided by a partition into two small rooms. In the front room stands an altar covered with hanging draperies, under which stands a large uncouth earthenware image of a dog, about the size of an ordinary hound. This is the god's dog who is sometimes capable of doing so much damage!

On a side-table are brass lamps and a brass stand holding many burning "joss-sticks," together with a most remarkable collection of small artificial dogs made of skin, fur, and clay. These are the votive offerings brought by owners of sick dogs and laid on the altar with many prayers for the recovery of the invalids—the idea being that, through the presence of a substitute, the god may avert the danger and thus cause recovery. In some cases, the offerings consist of life-like clay models of bitches with litters of puppies, and it is to be inferred that, in such cases, both the mother and the puppies were afflicted with some disease. Hanging up beside the table is a collection of all sorts of paper spectacles and motor-goggles, which are offerings presented by dog-owners whose pets were suffering from sore eyes. The walls of the room are hung with many long yellow silken panels bearing testimonials in large Chinese characters from grateful owners, testifying to the efficacy of the cures wrought in the temple.

An aged Chinese woman officiates as priestess, her chief duties being to take money, prescribe various forms of prayers and, at frequent intervals, to bang violently on a gong. It is said that the sick dogs have a better chance of recovery if their owners, instead of making a new offering, can manage to steal and offer up on the altar one of the little artificial dogs already in the temple, while the old priestess is engaged in beating the gong or performing other ceremonial duties, although, as far as I know, there is no explanation as to why the god should prefer a stolen to a genuine offering.

It appears that sick persons, as well as sick dogs, can be cured in this temple, and when I was visiting it I saw the old priestess listening attentively to the symptoms described by a young Chinese woman who was badly afflicted with goitre.

In the small back room appears the representation of the god himself, consisting of an imposing figure of a black man larger than life, clad in a handsome robe of yellow silk. On either side stand huge hideous guardian demons, such as are to be found in practically every Chinese temple, whether in or out of China.

A JOURNEY THROUGH THE OASES ON THE FRINGE OF THE TAKLAMAKAN DESERT.

THIS short note of Mr. Ridley's arduous journey through the oases surrounding the Taklamakan is of special interest, as he is probably the first European to make the journey right round the desert. He has not been able to correct the proofs and distances himself, and they are only roughly given. One Chinese li=one-third of a mile; the measurement varies in different provinces. Langar=inn; wattle hut.

KURLA TO YARKAND VIA CHARKHLIQ, CHARCHAN, KERIA, 1929-1930.

1st Day.—120 li to Karakum (black sand), a very long stage in winter time. If with donkeys, better to camp half-way. Bash-in-iz 40 li, Shin-ar-ra 10 li. Karakum 70 li.

2nd Day.—65 li to Agi-kek on the bank of the Konche River. At 25 li see the Konche River again. Last 40 li much jungle. Langar (*i.e.*, inn).

3rd Day.—20 li. Crossed the river at Agi-kek on five canoes lashed together. 20 li brought us to Chong-Kul (big lake), a small village of twenty houses.

4th Day.—60 li. Camped by side of a small lake.

5th Day.—80 li. Much marshy ground all round. A new road built through the marsh for carts. District called Tiz Kul and Chara. Probably 100 farmsteads dotted here and there. After going 20 li saw the Tarim River (called by my donkeyman the Yarkand River). Some years ago he said there were two water wheels on the part of the river which we saw.

In the evening camped on the bank of a river, probably the Inchike River.

6th Day.—80 li. Camped 15 li beyond Urtang-oi Lake.

7th Day.—60 li. After first 10 li we passed Tarisu-kholan; 10 li beyond passed Kalmak-iz-kun River; 10 li further the village of Kalmak-iz-kun, with Ing Kul to the west; 5 li more passed the village of Ulugh Kul, and 15 li beyond camped on the bank of a river.

8th Day.—60 li. Kulslagh Camp. First 35 li much jungle, then very heavy roads. Village of Kulslagh at 45 li. Many sand dunes. Camp at river side again (probably Inchike River).

9th Day.—100 li. Tikenlik. First 50 li very heavy sand, then jungle and prairie grass. 150 families, mostly farmers from Turfan. Stayed in inn, 450 soldiers billeted here as a check against the Kansu Dungans.

10th Day.—90 li. Ching-er-sz. 45 li beyond Tikkenlik is the deserted town of Dural, built to accommodate the Kansu Mahomedans who fled here during the rebellion in Kansu 1895-1896. Water too salt.

11th Day.—90 li. Kara-bais. 70 families. Much grass and jungle. Walked alongside the Tarim River for 30 li, then it turned westward again. Below Durak we lost sight of the other river.

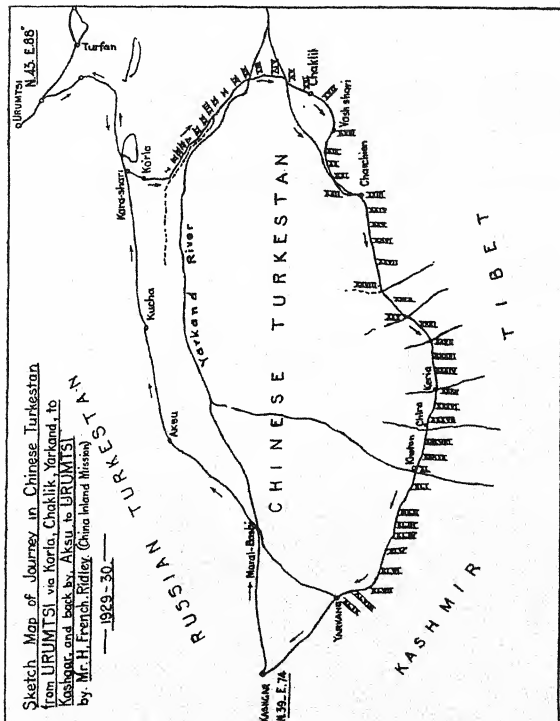
12th Day.—90 li. Arghan. 5 families. Crossed the Tarim River on a ferry. The river had not been so low for many years. Heavy sandy road. Camped 6 li beyond the ferry on the river side.

13th Day.—65 li. Tokmat. Much jungle; many sand dunes; heavy road. Near to the Taklamakan sand dunes.

14th Day.—75 li. Fort Kuron or Chigalik. Many sand dunes; much jungle. 15 li further on is the langar. We camped in the jungle at the river side. Terrific wind storm (burap), then snow fell.

15th Day.—90 li. Lob. Desert route. Carried fuel from Fort Kuron. Camped on the bank of the Charchan River after crossing two bridges.

16th Day.—120 li. Charkhliq. Long, dreary desert route till 15 li from Charkhliq, when there was brushwood. 140 families. District, 400 families. 700 soldiers billeted. Everywhere white with snow.



17th Day.—120 li. Gillig. Desert all the way. Rested in cave by river side. No one in charge; no food for man or beast; no fuel; must be carried from Chaklik.

18th Day.—90 li, called 120 li. Vash-shari. 120 families. Official Rest House. A spring just off the road on right side about half-way.

19th Day.—90 li. Chingelik. Langar. Just one family; no fodder; wells on the way. Gradual ascent. Much sand.

20th Day.—100 li, called 120 li. A very heavy day over sand dunes several hundred feet high called the Bugoluk sand dunes, and camped 26 li short of the stage at Oktas-dung by the side of the Charchan River. 70 li is a well. According to maps the road runs round the foot of the dunes. We cut across them.

21st Day.—100 li. Chong Kul (big lake). 20 li we passed the langar which we ought to have reached the night before. A pleasant day's journey through miles and miles of tall reeds. Lake covered with reeds. Langar.

22nd Day.—90 li. Tatran. Lovely prairie land; much now being brought under cultivation. Abundance of water. Crossed the Charchan River on an ice bridge. Plenty of wild deer and hares. Many farms and much grazing ground. Official Rest House. Small village.

23rd Day.—80 li. Charchan. Road by river nearly all the way. Half barren and half prairie land. Horses, cattle, and sheep herded. Here is a magistrate. About 250 families.

24th Day.—80 li. Ketmas. Entered the sand dunes of Aqbai-kalrasi. Road very heavy. Well at Kalasti. Langar.

25th Day.—80 li. Aqbai. First 5 li fairly good road; next 25 li very heavy; last 10 li easy. Wells 45 li and 60 li. Langar.

26th Day.—100 li. Yak-toghrak. Bitter water; desert route. Well at Kirga-aragi.

(26th Day.—100 li. Chingelik. First 15 li heavy road; next 30 li easier; then heavy sand dunes all the way. Wells at 30 and 45 li. Langar.)

27th Day.—80 li. Shudan. One family. Heavy sandy road along the foot of the Akbai-kalrasi sand dunes. Langar.

28th Day.—80 li. Endere. 60 li very sandy road. Jungle nearly all the way. Well at 60 li place. Langar.

29th Day.—110 li. Yak-toghrak. Bitter water. Desert road. Well at Kirga-aragi.

30th Day.—80 li. Yer-tungus (place of wild pigs). Heavy sandy road; many dunes. Langar on bank of the river.

31st Day.—60 li. Ying-darya. First view of Chekil Peak on the Kuen-lun Range just after leaving the langar. Clear morning. Well at Billiq. Snow all the way.

32nd Day.—70 li. Niya. First 10 li jungle, then many sand dunes. See the oasis long ere we get to it. Oasis 60 to 70 li long. 1,000 families.

33rd Day.—80 li. Awrās. 40 li is a langar. In summer water has to be carried 15 li. We had snow water.

34th Day.—105 li. Oy-toghrak (white poplar house). Oasis about the same size as Niya. Over 1,200 families.

35th Day.—90 li. Keria. Probably 5,000 to 6,000 families.

36th Day.—120 li. Yar-langar. Much sand.

37th Day.—100 li. Chira. 2,000 families. Very heavy road. Domoko langar 40 li, Gulakma langar 30 li.

38th Day.—80 li. Besh-toghrak (five poplars). Four inns. Yakin langar 40 li, Aisma langar 20 li.

39th Day.—80 li. Lob. First 40 li over very heavy sand dunes, then a good flat road. A vast plain extending to the foot of the Kuen-lun Mountains.

40th Day.—80 li. Khotan. Lovely road all the way. Probably 30,000 inhabitants. Carpets and jade.

41st Day.—90 li. Dawa. Farms nearly all the way. Passed through two bazaars.

42nd Day.—120 li. Pialma. First 40 li very good road, then heavy sand dunes. Passed pigeon sanctuary 40 li, Ak langar at 60 li.

43rd Day.—90 li. Tsan-kuei. 1,000 families in oasis. Heavy sand all the way.

44th Day.—60 li. Mudjii. Less sand, more shrubbery.

45th Day.—90 li. Goma. First 30 li gravel, then much sand.

46th Day.—90 li. Chulak langar. Much sand all the way. Ajip langar 35 li, Hsi-lak langar 15 li.

47th Day.—135 li. Karghalik. Kosh langar 60 li, Erka langar 15 li. A very long, tiring day.

48th Day.—90 li. Posgam. Trees all the way. 30 li and 60 li are bazaars.

49th Day.—90 li. Yarkand.

Left Kurla November 16, arrived Charkhliq December 4.

Left Charkhliq December 2, arrived Charchan December 16.

Left Charchan December 19, arrived Keria January 1.

Left Keria January 12, arrived Khotan January 16.

Left Khotan January 22, arrived Yarkand January 30.

I had donkeys as far as Keria and one riding horse. Sold donkeys at Keria and bought two horses, as it was no longer necessary to carry grain more than two days. A good season to travel; starting a little earlier would probably be better. Snow on the ground all the way from Fort Kuron to Kaashgar. Travelling at this season meat and vegetables do not go bad. 3 lbs. of mutton fat to every 10 lbs. of flour helps to keep the bread soft. Took in supplies at Kurla, Charkhliq, and Charchan.

Left Urumtsai on October 22 and arrived back on April 24, 1929-1930 (102 stages, 3,300 miles [9,900 li]), returning via Kashgar, Aksu, Kucha, Qara-shari.

DR. PH. VISSER'S RECENT EXPEDITION TO THE KARAKORAM AND TURKISTAN.

*Being short notes on a lecture given to the Royal Geographical Society
on February 23, 1931.*

THE President and Viscountess Allenby received at an At Home given on February 23 for Mr. Philip Visser on his return from his recent expedition to the Karakoram and Turkistan, where for eighteen months he has worked at exploring and mapping out a large and unknown glacier region.

Unfortunately, Mr. Visser was in England only for twenty-four hours, and so was not able to lecture to the Society. The President and Council of the Royal Geographical Society, to whom he was lecturing in the evening of February 23, invited members of the Central Asian Society to hear him at their hall, and most generously have permitted the publication in this Journal of notes giving an outline of their lecture. Mr. Visser's paper will be published in full in the *Geographical Journal*.

Mr. Visser said it was impossible to give more than a very brief outline in one hour's lecture of the expedition which had lasted one and a half years

and had covered 3,000 miles. The members of the expedition were, first, Mrs. Visser, who went again as botanist, Mr. Sillem as zoologist, and Dr. Wyss, a Swiss geologist, who rendered great assistance. Once again Mr. Visser took his Alpine guide, Franz Lochmatter, and the expedition was accompanied by Afraz Gul Khan, lent by the Survey of India.

Starting from Srinagar, the tremendous wall of the Himalayan mountains had first to be crossed, the wall which divides two absolutely distinct districts, differing in flora, fauna, people, and religion. It was very early in the season, and as soon as the expedition got above the tree line they entered the snow. It was somewhat difficult to cross the snow with a big expedition; indeed, they were told it was impossible to get across the Zoji La with ponies. They managed it, however, by crossing during the night when the snow was frozen. In the early morning when the sun rose they were on the other side.

At Leh, the capital of Ladakh, with its beautiful old castle, food was bought for the coolies. When all necessities were brought together it was estimated that 445 coolies would be needed for the transport of food and equipment over the Khardong pass. They had been able to get together only 120 coolies, and therefore they were obliged to go back three times to bring up the equipment to the camp.

From Leh they went on to Nubra over the Khardong pass, from there across the Shyok river and then on to Panamik, one of the last villages in the Nubra valley, from which they entered the side valleys of the Kailas mountains.

They were fortunate in finding at their first crossing that the water in the Shyok river was very low, and they had no difficulty in reaching Panamik. Incidentally it was in Panamik that they first made use of the wireless, and it is needless to say what a delight and a strange experience it was to hear the Dutch National Anthem in the valley of the Karakoram.

The Nubra valley is an unknown and previously unmapped valley in the Kailas region, with magnificent mountains of great beauty. Some time was spent in exploring and mapping this and adjacent valleys before returning to the dust of the Shyok valley, but they were fortunate in finding in the Shyok valley a small oasis, where some beautiful flowers, more especially roses of all colours, bloomed profusely.

Next the expedition turned north, and then there occurred a somewhat unpleasant occurrence. The expedition divided, Mrs. Visser with half the caravan and the food on the eastern side of the river, while Mr. Visser and other members of the expedition went on the western side of the river, without food, but with the other half of the caravan. Whilst they were working their way north during a march of ten hours the water rose so rapidly that when they arrived at the foot of the glacier it was impossible to cross. It so happened that it was Mrs. Visser's birthday, she on one side of the river and her husband on the other. With great difficulty they managed to reach each other the next day after some stiff rock climbing.

The Siachen glacier was explored by Dr. Longstaff in 1909 and afterwards by the Bullock Workmans, but there was one part of the region that was absolutely unexplored—namely, the region between the Siachen glacier and the main range of the Karakoram—and it was to this region that the expedition devoted itself. It is remarkable that the Siachen glacier has two snouts, one in the side valley and the other in the Nubra valley, also the water does not come from the snout in the valley, but runs from the valley under the snout because it is the river from the glacier region further to the east.

The expedition entered this glacier region with great difficulty and sepa-

rated in order to cover more ground. Slides were shown of the magnificent mountains and glaciers, and a description was given of the difficulties and of the way in which they were surmounted and the coolies safely brought over.

The expedition then returned, and after a week reached the Nubra valley. Here they found that the river had risen, and it took three hours to cross. Ultimately they got back to Panamik, and there found their pony caravan waiting, on which they crossed the Saser pass on the way to the Shyok river. In the Shyok valley the Kumdan glacier was advancing again. This glacier advances regularly every thirty or forty or fifty years, and dams off the water of the Shyok river. This dam broke in 1928, but the glacier has again advanced and another big lake has formed. For a time it was feared that there would be a flood in the Shyok river, but the dam held, and the expedition were able to explore that region. They took three days to go down the valley, coming back on their tracks, the journey fraught with danger because there was no escape from the mountainous walls should the dam burst. Some little time afterwards a tremendous explosion was heard, the dam burst, and the water came pouring down the Shyok river.

They then entered the unknown region in the direction of the highest summit of the Zaghil group. Slides were shown of the curious glacial valleys peculiar to that region, where the height of the rock walls is so tremendous that a second valley is left between the ice and the rock side. A slide was also shown of a curious phenomenon seen here—two glaciers distinguished by their texture and colour, the one flowing over the other at different speeds. In this case the glacier showing black from the gravel it carried was moving faster than the white glacier which it had broken up.

West of the Shyok valley the party had great difficulty in crossing the mountain streams; the region was now reached which Mr. Visser had approached from the other side in 1922.

The expedition then entered the quite unknown region east of the Karakoram pass, a plateau 17,000 to 18,000 feet high, which they found to be absolutely dry. They could not find any water, snow or ice; they discovered about twenty small glaciers, no more because the water sank down immediately into the gravel and sand. The main difficulty was that they had to travel for four and a half weeks continuously at a height of more than 17,000 feet, and there was no firewood except the root of the burtsa plant. It was extremely cold; every day about one o'clock there was a terrific storm.

Valuable work was done in mapping and exploring this region, which was absolutely barren, but geologically of very great interest.

Some idea of the difficulty in judging distances is given by the following instance. They came to a very beautiful spot, a mountain lake with a snow-covered mountain range in the background. When they saw the lake they thought it was about four minutes' walk distant and the boy was told to go to the lake to fetch some water because Mrs. Visser was very thirsty. The boy disappeared behind a rock; they waited, and as he did not return decided to go for the water themselves. What they thought was a four minutes' walk proved to be a walk of $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, so difficult was it to calculate distances accurately in that remarkably clear atmosphere with, of course, nothing in the nature of houses or trees with which to compare them.

After four and a half weeks they found traces of an old camp. And then they found a very small track, probably the old trade route between Tibet and Chinese Turkistan, and taking it they reached a pass with a wonderful view of the Kun Lun Mountains. Looking down into the valley they saw a small stream and the first green bushes they had seen for seventy-six days.

They had approached nearer and nearer to Chinese territory, and it became a question whether they would be allowed to enter. To their delight they were kindly received. They were detained a short while on the frontier post, and while there the Amban fell ill and asked for their assistance. With some trepidation they did what they could to help him. Luckily he recovered and put down his recovery to their doctoring. He afterwards did all he could to help them.

From the frontier they made their way over the Kun Lun to Yarkand and Kashgar, doing the journey of 120 miles in five days, skirting the Taklamakan. At Kashgar the British Consul did everything he could to help and assist them. It was exceedingly cold, forty degrees below zero; only part of the river was open. After three weeks' stay they returned to Yarkand, the temperature falling to fifty-four degrees below freezing point, too cold for comfortable travelling.

A terrible sandstorm held them up for three weeks and separated them from their food caravan. Having nothing to eat for two days they were obliged to retrace their steps, and this wearisome journey proved the most tiresome part of the expedition. The coolies were useless and could not do anything. Animals sank in the soft snow and had to be pulled out. The animals were so worn out that they had to be sent back to a grazing ground, and it was five weeks later, at Leh, before they saw them again. They returned with a new caravan and crossed the Karakoram pass in a snowstorm, losing three of their animals. The journey was continued towards the Shyok valley, and they were all very much impressed by a beautiful glacier which had never been seen before. Colonel Hood went through the valley with De Filippi in 1914, but he did not mention this glacier, which, coming from the side valley, advances extraordinarily far. Again there was the same danger, in that the river is dammed off here also, and that it becomes a lake on the side of the glacier. They had to enter this unknown region by going over this glacier. Some idea of the difficulties may be inferred from the fact that it took them forty-eight hours to get to the other side of that small side valley; it was the most difficult glacier traverse that Mr. Visser had ever made. Coming back they climbed with all their coolies to the height of 21,000 feet, and so to the other side of the valley, which looked easier with the exception of the very steep rock wall on the east. They returned to the base camp and explored the region thoroughly. They had some difficulty on their return journey to Leh as the water was so high in the river that they had to go nearly seventy miles out of their way until they got to a possible ford. They still had a great deal of difficulty in crossing, and it took them two days to bring all the coolies and luggage over. Eventually after a difficult crossing of the Khardong pass, where there was a great deal of snow, they reached Leh, from whence they came back over the Zoji La and so down into India.

Little idea was given in the lecture of the immense amount of valuable data collected, and Mr. Visser's paper will be read with deep interest.

REVIEWS

THE QUESTION OF THE STRAITS. By P. P. Graves. 9 x 5½. Pp. x + 215.
Benn. 10s. 6d. net.

Considering the amount of honest blood and diplomatic ink which has flowed in connection with the problem of the political control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, the number of books on the subject that are of real help to any but the most specialized student is surprisingly small; and it is therefore most desirable that a treatise of this kind should be produced by somebody with such a reputation for expert knowledge and sanity of judgment as the author of this work. As a Special Correspondent of *The Times*, Mr. Philip Graves has been for over twenty years in almost continuous touch with the leading personalities in the Near East; the judicial bent of his mind, well adapted to the tone of the paper which he represented, led him to collect facts and to weigh evidence at every stage of the long-drawn-out controversy since the early years of the present century. Historical context is not less necessary for the full understanding of the question of the Straits than it is for other questions of this category, fortunately not a large one, and the author has laid his countrymen under a debt of gratitude by prefacing his exposition of the political problems of the hour by a very valuable and concise historical summary, which carries us back to the foundation of the Trojan Kingdom at the door of the Propontis—i.e., the basin of the Sea of Marmora.

It is of special interest to the reader to note how little of the successive treaties referred to in this closely written volume has stood the strain of time, national sentiment, and interests of State. By 1913 little indeed remained of the Treaty of Paris (1856) but the Danube Commission: the least showy sections of great international documents are often the most useful.

To the Gallipoli campaign he makes but one reference, but one of great interest. "Might not the battles of Anzac and the Six Beaches," he asks, "have ended more decisively had the 29th Division been landed at Anzac, where they would have had room to manœuvre better than the Australians could do, the Australians and New Zealanders thrown in on the beaches, where they would have fought as well as the 29th Division?"

On the subject of the negotiations of the Entente with Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece he has but one comment—"When will Mr. G. H. Fitzmaurice write his memoirs?"

Mr. Graves writes with measured asperity on the responsibility of

M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George for the happenings of 1919 and 1920. The gibe that too many British and French politicians had turned soldiers, and too many soldiers had become politicians in 1919-20, had a foundation of truth. "The French troops placed in charge of surrendered arms and ammunition sold them to the Turkish nationalists, and French propagandists began to conduct a lively campaign in favour of the Turks," whilst we deported leading politicians to Malta in the company of war criminals, "a stupid juxtaposition of decent men and cutthroats which did not make the British the more popular with patriotic Turks."

Nor were we more successful in negotiating with our Allies: British statesmen did not realize that for the Sèvres settlement to endure France and Italy must be bribed: their failure to observe the obvious ruined all hope that the question of the Straits would be settled at last.

What is the legal position today? The answer is to be found in a reply to a question in Parliament in June, 1930: "The Straits Commission has no authority . . . to intervene in the matter of the movements in or out of the Black Sea of warships of Powers bordering the Black Sea." "The politico-economic centre of Russia," concluded Mr. Graves, "has been shifting southwards and eastwards for more than a century, and so important to her are the Black Earth zone, the Black Sea ports, and above all the petroleum fields of Transcaucasia, that if she persists in her hostility to the non-communist States of Europe, she must concentrate her military and naval strength more than ever in the Black Sea basin, and use every endeavour to secure the closing against foreign fleets of the gates of the Black Sea." There is no reason to doubt that in this matter Turkey and the U.S.S.R. are in entire agreement. Neither State is a member of the League of Nations.

We need not, therefore, be surprised if Italy is building warships faster than ever before, and seeking to reinforce its sources of fuel supplies. To those interested in this and in cognate questions, Mr. Graves' book is invaluable.

A. T. W.

INDIAN ISLAM. By Murray T. Titus, Ph.D., D.D. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xvii + 290. Oxford: University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1930. 12s. 6d.

This book on Islam in India is one of a series dealing with the religious life of India, called collectively "The Religious Quest of India." The editors avowedly have a missionary purpose: "they seek to set each form of Indian religion by the side of Christianity in such a way that the relationship may stand clear." This is their first motive; the second is indicated as follows: "They have found that he who

would lead others into a new faith must first of all understand the faith that is theirs already—understand it moreover sympathetically with a mind quick to know not its weakness alone but that in it which has made it survive, and has given it its power over the hearts of those who profess it."

This high purpose is, on the whole, well sustained in the book under review. It is not, and does not profess to be, a work of original scholarship, but it is a useful compilation from the researches of others. The author gives a fair and not unfriendly account of Islam in India, of the methods of its diffusion, its organization, its religious orders, and of the modern movements of thought which have been generated by contact with the West. The only chapters to which exception might be taken are those which describe the onslaught of the Muslim conquerors upon India. Dr. Titus appears to want us to infer that Islam was responsible for the brutality and rapacity of the early Muslim invaders. A more impartial historian would have recognized that the Afghans and Turks who poured into India in the Middle Ages were not representative of the highest teaching of Islam; they were rude soldiers of fortune, who came for plunder. It is true that they believed that the glory of Islam was advanced by the spoliation of the heathen, but in barbarous ages religion usually has been, all the world over, the excuse for slaughter and pillage. Zeal for Christianity was the pretext for the sack of Constantinople, the Albigensian Crusade, and the ruthless conquest of Mexico and Peru; it was many centuries before the Churches gave up the idea that the Kingdom of God could be advanced by the temporal sword; even as late as the seventeenth century Christian bishops argued that the text "*compelle eos intrare*" was written to justify persecution.

If we for those days must ask charity,
Have we not any charity to give?

That Islam in the main was not spread by the sword but by peaceful missionary effort was first demonstrated by the late Sir Thomas Arnold in "*The Preaching of Islam*." Dr. Titus recognizes the part played by the individual preacher in the propagation of the Muslim faith, and contents himself with summarizing, after generous acknowledgments, the relevant chapters of Arnold's remarkable book. He points out that there is abundant material for a further treatment of this aspect of Islamic history in the extensive biographies of the Muslim saints of India. Here is a field of scholarship which the University of Aligarh might well make its own. There are now in India, as Dr. Titus points out in Chapter IX., Muslim scholars who are familiar with the works of such European Orientalists as Goldziher and Hurgronje, and competent to work upon the same lines; these men are eager to justify Islam in the eyes of Europe; they believe that

even by the canons of Western civilization their creed can be shown to have made a rich contribution to humanity. If these men would give us a scholarly presentation of the lives of the great saints of India they would bring into prominence an aspect of Islam with which Europe is at present unfamiliar.

The most original portion of Dr. Titus's work is that which is devoted to the movements of opinion in Islam at the present day. Of these movements little information is as yet available to Western readers, but without such knowledge it is quite impossible to understand the Muslim world. The standard works on Islam, based on mediæval authorities, present views which Muslims in India have ceased to hold, views which they repudiate as emphatically as the Bishop of Birmingham would repudiate the account of Creation given in Genesis. Since the middle of the nineteenth century modern ideas from the West have been filtering into India; by their intrinsic worth they have established themselves in men's minds, and become part and parcel of their daily thoughts. They have fundamentally altered the Indian outlook upon the universe. With this altered outlook Muslims have begun to re-read their scriptures, and to find in them new meanings. Texts which in an earlier age appeared to contain the quintessence of religion have receded into the background of consciousness, and others, previously less regarded, have acquired a supreme significance. The verses of the Koran which one hears most quoted nowadays are those which enjoin toleration, forgiveness of injuries, and the remission of anger. In a somewhat similar spirit a Musalman friend of mine used to argue that slavery and the sacrifice of animals were repugnant to the spirit of Islam, though he frankly recognized that both had been practised for 1,300 years without offending the Muslim conscience. Even the principles of scriptural exegesis are being modified by the spirit of the age. An Indian judge, who was also a devout Muslim, assured me that his legal training had supplied him with sounder rules for interpreting the Koran than those given by mediæval theologians. He was in sympathy with the *Ahl-i-Koran*, mentioned by Dr. Titus (pp. 189-190), and he told me that the guiding principle of that school was "to explain the Koran by the Koran itself"—that is, to explain a particular passage by reference to the spirit of the book which contained it.

It is evidence of the great vitality of Islam that it is able to accommodate itself to these changes of thought; instead of being killed by this new environment it has been stimulated into new forms of life. Everywhere new sects are springing into existence, and it is to these that Dr. Titus devotes two of his most interesting chapters. No one man can be held responsible for so great a revolution as has occurred in Islamic India, but Dr. Titus is unquestionably right in assigning a pre-

dominant influence to the great teacher whom he rightly calls "the peerless Sir Syed Ahmad Khan." Other men, like the Right Hon. S. Amir Ali, arrived independently at conclusions similar to his, but it was Sir Syed Ahmad who dominated the field. It was he who incurred the fiercest wrath of the old-fashioned bigots, it was he who fought and confounded them with their own weapons, and it was he who brought "the New Light" (as it was mockingly called) to his people. Sir Syed's teaching produced among Muslims a change of outlook so fundamental that it has brought them to opinions which he himself hardly foresaw; thirty-three years after his death the Muslims of today are inclined to assign to him opinions which he certainly did not hold. It is not true, for instance, as Dr. Titus alleges, that Sir Syed Ahmad challenged the "purdah system." This he never did. On the contrary, he accepted it as a social institution peculiar to the Muslims of India in which he had himself been brought up and from which he had no desire to depart. It was not for his views that Sir Syed was memorable, but for his personality—his leonine courage and his greatness of heart. After the Mutiny Muslim society all over India was falling into evident decay. Sir Syed not only arrested that decay, but set the feet of his people upon the path of progress. It is for this that the Muslims of India honour his memory. After his funeral, when we had laid him to rest beside the college mosque, his life-long friend and successor, Nawab Mohsin ul Mulk (Syed Mehdi Ali), said to me: "Other men have founded colleges and started new sects, but to arrest the downfall of a whole people is the work of none but a prophet."

THEODORE MORISON.

THE NAVY IN INDIA, 1763-1783. By Admiral Sir Herbert W. Richmond, K.C.B. With charts and diagrams. 1931. London: Ernest Benn, Ltd. 30s. net.

This book, by the most distinguished of naval historians, with a long and varied record of service at home and abroad, ending with the command of the Imperial Defence College, deals with a little-known aspect of Indian history which, in its naval aspect, has remained almost wholly unexplored. It is based not on material already published, but on original documents unearthed from the records of Colombo, Pondicherry, Paris, and Cape Town, as well as on family papers preserved in England.

"The capitulation of Pondicherry in January, 1761," says Orme, "had left not a single ensign of the French nation avowed by the authority of its Government in any part of India." Four years later Lord Clive returned as Governor of Bengal for the second time, and the British administration of India began. In 1770 occurred the terrible famine in Bengal, which swept away one-third of the inhabitants.

In 1772 Warren Hastings arrived, and in 1775 the first Mahratta war broke out in India whilst we were losing our colonies in America.

In 1781 Admiral Suffren, with thirty-eight years of uninterrupted sea service to his credit, left Brest on the cruise which has given him a unique place among French admirals and in the front rank of sea commanders. Though he was crippled by lack of loyal co-operation and by the vehemence of his own temperament, he had a genius for, as well as a love of, attack which made him a formidable enemy. Never did the French fleet so closely approach the British in sea experience as it did during the period covered by Sir Herbert Richmond's story: never did we find it so hard to defeat our enemies at sea, or even to avoid being beaten by them; and an Englishman today may well start at the conclusion confronting him if he were to speculate as to the result of more than one battle had Suffren's captains and crews been as good as those of his British opponent, the stout old Sir Edward Hughes. Suffren condemned naval tactics as being little better than so many excuses for avoiding a real fight, and he sought to concentrate superior force on parts of his opponent's line. Had his orders been obeyed, the course of history would have been different. How this rare old admiral fought his battles against the English under Sir Edward Hughes, and why, is described, with admirable lucidity, for the first time in these pages, which constitute an important contribution to naval history considered as Foch (quoted by Sir H. Richmond) would wish:

"Let us consider the questions which the actors themselves had to solve, the company in its zone of action, the battalion, the brigade, and the army in theirs. Let us see what the difficulties were which they had to overcome and how they got the better of them. Let us discuss the decisions that were made, and treat the whole question anew."

But Sir Herbert Richmond's historical writings have another quality, which is also found in Sir John Fortescue's "History of the British Army." Whilst his outlook on the historical events he describes is critical, impartial, and new, sentences and whole paragraphs frequently occur which seem to be an echo of the recent past or a forecast of the near future.

"Established upon the solid foundations of superiority at sea, the British position in India appeared unshakable. When, however, the next war arose, that foundation had been undermined and in its place there stood, eventually, numerical inferiority. . . . England . . . burdened with debt and an inefficient administration, and eagerly seeking every channel for economy, had neglected her navy in the years of peace. . . . Seventy-six ships of the line were, in modern phrase, 'scrapped' between the Peace of Paris and the outbreak of the war . . . for the great part of 1782 a British squadron had to conduct a defensive struggle in inferior force not only to give some defence to the interests of the British in India, but to maintain their very existence, and preserve the Empire from even more humiliating surrenders in other

parts of the world. . . . To those (into whose pockets went the profits of the Eastern trade), Eastern policy was good or bad according as it increased or decreased their revenues: nor is the test one to be condemned. . . . It would not therefore be surprising if the idea of preserving neutrality in the East had not occurred to the persons principally concerned, the trading companies. . . ."

Treacherous and discreditable behaviour was described in 1782 by Admiral Hughes as "conduct that would disgrace a Turk." *Tamen usque recurret.*

The book is well printed, the diagrams admirably clear, and the documentation adequate, though not, it seems, exhaustive. There is, for example, no reference to the "*Histoire du Bailli de Suffren*," by Ch. Cunat (1852), and it would be a convenience to have had the dates of some of the principal authorities referred to. The origin of the excellent portraits of Suffren and Admiral Hughes is not given. But these are trifling matters which in no way detract from the solid worth and literary interest of a scholarly work.

A. T. W.

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1929. By Arnold J. Toynbee, assisted by V. M. Boulter. Pp. xii+545. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1930. Price 21s. net.

It is a pleasant, but none the less difficult, task to review such a volume as the annual summary of world conditions and trends published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. One has come during the past decade to depend so greatly on the findings of the editors of this series that it is difficult to conceive of getting on without them. They are unrivalled in the field of international relations. Rarely does a national year book contain as adequate a summary of developments concerning a single State as is to be found in the Royal Institute's annual survey; while the volumes of documents issued officially by governments are never up-to-date, and are often so carefully edited that vital facts are omitted. When all the documents at the command of a government are offered, they are often, by virtue of their provenance, limited to the presentation of one national point of view. It is not apparent that the editors of the Royal Institute's series are in any way limited by governmental interests; nor are their viewpoints narrowly nationalistic. Accordingly, the scientifically trained student of contemporary history and international relations approaches such studies as the one under discussion with less constraint and suspicion than is sometimes the case in his approach to documents issued under the imprimatur of a government.

To be sure, an annual survey constitutes a secondary rather than a primary source, but this defect is to a degree overcome by the free incorporation of significant quotations from the documents themselves. Moreover, the citations form a valuable short-cut guide to the primary sources.

Nor does the fact that the *Survey* is an annual imply a merely temporary value. True it is that the ultimate significance of outstanding events and conditions—and their causes—becomes clear only with the passage of time; hence the futility of much of the recrimination among publicists and historians on such a subject as, for example, the Great War of 1914-18. Each generation

studies the past and re-evaluates it in the light of its own findings and conditions. But the facts, in so far as they can be gathered and verified contemporaneously, and the interpretations of these facts by the generation which is immediately affected, must always be of supreme value to students of a later period. Such facts and interpretations are to be found in this generation nowhere else more adequately set forth than in the summaries of the Royal Institute.

The scope of the volume for the year 1929 is succinctly outlined by Mr. F. G. Kenyon, Chairman of the Publications Committee of the Institute, in the Prefatory Note: "The features in the international landscape . . . are the preparations for the London Five-Power Conference on the Limitation of Naval Armaments; the World Economic Conference; the settlement of the Reparations Question; the international affairs of Tropical Africa; the situation in the Far East; and the settlement of the conflict between the Papacy and the Kingdom of Italy.

"The chapters on Naval Armaments and Reparations are each of them the last chapter but one in the stories to which they belong. The negotiation of the treaty establishing an agreed ratio in all categories of naval armament between the British Empire, the United States, and Japan, as well as the final liquidation of the Reparations Question, will be dealt with in the *Survey* for 1930—the year in which these transactions were completed. On the other hand, the present volume completes the story of the evacuation of the occupied territories of Germany; and it also contains the whole history of the dispute between China and the U.S.S.R. over the Chinese Eastern Railway—a dispute which threatened, at certain moments, to disturb the peace of the world." To the last clause in this statement the reviewer must take exception: a final settlement of the dispute between China and the Soviets, which came to a climax in the year 1929, has not to the present been reached. It is clear, therefore, that "the whole history of the dispute" cannot have been incorporated—although the facts in the *dispute* of 1929 are adequately handled.

The trend away from concentration of attention upon purely political affairs is mentioned, as is the incorporation in the current volume of considerable bodies of material of an economic nature, prepared by Messrs. C. R. S. Harris, R. J. Stopford, and J. Menken.

Of the areas and questions discussed, that which is of outstanding interest to the reviewer, and which constitutes probably the most delicate, complex, and potentially important one to the peace of the world, has to do with the Pacific and the Far East. In no other area are there to be found such divergencies of national interests and conflict of aims and ideals—nor such a degree of popular ignorance and sentiment. If the lessons of the struggle of 1914-18 are forgotten or disregarded, and another world war is fought, it is safe to wager that the area in which it will originate will be this one. Politicians, statesmen, and students are indebted to the Institute of International Affairs, and in particular to Mr. Toynbee, for the clear, dispassionate, and entirely adequate presentation of events, conditions, and institutions in that area which have been appearing during the crucial period of the past ten years. It is to be hoped that they will avail themselves of the opportunities offered in these volumes for placing themselves in intelligent touch with the Far East.

The account of changes in China Proper and Manchuria during the year 1929 is of more than usual merit owing to the visit of Mr. Toynbee to that area in connection with his attendance at the Kyoto Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Following a method adopted in earlier volumes, an account of internal conditions in China precedes the discussion of international prob-

lems. In countries as far away from China and Japan as are England and the United States, a deal of false sentiment and misunderstanding has often been aroused by lack, on the part of both populace and officials, of comprehension of domestic conditions and problems. Clear evidence of this is to be found in the differences between the plans of action followed in the East on occasion by diplomatic representatives of Great Britain and the United States—since the days of Charles Elliot and Caleb Cushing—and the instructions laid down by the secretaries of the home governments of these representatives. Without detailed, and preferably first-hand, knowledge of conditions in China during the twentieth century, it is quite impossible for one to understand the foreign problems of the country. Policies phrased in European terms, and considered in the light of conditions in the West, appear reasonable or unreasonable in direct ratio to one's detailed knowledge regarding the objects and the personalities involved in the policies.

Sentimentalism is conspicuously lacking in Mr. Toynbee's presentation of conditions in China during the year 1929. The result is an objective and accurate statement of changes carried out in that area during the period under consideration. The political and financial effects of the continuation of civil war upon the reconstruction policies of the Nanking Government are discussed. In considerable detail the progress in treaty-revision (with reference to Japan and the demands of Nanking for the abolition of extra-territoriality), and the status of foreign concessions and settlements with reference to Shanghai, Chinkiang, Kulangsoo, Amoy, Hankow, and Tientsin, are dealt with. Of greater immediate interest is the account of the dispute between Nanking and Moscow over the Chinese Eastern Railway. Aside from the factual account of the actions taken by both parties, the most valuable aspect of this section is the penetrating analysis (p. 352) of the principles involved in the struggle. This concludes as follows: "The Soviet Government had not failed to point out, in their note of July 13, that the two treaties of 1924 had been freely negotiated, on a footing of equality and on terms highly favourable to China, in substitution for the old Sino-Russian 'unequal treaties' which the Soviet Government had voluntarily renounced. If the Soviet Government's experience of July 10, 1929, was the reward for having made, five years before, that great concession which Mr. C. T. Wang was urging the surviving Treaty Powers to make on January 1, 1930, the precedent was hardly encouraging."

Lack of space precludes discussion of other sections of this volume dealing with the topics earlier mentioned. Suffice it to say that the standards of accuracy and objectivity set for the analysis of the Far Eastern Question are maintained elsewhere. Of especial value are the sections dealing with the Papacy.

HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR

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AFGHANISTAN IN THE MELTING POT. By C. Morrish. Printed at the Civil and Military Gazette Press. Lahore. 1930.

Even in Central Asia no country has had a more stormy and blood-stained record of revolution and dynastic change than Afghanistan since its creation as a separate kingdom by the Barukzai Amir, Ahmad Shah, 180 years ago. None of these revolutions surpasses in its tragedy and dramatic interest that which began with the murder of the Amir Habibullah in February, 1919, the struggle for the throne ending in the

accession of his third son, "the ex-king" Amanullah, and the latter's immediate attack on India; developed into the ten years' reign during which that vain and headstrong monarch by his precipitate reforms aroused the hostility of his turbulent subjects; and culminated in his being driven out of his kingdom by the successful Tajik bandit known as the Bachcha Sakkao. The latter after a year of absolute rule, marked by torture, extortion and murder on a scale unprecedented even in Afghanistan, was in his turn in November, 1929, vanquished and put to death by the national movement headed by the present king Nadir Shah and his three very able brothers, Shah Wali Khan, now Afghan Minister in London, Shah Mahmud, Prime Minister in Kabul, and Muhammad Hashim Khan, lately Minister in Moscow.

Only the author of *Macbeth* and *Lear* could do full justice to this great historical drama, ending with poetic justice in the overthrow of the usurper and the restoration of the Barukzai dynasty in the person of its worthiest member, the present king. The story as a whole is only vaguely known to those outside Afghanistan. Mr. Morrish in this slender volume of 61 pages gives us a clear and vivid narrative dealing with all the main events. He writes with direct and inner knowledge, for he says in the preface:

"I was in the closest connection with Afghanistan during the recent revolt, having lived throughout the troublous days in Peshawar and in outlying districts on India's North-Western border. Since then I have been able to complete my information, and after collecting personally news in Afghanistan, India and England, venture to give an account of events from the early days of Amanullah's reign to the present time."

The style at times shows signs of haste or careless proof-reading, but the facts are on the whole set forth accurately and impartially. The writer's judgment of the chief actors in the great drama strikes one as sound and well-reasoned. His admiration for King Nadir Shah and his three brothers—the "four just men" of Afghanistan—is certainly justified. The picture of Nadir Khan, an ailing man, and his brothers setting out from France at the end of 1928, without men or money, to enter Afghanistan and attack the robber chief, who had by then established his sway over the whole country, is both pathetic and heroic.

But the author rightly traces Nadir Shah's success in attracting to his standard the tribes along the British border, Shinwaris, Mohmands, Mangals Orakzais, Wazirs, Mahsuds—the finest fighting material in Afghanistan—to the fact that in May, 1919, Nadir Shah, as Amanullah's Commander-in-Chief, had won a great name among those tribes by leading them to the attack on British India, which culminated in the capture of Spinwam Fort and the investiture of a British brigade in Thall.

That was no mean feat. The author, however, is wrong in saying

that Nadir Shah's retirement from Thall was the result of the armistice concluded by the British Government with Amanullah. It was caused by the gallant action of the late General Dyer, who after a forced march from Kohat, attacked the Afghan Army and the tribal Lashkars and put them to flight, pursuing them across the Kurram Valley into Afghan territory and capturing some of Nadir Shah's baggage. Another historical error is the statement (p. 40) that the Afghan invasion was encouraged by the fact that there were Muslim outbreaks (against the British) in the Panjab. There *were* serious anti-British outbreaks intended to synchronize with the Afghan aggression; but then, as now, they were entirely the work of seditious Congress agitators, and confined to their Hindu supporters in the towns.

The Muslims of the Panjab remained steadfastly loyal and were the first to come forward to repel the Afghan aggression.

A minor but picturesque error arises in connection with the return by aeroplane of Sir Francis Humphreys from Kabul to Peshawar in January, 1930, after the brilliantly successful evacuation of the Europeans and British Indians in the worst days of the troubles. Sir Francis, it is true, carried under one arm the Union Jack which had flown from the Legation flagstaff. In the other hand he held a birdcage in which was *not* "a feathered pet which had been with him some years," but a stuffed woodcock, the biggest ever shot! Sir Francis showed it to the reviewer last year. But this slight lapse only shows how keen and accurate were the author's powers of observation. The book is well worth reading, and everyone who reads it will join in the author's hope that King Nadir Shah may long be spared to continue with the help of his capable and devoted brothers the government of the country in which he has staked his all, and may yet see the fruits of his labours, of his self-denial and of his ever-constant and unwavering patriotism.

M. F. O'D.

DURCH TIBET UND TURKISTAN: REISEN IN UNBERÜHRTEN ASIEN. By Walter Bosshard. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". Pp. xv+246, 109 illustrations, 2 maps, and 11 sketch maps. Stuttgart: Strecker u. Schröder. 1930.

This book is an account of what is known as Trinkler's Central Asian Expedition, 1927-1928. Walter Bosshard was a member of this expedition, and his interests lay mainly in the botanical, photographic, and cinematographic side of the enterprise. It is hardly necessary to say that whether the records are to be lasting or not depend upon the success of the photographic work. A review of Trinkler's book, which dealt with the object and aims of this journey of exploration, has already appeared in this JOURNAL.* It is not therefore proposed to outline them again, but readers are referred to that review.

Anyone wishing to get a real comprehension of this expedition ought

* Vol. xvii., p. 242, "Im Land Der Stürme."

to read both these books, as "*Durch Tibet und Turkistan*" does not give a true account of the real Bosshard. He has clothed himself in the mantle of modesty to such an extent that one would think that the part he had played was negligible, so that it is essential to read Trinkler's book to correct this impression. Again and again we find Trinkler paying tribute to the great energy of Bosshard. It was always he who took the lead in a crisis. We find him at times taking the law into his own hands, and commandeering the first horse he comes across in the village. This apparently had the desired effect, for in a short time the necessary transport was soon forthcoming.

Bosshard's book deals with the everyday life of the party. The reader is made to share the discomforts of sleeping in the open and all the other many petty annoyances which occur in these parts. The political views and scientific observations of the expedition are relegated to other pages, and the author has expressly left them alone; for this reason this book will give all intending travellers to Central Asia an insight into the many difficulties—by difficulties is meant not so much the overcoming of the physical elements as the way to deal with the idiosyncrasies of the native mind. It has often been said that the knowledge necessary to ensure the efficient organization of transport in Central Asia cannot be acquired by means of a "correspondence course," or by reading. It is impossible to lay down any hard-and-fast rules about camel, yak, and other forms of transport, for it is only by experience that one learns that a new set of animals will mean a delay of several hours while loads are rearranged and divided up again. Would-be travellers, however, who read Bosshard's book, will certainly benefit considerably, and if they display the energy which was characteristic of the author they will save themselves many a disappointment. The march one day may have been arranged so that theoretically the party will meet and camp at a certain place, but owing to bad transport arrangements the plans fall to the ground.

The members of this expedition parted in Kashgar for the return journey back to Europe. Bosshard undertook the thankless task of taking all the heavy baggage home by way of Russia. It would, of course, have been an impossible task to have taken all the various collections of fossils, stores, etc., over the Kara-Korum passes. The expense would have been great quite apart from the damage the goods would undoubtedly have suffered. Bosshard devotes the end chapters to an account of the journey via Russia. This, of course, does not appear in Trinkler's book, and is interesting reading, for when we leave Trinkler and de Terra in Kashgar bidding farewell to Bosshard one has a desire to know how Bosshard fared on his homeward journey.

Bosshard's book is well illustrated, and as the photographer of the party his range of choice has been wide. The book contains 109 illustrations, but one shudders to think of the reception which the author would receive when asking his publisher to use all these in an English translation, however worthy each photograph was of reproduction. There are some coloured plates; those who have travelled in these parts will readily appreciate how close they are to real life.

A large number of travel books allow the reader to wander about in a maze of names without even a sketch-map to assist. One of the best features in the book are the large number of sketch-maps for the different side expeditions, so that the reader will have no difficulty in following them on the map. At the end of the book we find two panoramas of mountain ranges. The publisher has wisely used Roman type, and English readers who know German will therefore have no difficulty in reading "*Durch Tibet und*

Turkistan." Though this book and Trinkler's deal with the same expedition, yet all travellers to these parts should without fail make a point of reading both, for there is no doubt that they will glean much information which will be useful to them.

B. K. F.

HISTORY OF JAPANESE RELIGION. By Masaharu Anesaki. 9½ x 6. Pp. xxii + 423. Illustrations. Kegan Paul. 1930. 21s.

A book by a learned native of the country written in excellent English deservedly commands attention, and when such a book is written by one whose learning is undisputed, whose sympathy with all forms of religion is manifest, and whose judgment is never unbalanced by prejudice, then the reader is placed under a debt of gratitude. It is after this manner that Professor Anesaki has dealt with his subject.

Not only has he traced the history of the various forms of religion—native, Chinese, Indian and Occidental—that have found expression in his country, but in the process he has provided what is virtually a sketch of the history of Japan and of its civilization. He has shown how great a part religion has played in the development of that country—political, social, literary, artistic, and in culture as a whole—a part as great as it has played in any other region of the world.

The first book is devoted to primitive Shinto, its mythology, tribal ethics, idea of the soul and the priesthood. This is followed by an account of the introduction of Buddhism, its early propagation, the influence of Prince Shōtoku, Buddhist doctrines, ideals and art, the period of Nara and the glories of the Tempyō era. He then deals with the period of Heian and the influence of the Tendai and Shingon sects, together with their effects on the social life. After this comes the age of feudalism and religious struggle, 1200-1600, with the influence of the Amita, Jodo, Zen and Nichiren cults. In this period also occurs the introduction and extermination of the first Christian missions.

From 1600-1868 we read of the Tokugawa Shogunate, together with the increasing power of Confucianism and the revival of Shinto. Finally from 1868 to the present day we are told of the new era, the reappearance of Christianity, the struggle for political liberty and religious reform, and the spiritual unrest still prevailing which, like the Western world, is far from satisfied with stereotyped expression.

While emphasizing the good features in all the religions with which he deals, he does not hesitate to indicate their defects, nor their difficulty in meeting the needs of the people—*e.g.*, "that many are not satisfied with the regular teachings of the organized religions can be seen from the fact that almost any religious or semi-religious propaganda promising immediate benefits, together with spiritual blessings, finds more or less following. Indeed, Japan today is full of such new teachings, ranging from chauvinistic types of Shinto to individualistic methods of health and teaching." He tells us that the leadership of Christianity, despite "the rather insignificant number of its converts," has been the result of its social work. "The chief defect is that the Christians are too much divided. The Churches are almost all mere importations . . . the converts, even ministers and bishops, retain the contentions and methods of the divided churches. Even Catholic missionaries often uphold their own nationalities, if not more than their Mother Church." The last chapter, indeed, should be read by all who have the spiritual and therefore fundamental interests of Japan at heart.

A few passing remarks may perhaps be made. Shinto is purely a Chinese

word. I do not recall his mention of a Japanese equivalent for it. He speaks of the early "missionary work" of Buddhism, and one would naturally associate this with an external agency, whereas it was sought and brought by Japanese, who from the first were the propagating force. A slight error occurs on page 13; the Jesuits did not arrive in the "fifteenth" century, but in the sixteenth, as shown later in the book. On p. 70 the word and origin of *ullambana*, or *ullambana*, is uncertain. It is interesting to note, p. 86, that "the old Shinto idea that the place where death had taken place was desecrated and must be abandoned" was destroyed by the advent of Buddhism, but are there not traces of it still left in Shinto practice? On p. 268, was Cheng a "comrade" of Chu Hsi? On p. 290 perhaps he has allowed his artistic imagination to seize his pen when he attributes the decorative period, as seen at its glory at Nikko, to the "social convention beginning to be burdensome on the aspiring spirit." On p. 321, "Major Righteousness" may be a literal equivalent, but hardly connotation. On p. 71 he speaks of Karma as a "well known but often misunderstood doctrine"; he would surely have been more explicit if he had added to "a long chain of moral causation" some words to show that the "long chain" consists of innumerable links of previous incarnations presumably individual.

The book is well illustrated with 38 photographs, and should undoubtedly be read, as it would be with pleasure and profit, by everyone interested in the religions of the world.

W. E. SOOTHILL.

THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT OF THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN CHINA. By Chao-Kwang Wu, Ph.D. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. ix + 285. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford: University Press.

Foreign educated Chinese have discovered in recent years that the privileges so long enjoyed by foreigners in China cannot be justified by the principles of International Law. They write books filled with doctrines culled from standard works on the subject, as that sovereignty is imprescriptible, or that rights or privileges granted by a State must be construed strictly in favour of the State and against the grantee, or that it is not to be assumed that any Sovereign State desires to divest itself of its sovereign rights, and so on—all of which is, they think, conclusive proof that the system depriving China of the right to exercise jurisdiction over aliens, imposed on her by force by the wicked Western nations, was a plain violation of their own Law. The argument may be plausible, but it is not valid.

On p. 70 Dr. Wu quotes with approval the following passage from Oppenheim:

"What the Law of Nations really does concerning individuals is to impose the duty upon all the members of the Family of Nations to grant certain privileges to such foreign heads of States and diplomatic envoys and certain rights to such foreign citizens as are on their territory. And corresponding to this duty every State has by the Law of Nations a right to demand that its head, its diplomatic envoys, and its citizens be granted certain rights by foreign States when on their own territory."

If alongside this illuminating passage we put in a parallel column Ch'ien Lung's famous mandate to George III., together with a brief account of early embassies to China and the treatment of foreigners in the Canton Factories up to 1842, we shall have the key to the solution of the problem. China despised the Family of Nations and refused to belong to it; she refused to

soil her hands with the affairs of mere foreigners ; her sovereignty was never taken away from her, for, as the British note of August, 1929, pointed out, extraterritoriality came into existence before ever the Treaty of Nanking was signed, because the Chinese placed upon aliens the responsibility for managing their own affairs.

Through neglect of these considerations the space that Mr. Wu devotes to the legal aspects of the missionary problem is largely wasted. The discussion of controversial questions is sometimes marred by lack of candour. The reference to opium on p. 32, and the garbled account of the Nanking outrages at the end of Chapter III., should not have found a place in a work claiming serious consideration. Similarly, on p. 26, Dr. Wu argues that if the Chinese Government denies to Chinese Christians rights and privileges enjoyed by other Chinese, this may be a violation of the principle of equality, "but cannot be rightly construed as a violation of the toleration clause."

With much that Dr. Wu says, however, and with many of his criticisms most people will agree. It was a great mistake ever to have made Christianity a matter of treaty right. Had missionaries been content to trust to the tolerance in matters of religious belief which Dr. Wu rightly claims as a national characteristic of his fellow countrymen, many obstacles to the spread of the gospel and many difficulties for China might have been avoided. Dr. Wu points out fairly enough the mistakes that missionaries made. They were "inextricably intertwined with temporal powers"; they showed no sympathy for China oppressed by unequal treaties, but on the contrary endeavoured to throw the shield of extraterritoriality over their converts as well as themselves; they interfered in native lawsuits and created an *imperium in imperio*. "They have seldom been willing to adapt themselves to the environment in which they labour. Some even go so far as to think that a Chinese is not soundly converted to Christianity until he learns to eat with a knife and fork, or is not validly married until he conforms to Western usage in this respect. They fail to adjust missionary methods to the changing conditions. . . . Even in the matter of building churches, they seldom conform to the Chinese style, nor do they take into consideration the Chinese prejudices, especially in regard to *fengshui*. . . . Moreover, missionaries often deride every phase of Chinese civilization, including ancestral worship and the respect paid to Confucius."

All this is true enough so far as it goes, but it is by no means the whole truth. Missionaries, like all people who have set out to accomplish something in the world, have, of course, made many mistakes, but one would not gather from this book that the mistakes of a past era have little operative effect today. Dr. Wu forgets—or rather ignores—the eager sympathy with which missionaries ranged themselves on the side of nationalism as soon as nationalism had become a living force in China, the enthusiasm and altruism which has poured millions of pounds into China and led a host of gifted men and women to devote their lives to the promotion of a great cause and the service of the Chinese people, or the wisdom that has inspired the leaders of missionary education, for example, to do their utmost to prevent Christian schools and colleges from becoming a focus of denationalizing influence. Christianity, says Dr. Wu, cannot obtain a grip on China until it has been stripped of its Western elements and become naturalized. "A truly Chinese church would be fostered, and the Chinese Christians should be given administrative autonomy in Church life." But is not that exactly the goal which the missionaries have had in view these many years past—the establishment of a Chinese Christian Church in China?

The spirit that animates this book is not the spirit that animates the Chinese people, but there is no ground for complaint in that, for Dr. Wu writes frankly as a politician and a propagandist, and from that angle he has made an interesting and valuable contribution to the study of a very important question.

THREE WISE MEN OF THE EAST. By Elizabeth Bisland. Illustrated. Pp. 275. Chapel Hill: The University of Carolina Press. 1930. \$3.00.

Three Wise Men. Three Prototypes. Shah Jahan, the Great Lover; Chien Lung, the Magnificent Emperor; and Hideyoshi, the Delightful Parvenu: whose ghosts have been summoned from the World of Shade by Elizabeth Bisland, the Intuitive Historian, and stand before us, erect and well defined. Is it too much to hope that they who have been thus vitalized by her gifted pen have now greeted her upon that shadowy shore to which she has travelled? She who was so observant, so quick in understanding, so vital in all her contacts, has but lately undertaken this journey, and the consciousness of this fact can but be sadly present in the mind of a reviewer who admired her talent and delighted in her company; one who feels that a writer with an unusual gift of comprehension is now no more.

The figure of Shah Jahan, the Great Lover, the Silent Ruler, is perhaps the most vivid of the three which are described in the book before us. Nor does this figure stand alone. Not only is the background from which it springs sharply outlined; not only are the surroundings which make it plastic clearly drawn, but the men and women with whom this silent figure came in contact are described also in swift, sure strokes. His forbears Baber and Akbar are wonderfully drawn, while the lovely lady to whom his life was devoted seems to breathe before us. His daughter, too, the gentle Jahanara, takes definite shape as we stand in fancy beside her grass-covered grave lying open to the sky. Readers to whom Indian history is a familiar tale as well as those who are less versed in its detail must find new inspiration in this vivid chapter on the great ruler who conceived and built the Taj Mahal and other marvels of architecture.

That the personality of Chien Lung, the Magnificent Emperor, is not so strongly felt is but natural. The son of Heaven must live a life withdrawn from public gaze, nor was Chien Lung an exception to this rule. We know more of his administrative ability than we do of his personal feelings, therefore the man as such does not stand before us as vividly as do Shah Jahan and his forbears. But it is an interesting chapter, this which Mrs. Bisland gives us, and minor slips such as the mention of "eunuchs clad in scarlet"—they wore a pale blue—do not mar the value of the whole.

With Hideyoshi, the Delightful Parvenu, we come once more to the realm of mortals who have no pretensions to divinity, and the chapter is in a way the best of the three. Japan is familiar ground to Elizabeth Bisland, both from personal experience and as a result of her long friendship with Lafcadio Hearn. She describes the career of Hideyoshi and his associates with the freedom born of a deep familiarity with her subject.

A charming book; a masterly synthesis; one which must delight every reader to whom India, China, and Japan are realms of fact, not mere geographical terms connected with some portion of the Western Hemisphere. For these latter, too, it holds matter of moment, and should fascinate the most uninstructed and uninterested.

FLORENCE AYSOUGH.

'OMAR KHAYYĀM. The Persian text with paraphrase, and the first and fourth editions of FitzGerald's translation. By Brigadier-General E. H. Rodwell, C.B. 10" x 6½". Pp. xii + 95. Kegan Paul. 15s.

This is an attractive edition of Khayyām, which contains all that the student could desire. The type is excellent, the form is well composed, and the proof-reading has been carefully done. The author explains in a modest preface his choice of versions of the quatrains reproduced in Persian, on the principle of comparing the readings from different sources, and adopting as his text those that are identical. A list of manuscripts consulted is appended to the preface, and FitzGerald's introduction follows.

The quatrains are printed in Persian characters on the left of the left-hand pages, and parallel with each is a metrical paraphrase in English done by the author. On the right-hand pages are the corresponding verses of FitzGerald, the first and the fourth edition being given side by side. Two pages of further quatrains, with the author's paraphrase, are added.

The appendix contains notes on the authorities for the text, and an almost literal translation of the text of each quatrain. These literal translations are not the least valuable part of the book, and we may even regret that space could not be found for them between the text and FitzGerald's verses. They are remarkably accurate, though one may question such renderings as "penance" for *toubeh*, and "full moon" for *salkh* (page 66).

A close metrical paraphrase of necessity falls between two stools, for its character is compromised between literal adherence to the sense and the exigencies of rhyme. Linguistic effects are, of course, incommunicable. An English translation of Persian poetry cannot reproduce the lilt of the lines. The cadences are untranslatable, though a few ingenious attempts to convey them are cited by Browne. The flower becomes, in the process of translation, a very English rose at best, and at the worst a decayed cabbage—in any case a different bloom. Neither FitzGerald nor General Rodwell has attempted the impossible.

Persians do not hold 'Omar Khayyām in great repute as a poet, and his fame in England is a curious reflection of that of his translator. Much of his verse may be frowned on by the orthodox as the crapulent regurgitations of a disillusioned libertine; but the mystic may claim him for a teacher in lines like these:

"Bā tu bikharābāt agar gūyam rāz
Bih zānkīh bimīhrāb kunam bī tu namāz
Ai avval va ai ākhīr khalqān hameh tu
Khāhī tu marā bisūz o khāhī binavāz,"

which FitzGerald, surpassing his original, transmutes with inspired skill:

"And this I know : whether the one True Light
Kindle to Love, or Wrath consume me quite,
One Flash of it within the Tavern caught
Better than in the Temple lost outright."

F. H.

THE SHAH-NAMEH OF FIRDAUSI. With twenty-four illustrations from a fifteenth century manuscript. Described by J. V. S. Wilkinson, with an introduction on the paintings by Laurence Binyon. Oxford University Press. £2 2s. net.

Mr. Wilkinson's choice of a manuscript from which to reproduce a selection of illustrations to the Persian epic has been well made, for as he says in his short preface, the criticism of Persian painting which is restricted to its formal qualities, ignoring drama and meaning, is one-sided, especially if applied to paintings of the mid-fifteenth century, when radiant colour and a newly perfected genius for design are combined with a romantic story-telling gift and a command of epic movement. "Never afterwards were the various elements quite so harmoniously balanced as at this moment; for against the greater suavity and sumptuousness of later times must be set a certain loss of forcefulness." It was in the fifteenth century, as Mr. Binyon tells us in his introduction, that "a truly national style was formed" in Persia "and gradually carried to its greatest achievement"; and in this manuscript, which Mr. Binyon stamps with his high authority as "one of the most notable monuments of the period," we may even observe the progress to that achievement, for the paintings are not all by one hand, nor are they all at the same stage of development. "Persian art is romantic in essence," and this "whole work is saturated in romantic atmosphere." "We note in these, as more or less in all Persian paintings, the artists' almost voluptuous enjoyment of the glory of the visible world. The pleasure of the eye and the decorative instinct are so strong that, however dramatic the motive, whatever crisis be the theme, they refuse to sacrifice or suppress one detail of the chosen beauties of the setting in order to concentrate on the action of the figures. At least, that is the prevailing tendency. But at this period, in the fifteenth century, this tendency had not become so powerful as with the succeeding school, under the Safavids; in the finest of these designs we find, with all the elaboration of lovely detail, an impressive presentation of the subject."

In describing the garden scene of the meeting of Firdausi with the court poets, Mr. Binyon writes: "... We may note the disposition of the trees, blossoming shrubs, and flowers, all arranged for a decorative effect. This is in order that the eye may enjoy to the full the separate beauty of each. For the same purpose the flowers are greatly magnified." "The painter takes the most delightful things in nature, places them where he pleases, enlarges them at will, and composes an arbitrary whole." We may perhaps ascribe this juvenile in consequence and disregard of relative proportion rather to the limpid simplicity of these mature artists. They paint, as it were, like children with the skill of master-craftsmen. Bahram, mounted on a camel with his favourite damsel at his back, performs his historic feat of archery. He must wear a golden crown, of course, to show he is a king. What colour shall we paint his dress? Blue! The sleeves of his tunic shall be red, and the saddle-cloth shall be green. So blue and red and green they are, with pristine, immaculate, pure, elemental colours that stand out like jewels. Now we put in the deer, and, of course, we must have a pair of wild asses. In front we put two little hares running a neck-and-neck race with the camel. The desert

sand shall be pink. There are two trees on the skyline, and in the deep blue sky a twiddly cloud. But the hunting-field has a lot of space left. What else shall we put in? Flowers! So we stick flowering plants all over the place, each different from the other, but nice and big and all unmistakably Flowers.

Mr. Binyon reviews the Plates in sequence. Seven of them reproduce the colours. He concludes his introduction with a sigh. . . . "Many of these scenes are of battle and bloodshed; but all takes place in a fairy-world, where everything is radiantly clear and lustrous. The reader should be warned that some of these designs without the colour are mere spectres of themselves; and it is quite impossible in words to convey the extraordinary exhilaration which the colour communicates, or its delightful strangeness."

Possibly so. We may sigh for a coloured dragon in Plate No. 14, but we could perhaps have been content with monochrome on the polo-field. The beautiful little picture of Siavush in the "Ordeal by Fire" may even gain by the absence of distraction from the sheer perfection of composition and drawing.

But the heart of Firdausi is in the din and wallop and blood-rush of his battle scenes, and above all in the knightly glory of single combat. His heroes are pious fighters, but with no Homeric gods to deflect the issue, though they have often to strive with demons and sorcerers. We find their counterparts in the *Morte d'Arthur*, which was written about the same time as these paintings were made, that is to say, five hundred years after Firdausi. Their exploits are exemplified in the fight between Rustam and Isfandiār, and the pitched battle between Gav and Talhand.

The episodes illustrated by the paintings are outlined in good English by Mr. Wilkinson. The text of the manuscript above the miniatures is clearly legible but for a few smudges, and through it echoes the thump and thunder of those sixty thousand couplets that have stirred the pulse of Persia for a thousand years.

F. H.

A SEASON'S WORK AT UR, AL UBAID, ABU SHAHRAIN (ERIDU), AND ELSEWHERE. By the late H. R. Hall, D.Litt., F.B.A., V-PSA. 104" x 7". Pp. xxiii + 300. Methuen and Co., Ltd., London. 25s.

This is the last work of Dr. Hall. His premature death occurred shortly after he had written it, and England lost an enthusiastic and brilliant archaeologist with an abundant store of kindly humour.

The book is not an official record of exploration or discovery, but an unofficial account of the author's visit to Iraq during 1918 and 1919. Even in his official writings he could seldom resist the temptation to lighten the mass of learned record with the seasoning of his wit, and in the present volume his catholic observation, freed from the leash of official restraint, is recorded in his lightest vein.

From the day on which he donned his military uniform—badly fitting, one can definitely assume—he entered with a boyish zest into the whole adventure of his trip. His criticism of the apparent muddle which is recognized as military organization and procedure is generally very much to the point, though always kindly.

That he very rapidly acquired army methods is very clearly indicated by the procedure he followed in securing his railway movement order in Cairo. His "acquisition" of much-needed motor transport for his work at Ur was also worthy of an old soldier.

His account of his work in Iraq, where he inspected the various archaeological sites and buildings and reported on them to the authorities, is interesting, both as a record of their condition at the end of the war, and because of the sidelights he frequently throws upon them. His record of his work at Ur and in that vicinity, and his wonderful discovery of Al Ubaid, is possibly too detailed and extended for a popular or unofficial publication, but in the midst of it he breaks off irresponsibly to tell of shooting at beer-bottles with junior officers, leaving the seniors to wander unescorted over the excavations.

There are a few minor inaccuracies in the book, such as on page 58, where in quotation he states that the Public Works Department of Iraq covered the crown of the arch of Ctesiphon with a layer of concrete *four feet* thick. Four inches is the correct thickness laid. On page 15 also he conveys the impression that there were originally two arches at Ctesiphon. It was not an arch, but a wing wall, which fell in 1890.

His reasoned and temperate reply to Dr. Andraes' recent imputation that the German expedition house at Babylon and the antiquities left there by the excavators when they fled before the British approach, had wantonly suffered during the army occupation is very complete, and will give satisfaction to those who were in any way connected with the custody of that much-visited site.

The book is profusely illustrated by many good, and a few bad, photographs and drawings, and, though it is doubtful if it will provide much information or record of value to the professional archaeologist, it will undoubtedly give pleasure to those interested laymen who sojourned and laboured for a while in Mesopotamia.

J. M. W.

MESOPOTAMIAN ORIGINS. By Professor Ephraim A. Speiser. 9½" x 6". Pp. xiii + 198. Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press.

Professor Speiser's work though small in inches is formidable in contents. To any but a highly trained reader, frequent reference to dictionary and encyclopedia would, at first, appear essential if the contents are to be fully understood. The book, however, is manifestly not written for the casual reader with tepid ethnological interests, but for the keen student and expert. To those latter it will prove of engrossing interest, and in them doubtless inspire a spirit of controversy.

The subject is one on which conjecture can run rife, and speculation is irresistibly attractive; for this reason it is doubly dangerous. That the author has realized this is abundantly evident, and he approaches his conclusions from many angles and expresses them with an ample measure of reservation and caution.

Archaeological research has clearly established the Sumerians as a definite branch of the genealogical tree of the human race, but the place of their origin is still wildly speculative, and their predecessors in Southern Iraq only appear to the world today as hazy shadows. The author considers that the migration of the Sumerians from the unknown land of their origin into lower Iraq cannot be placed at an earlier period than a few centuries prior to the first dynasty of Ur, and considers that their predecessors there were proto-Elamite. He also considers that about the time of this Sumerian arrival in the Deltaic region another ethnic group, consisting of the Hurrians, arrived from the West, and occupied the land of Akkad, spreading over into Elam, their predecessors in these areas being most probably proto-Elamite also.

The prehistoric existence of Semitic ethnic elements in Sumer and Akkad is not yet established, but the author considers that his deductions make no longer necessary the assumption that the Semites were the carriers through whom the pre-Sumerian culture was spread from Syria to Elam.

Considerable space in the book is devoted to the traces of this pre-Sumerian culture as preserved and portrayed to us by the famous painted pottery. This pottery is discovered on many ancient sites over a widespread area, and, though not throughout identical in design, it indicates clearly a close cultural relationship. Though the archaeological value of this pottery is very fully realized, and its artistic excellence appreciated, it is doubtful if the modern artist will accord it the high artistic standard claimed for it by the author.

The ethnic origin of the Kurds is also carefully investigated, and the conclusion arrived at connects them with the large Zagros family. The only definite and distinct characteristic of this interesting people, which has preserved down the ages, is their propensity for lawlessness and destructiveness.

The book is not illustrated either by maps, which are necessary, or by pictures, which are not.

J. M. W.

THE MAGYARS IN THE NINTH CENTURY. By C. A. Macartney. Cambridge University Press. 15s.

This book is an extremely able study on the history of the Magyars during the century preceding their occupation of Hungary. The author rightly asserts that the subject is one which "has occupied many pens in Central Europe, but hardly any in England"; he might well claim that his own work has made up for past neglect by British historians.

The main part of the book consists of a careful and detailed analysis of two sources: an Arabic or Persian "archetype," known through writings of Al-Džaiḥānī, Ibn Rusta, Gardēzi, and Al-Bekrī (it may have been identical with the work of Al-Džaiḥānī, but Mr. Macartney finds serious difficulties in this view), and the "De Administrando Imperio" (abbreviated as D.A.I.). In each of these sources Mr. Macartney traces a plurality of more remote sources, and in distinguishing the latter he supports his case by quoting comparable passages of the text, or summaries of them, in parallel columns on the same page; the result is a lucid and elegant piece of criticism, which for the relevant part of the D.A.I. is a worthy continuation of the work of the late Professor Bury on that source.

The history which Mr. Macartney reconstructs from his investigation is briefly as follows: About the beginning of the ninth century there were two separate hordes of Magyars, the one east of the Volga in the southern Urals, and the other east of the Sea of Azov between the Don and the Kuban. The Urals horde either amalgamated with, or was alternately named, the Bashkirs, and under the latter name has continued to the present day. The Kuban horde in about the year 830 was defeated by a Circassian confederacy. A section made its way east, and south of the Caucasus, and maintained itself for some time on the Kur east of Tiflis, known to us from Arabic, Armenian, and Byzantine references. The main part, however, of the Kuban Magyars migrated northwards across the lower Don; the country they then seized on the right bank of the river they called Atelkuzu, Atel being an alternative name for the Don, and *kuzu* or *küz* meaning "region." From Atelkuzu the Magyars were expelled in 889 by the Petchenegs advancing from the north-east; they migrated westwards, and, after a brief pause near the lower Danube, entered Hungary late in the year 895.

This appears to be an entirely satisfactory account of the Magyar migrations in the ninth century. Mr. Macartney has succeeded in proving three controversial points which determine the outline of the narrative. First, that the Magyars of the Urals and those of the Kuban had no contact with each other in the ninth century, but were widely separated. Second, that the Kuban Magyars were driven across the Don, not by the Petchenegs, but by a people who must be identified with the Circassians, the contrary belief having arisen from a confusion over the name *Káyyap*, which was wrongly supposed to have applied to the Petchenegs. Third, that there is absolutely no evidence that the name Atel or Etil was used for any rivers except the Don and the Volga, this restriction being fatal to all theories of the migration which locate Atelkuzu further west than the Don basin. The fact that Atel was a name for both Volga and Don is explained by the persistent belief, due to their close mutual approach near Stalingrad, that the lower Don was a branch of the Volga.

On two minor points Mr. Macartney's account seems to be open to objection. In the first place he takes the view that the Magyars in the Kuban were independent. But if the Magyars were contiguous with the Circassians and the Khazars held Taman, as we know they did, we must surely suppose that the Magyars were in some degree subject to the Khazars; otherwise Taman would have been completely isolated from the central Khazar power. A second point is that Mr. Macartney derives both the Magyars of the Urals and the Bulgarians of the Kama by migration from their namesakes known to history further south. But in both cases it is more reasonable to suppose that the north-eastern division of the nation represents the stay-at-home residue in or near the original homeland; if we have no early notice of the Kama Bulgarians, that is because the Volga trade which was to make them important was still undeveloped. Migrations from south to north are in any case rare, and should never be assumed without good evidence; for these particular migrations there is no direct evidence whatever. As for the Magyars, it is admitted that they came originally from the Urals region, where they were neighbours of the Ostiaks and Voguls; the Magyar-Bashkirs of the Urals in the ninth century may therefore be regarded as a remnant left behind rather than as representing a return migration.

G. F. HUDSON.

FROM DRURY LANE TO MECCA. By Eric Rosenthal.

"When ye throng from 'Arafât, then praise Allah at the Sacred Shrine" (Korân: Chapter, *The Cow*).

It is a curious fact that Hedley Churchward, who is described as the only Englishman to go to Mecca as a true Muhammadan pilgrim, did not perform the Pilgrimage, though every Muslim is commanded in the Korân to do so. He went to Mecca openly as a convert, about the middle of the year 1910, with the avowed intention of performing the Hajj, but he left the city before the arrival of the pilgrimage month. He performed the rites of the 'Omra, sometimes called the Lesser Pilgrimage. This can be done at any time, and everybody who enters Mecca, whether he be a stranger or a returning resident, performs it as soon as he arrives, as a matter of course. The Hajj or Pilgrimage proper is a more arduous rite, occupying four days and necessitating a journey to 'Arafât, an open plain among the mountains to the eastward of Mecca.

Hedley Churchward appears to imply that the rites which he performed were those of the annual Pilgrimage, and he assumes the title of Hajji.

which only applies to those who have actually been present at 'Arafât on the Day of Pilgrimage (9th of the lunar month Du'l Hijja). Although he quotes several texts from the Korân about the Pilgrimage, he omits that which I have written above, and throughout his narrative makes no mention whatever of the rites to which it refers. For a man who had waited so many years and overcome so many difficulties in order to go to Mecca, it must have been a great disappointment to leave the city before he had completed his object. Yet he makes no mention of this.

As a matter of fact, Churchward could not claim to be the only genuine English convert to go to Mecca. In 1862 an English army surgeon, Herman Bicknell, went openly as an English Muslim, with the Egyptian pilgrim caravan. Another convert, Lord Headley, performed the Pilgrimage in 1922, and a third, Mr. H. St. J. B. Philby, is in Mecca at this moment. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, a Dutchman, and Gervais Courtellemont, a Frenchman, also went openly as converts, the former in 1885 and the latter in 1894. Like Churchward, the last two did not perform the Pilgrimage.

Our traveller evidently knew a good deal about the religion which he embraced, but to what extent he "read and wrote Arabic," to quote the words of his biographer, Mr. Eric Rosenthal, seems doubtful. His two hours' work a day as a student at El Azhar, which he "followed up *in English* at home" (my italics), look rather like the activities of a dilettante. This is borne out by some of his translations of quite simple phrases—e.g., "*Kaif Alack*" (properly *Kaif hâlak* ? = How is thy state ? = How are you ?), which he translates "Welcome here" (p. 199) ; his substitution of *Muderieh* (province, or provincial governor's office) for *mudîr* (governor) (p. 42), and so on. His transliteration of Arabic words into Latin characters is too deplorably bad to be excused by his biographer's note on the subject. Whole syllables are frequently missing from words, or transposed. *Fatiah* for *Fâtîha* (which he calls the confession of Faith) and *Zaina Zudeb* or *Zaida Zaina* for *Sayyida Zainab* will be noticed by all who have ever heard the words. This is the work of a man who either learnt his Arabic chiefly by ear, badly, or who had not read Arabic for a long time.

The narrative of his travels strikes the note of complete authenticity, and of earnest belief in his adopted religion. It is a plain, straightforward account of an interesting and adventurous experience. Little else can be claimed for it, however, and to print on the title-page Vambery's remark that a true "Mahomedan sees more and better than any foreigner," is, in Hedley Churchward's case, misplaced. So far as this book tells us, his powers of observation were small. There is one curious statement, however, which may possibly constitute a contradiction of this. Snakes, he says, "swarm throughout the town (Mecca). . . . In kitchens, on shop-counters, along the steps of religious buildings, I often found hideous adders. . . . A great number of the brutes are even cobras—speckled, nightmarish monsters, as poisonous as anything in Nature. Yet very rarely does anybody receive a bite." (p. 146). And again, "I myself now noticed what an alarming number of poisonous reptiles infested the town. *Scores of the noisome creatures slid among the traffic*" (p. 152) (my italics). No other traveller has mentioned these swarms of snakes. I lived in Mecca during practically the complete revolution of the seasons, but I never saw more than one snake at a time, usually in a drain.

There are many mistakes in the book—e.g., that the Haram has only seven doorways, that a part of the town is walled, that foreign pilgrims seldom settle there, and so on.

The whole tone of the narrative, where it relates to Mecca, bears out my

belief that the morals of the Meccans were by no means disgraceful even before those monopolizers of righteousness, the Wahhâbis, conquered the country. The Wahhâbi monarch, Ibn Sa'ûd, by the way, would scarcely feel flattered at being referred to as the "present Shereef of Mecca."

One thing of which this book will remind us is that the European convert is by no means *persona grata* in Mecca. The great Burckhardt, Muslim though he was, did not err when he concealed his identity wherever it was possible to do so. Not only was Hedley Churchward arrested on "information" laid by an Indian pilgrim, but, "Ever since I came," says he, "suspicious people whispered such things (*i.e.*, that he was an infidel spy) even in my hearing." He was also subjected to an examination in religious matters by the Cadi of Mecca in the presence of Shereef Hussein. The truth is that a genuine convert, if he is not versed in the most complete manner in Muslim religious customs, is in far greater danger in Mecca than a disguised unbeliever who is so versed. The latter, in the event of his disguise being penetrated, knows exactly how to regulate his subsequent actions so as to allay suspicion. Nerve is necessary, certainly, but without that he would not have reached Mecca at all.

As to the illustrations, most of the drawings must have been done from memory, probably some time after the pilgrim's visit. That of the Kaaba (p. 159) and that of the Well Zemzem (p. 162) are glaringly inaccurate.

The book adds little to our knowledge, but it is a plain and interesting narrative related by a man whose childlike faith in the good intentions of his fellow-Muslims, added to a somewhat phlegmatic disposition, carried him safely through no inconsiderable hardships, if not quite to his objective, at any rate very near to it. Certain passages effectively convey a sense of the indolence and lassitude which characterize life in Mecca when the Pilgrimage has passed, and the departed hajjis have left the town half empty. A message from the busy outside world roused the traveller from something approaching to boredom, and, "as a twentieth-century Briton," he felt "there were other things in the world besides the ceremonial of the desert town," and so he responded to the call.

The production of the book has been very well done; the type and the binding are unusually pleasing.

ELDON RUTTER.

SOUVENIRS DU GÂZI MOUSTAFA KEMÂL PACHA. Edited by Professor Jean Deny, Professor à l'École des langues orientales vivantes. Extrait de la *Revue des Études Islamiques* (1927—Cahiers I. and III.) 9½" × 7½". Pp. 103. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner.

It is related that Lord Brougham caused a premature announcement of his death to be made in order that in some measure he might learn what his world thought about him. In these times such ingenuousness is scarcely necessary, for the daily Press will seize upon recollections that are sensational and the public will scramble for any Memoirs, provided they contain a sufficient amount of scandal. In olden days, however, and where we imagined the Orient to have existed, a great man arranged for a *main** of court poets to tell of his life and deeds. But today there is no Orient, nor are there poets who have the time for such philandering. Therefore something has to be done about it. And as an example of what can be done we have the little volume which is now before us.

* A term used to denote a large collection of lions. Cf. a gaggle of geese, a covey of partridges, etc.

It is not a new book, for it was published in 1927; nevertheless, for such as are interested in the progress of the new Turkey, it is a slight work with which they must be familiar. It consists of extracts from the published "Memoirs of the Gazi," which first appeared in *Milliyet*, a Government inspired newspaper, in 1926. These articles received great publicity, and other journals in Turkey published them the day after they had appeared in *Milliyet*. Further, they were translated and appeared in French in *L'Echo de Turquie* and in other organs.

Professor Jean Deny has been entrusted by *La Revue des Études Islamiques* with retranslating the Memoirs with the original Turkish before him. In his very interesting introduction Professor Deny reviews the general psychological situation in Turkey about that time. He shows that there was some necessity for preparing the soil for the seed, or rather the people for what they were about to receive, for otherwise Memoirs, even when inspired by great men, have been known to fall flat, and in this case such an accident could in no circumstances be permitted. Even when dealing with a Middle East intelligentsia the question of sophistication arises. Thus it came about that, prior to the appearance of the Memoirs, a series of panegyrics on the Dictator was published in the Press. For example, Tevfik Ruchî Bey, Foreign Minister at the time, recalled how he knew Kemal during the Young Turk Congress in 1909, and could not resist paying a striking tribute to the splendid work of his Chief at this early stage of his public life. Next, we have Chukri Kara Bey, a deputy, who held Kemal "to be the greatest soldier of the world and in history." He emphasized, too, the share of the Dictator—his immense work in fact—in such matters as the abolition of the Caliphate, the elaboration of the Constitutional Reforms, and in the establishment of the Republic. The military genius of Mustapha was discussed by Mustapha Nedjati Bey, who testified to the valour of the Gazi, and to his energy and initiative in the organization of the national militia.

The actual appearance of the Memoirs provoked a later ebullition, "A Study of the Gazi," by Yuncous Nadi, in which we find comparisons drawn between the national hero and such objects, understandable by the people, as "a high mountain," "a sun," and more yet—"a prism with a thousand and one facets, each one of which shows us a whole world."

It has been remarked earlier in this notice that there existed no longer an Orient. Reconsideration inclines one to the view that this statement may require modification, for the appreciation continued: ". . . he is more than that, a polyhedron is something visible and tangible; Mustapha Kemal is an idea melting away into time and space."

Nevertheless, it must be remembered that such praise, although it may seem immoderate, was desperately sincere, whilst the spirit that prompted it was typical of that prevailing in Turkey at the time when the Memoirs appeared, and not only that, but we must bear in mind that the Dictator had already earned and willingly been given the title of Mustapha the Great by the people whom he controlled.

As for the Memoirs themselves, their range is considerable, and without doubt they have a definite historical significance. In summary we find them in series dealing with:

1. Turkey and the Great War up to the Armistice.
2. Kemal's activities during the period of the Armistice.
3. His concern with the creation of the Representative Committee.
4. The formation of a Provisional Government and of the National Assembly.

Notes for the Memoirs have been collected by Falih Rifki Bey, taken down verbatim from conversations with Kemal himself. But it is not Rifki only who has had the privileged ear. The President has spoken to a circle of his friends, deliberately, so that they could annotate his remarks.

As to the object with which these Memoirs have been permitted to come to light, the Gazi denies that he has succumbed to the mania for publishing recollections *quâ* such. He holds a lofty ideal of his historical mission. He conceives that his fame must be imperishable in his country's annals, and a desire for the truth to be told lies behind all these discussions. But when in the course of the context he is asked for his definite object, he replies, "Je ne puis l'expliquer ici." But it seems he had the idea of informing and making known to the Turkish people in some such confidences the ideals underlying all his activities. Through the interviews run a series of anecdotes which serve to throw light on various situations of unequal importance: His misunderstandings with Falkenhayn. Was Djemal really a great man? What are the characteristics in being great? A man of action has no family life. We find a discussion on the Armenian Question; a sizing-up of the bluff of the German General Staff; Constantinople is not Turkey; and such like. Professor Deny indicates very clearly how he regards the Memoirs as serving to show us all through something of the inflexible will of the Dictator. Events, as such, are not allowed to bend his will. He dominated everything.

Without a doubt a second series, which has been promised, may serve to clear up many points still obscure. D. S.

INTIMATE GLIMPSES OF MYSTERIOUS TIBET AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

By G. E. O. Knight, F.R.G.S. Pp. 72. London: The Golden Vista Press, 1930. 3s.

The author of this small book tries to disarm criticism by warning the reader in his Foreword that the book was not written for "the scholar." It consists of a series of slight and journalistic articles written in a disjointed style, and sometimes in language which is not strictly grammatical. It should not be taken too seriously.

The book will give the casual reader an entirely false idea of the importance of Mr. Knight's travels. He led a party of five persons on an ordinary journey from Kalimpong to Gyantse, and refers throughout the book to the "expedition" of which he was the "leader."

Parts of the book are not in the best of taste, a prominent instance being the description, on p. 33, of the occasion on which the Phari Dzong-pön entertained the author to dinner. Mr. Knight describes with satisfaction and complacency the way in which he threw the food he was offered into a hole in the floor.

The book is full of inaccuracies, but it would occupy too much space to refer to more than a few of them. It is an unnecessary libel on a gallant and amiable tribe to describe the Limbus (spelt "Limboes," p. 16) as "cruel." The height of Kalimpong is not 6,400 feet, but somewhere between four and five thousand. General George Pereira was not a "titled Englishman" (p. 44), and it is incorrect to describe him as "Sir George." The French lady who visited Lhasa in 1924 was not Madame Noël (p. 43), but Madame Néel.

The final chapter on the Buddhism of Tibet is better than the rest of the book; but it would be interesting to know the grounds on which the author states, on p. 66, that cannibalism was rife in Tibet in the seventh century A.D.

ELEMENTARY ARABIC : SECOND READING BOOK. By Reynold A. Nicholson. Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

In this handy little volume the student of Arabic will find an exceptionally good selection of extracts from authors who wrote during the apogee of the language. The book is composed of 115 pages of texts with adequate footnotes and 94 pages of a glossary of the words used in the texts : it is eminently suitable for the student.

THE PERSIANS. By Sir E. Denison Ross. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. 142, map and illustrations. Oxford University Press. 5s. net.

The object of this little book is to make Persia more of a reality to the general reader. Sir Denison Ross has endeavoured to set down in everyday language a brief sketch of Persian culture, history, and art, and he has succeeded admirably in his task.

Drawing attention to the fact that Persia, during a history extending over 2,500 years, has always retained her national individuality, he passes on to descriptions of the outstanding features of the country and its inhabitants. He takes the reader on a series of journeys along the main caravan routes and shows him, in a charmingly natural way, the points of interest at each place visited. His remarks upon the characteristics of the Persians are apt, but are inclined to be a trifle exuberant.

In the chapter on history he has avoided setting down a wearisome summary of names and dates, and has accomplished the difficult task of condensing the events of twenty-five centuries into a comprehensive story.

The chapters on art and literature are tantalizingly short, but the glimpse is sufficient to indicate the main features of both subjects. The book is illustrated with a number of excellent photographs, and includes a useful bibliography.

R. W. F.

A JOURNEY TO CHINA, OR THINGS WHICH ARE SEEN. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Pp. 345. Map. Constable. 15s. net.

This book contains a series of forty-seven sketches and essays which, with two exceptions, were written during a six months' journey, and were published at the time in various English and American papers. The object of this journey was to attend the Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations held at Kyoto from October 28 to November 9, 1929.

Wishing to revisit Turkey and to cross the Syrian desert and Iraq, Professor Toynbee took the overland route as far as Basra. The first part of his narrative consists of a record of travel to Constantinople in a new Ford car with his family.

On the way he revisits Vienna, after twelve years' absence, but does not give an adequate impression of the changes which have reduced this imperial capital almost to a provincial level. Thence the car makes its way across polyglot South-Eastern Europe and, after sundry adventures, including a fearful struggle over the Shipka Pass, arrives at the Turkish boundary. The difficulties experienced by the travellers in entering Turkey from Europe and the expenses, which included a deposit of £70 and the payment of £7 in Customs commissions, are fully described. Such measures seem to be specially designed to discourage all tourist traffic.

From Constantinople the traveller views the startling changes wrought in the new Turkey during the last few years and proceeds to Ankara, where the Turkish authorities, after abandoning and more than half ruining the finest

port in the Middle East, are engaged in pouring out vast sums of hardly-won cash in an effort to create a new capital on the parched limestone uplands of Asia Minor. As in Persia, progress up to date manifests itself chiefly in a creditable development of communications, counterbalanced by expensive attempts to bolster up local industries and by failure to stimulate the basic resources of the country—such as agriculture.

In Iraq, Professor Toynbee observes the satisfactory working arrangements existing between the Iraqi officials and the British Advisers under the present régime, which depend, however, on the termination of the Mandate in 1932, when Iraq will enter the League of Nations.

Passing down the Persian Gulf on the way to Karachi, he notes the great refineries of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company at Abadan, but completely underestimates the age and magnitude of this enterprise in stating that the refineries were started in 1921, and that the company has about 8,000 persons on its pay-roll. Whereas, in reality, the refineries were started in 1911, and the total number of employés amounts to between 20,000 and 25,000 persons.

A week's tour in India provides opportunities to admire both the beautiful architecture of Gujerat and Rajputana and the happy conditions prevailing in the Central Indian States, and on leaving Bombay the eternal riddle of India's future destiny is again repeated: Can the conflicting elements fuse into one national people? To which at present no satisfactory answer is possible.

Malaya is the western gate of the Far East, and, after landing at Penang and coasting down the Peninsula to Singapore, Professor Toynbee is so much impressed by Chinese colonization and enterprise in this region that he informs his readers that "the shops, the factories, the timber business, the rubber plantations, the trading establishments, almost all appear to be in Chinese hands." Furthermore, he gets a clear view of the time—apparently not far distant—when the great tide of Chinese peoples surging westwards over the submerged nations of South-Eastern Asia will meet and roll back the advancing waves of Hindus.

This seems to be going too fast and too far. The Chinese expansion in Malaya is most remarkable, but statistics show that about 43 per cent. of the population is as yet Malay, against 36 per cent. Chinese; and so far from the Chinese controlling everything worth controlling in Malaya, out of 443,000 tons of rubber produced in 1929, approximately 50,000 tons, or 11 per cent., came from Chinese plantations.

Professor Toynbee arrived in the Far East during a period of great tension between China and Russia, when the Chinese authorities, foolishly underestimating the might of Soviet Russia, tried to hustle the Bolsheviks out of the control of the Chinese Eastern Railway—with painful results to China. He is naturally impressed by the extraordinary conditions prevailing in Manchuria, where the Russians and the Japanese exercise an economic domination based on the control and operation of two main line railways. He realizes plainly that the Chinese are not one people, but a collection of different races, and again observes the results of an ever-expanding and more efficient Chinese colonization, and prophesies that in Southern Manchuria, as in Malaya, the foreign elements will soon be submerged.

After comparing the new capital at Nanking with Ankara, and recording a dubious impression as to the pretensions of Chinese politicians to be the saviours of their country, he compares the mentalities of the Japanese and the Chinese and the parts they have played and are playing in the evolution of these two Empires. The Japanese draw inspiration from the past to guide

them along the path of constitutional progress, whereas the modern Chinese, abandoning the classics and despising the great monuments of the past, have yet to emerge from the toils of military despotism.

Vladivostok was the starting-point of the longest railway journey in the world, back to Europe, during which the author and a small party of fellow-travellers had ample opportunities of enjoying the amenities of travel in Russia. Except for one brief interlude, for the first ten days no food was provided on the train, and the travellers had to struggle to snatch a few morsels at the wayside stations! The nausea of hunger was appreciably increased by the odours emanating from the bodies of certain communist passengers, which he compares to the smell of a chicken-house in which he once sheltered in Anatolia!

The impressions of Moscow, derived from a stay of forty-two hours, are frankly disappointing, because no account is given of the scenes in the streets, depicting the daily life of the populace.

Throughout this book the author strives to impart certain lessons to be learnt about modern Asia. Firstly, foreigners should realize the strength of nationalist feelings which is driving Eastern nations to modernize themselves by copying Western institutions—not because they like them, but simply as a means of overthrowing all alien domination.

Secondly, constant emphasis is laid on the transient nature of foreign—especially British—rule in Asia, and British achievements in Asia are damned with faint praise or even disparaged. Nordic man—a restless “blue-eyed boy with mouse-coloured hair”—is to depart as soon as he has taught his dark-eyed little companions a few more of his mechanical tricks. In Mesopotamia the British are reminded of the fate of Hellenism, which soon withered away on these hot plains. In India “the Englishman is patently a pilgrim and a sojourner,” and the Indian Empire is described merely as a “going concern,” the breakdown of which would cause a great disaster. In Malaya “the chief monument of the British Empire may be the creation of a nineteenth Chinese province, and a very creditable monument it would be.” The enterprise of the British and other foreigners in creating the great port of Shanghai leaves the Professor quite cold, and in rhyming verse he describes the place as “busy detestable Shanghai,” while he spares no regrets for the rendition of Wei-hai-Wei.

These are the opinions of a historian who is able to conjure up visions of a distant future, which are hidden from the eyes of ordinary mortals. Many people, however, may continue to believe that “Nordic man’s” solid contributions to the welfare and prosperity of Asia will not so easily be swept away, and that, allowing for altered conditions, foreigners still have an important and even vital part to play in the future destinies of Asia.

D. B.-B.

A TOUR IN THE HIMALAYAS AND BEYOND. By Lieut.-Colonel Sir Reginald Rankin, Bt. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 297. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, Ltd.

This is a day-to-day diary of a journey lasting about three and a half months, made by the author with his wife in the spring and early summer of 1898, from Simla to Kulu and via the Rotang pass, Lahoul and Chamba to Srinagar (Kashmir), and thence via the Sind valley and the Zoji La to the Arindo nala in Baltistan and back to Srinagar.

It would appear that the diary was written for the benefit of relations in England, and it is to be regretted that its publication to a wider audience has

been made. It is useless as a guide to anyone about to undertake the same journey now, as not only is it out of date by reason of the period that has elapsed since the author made the trip, but also there is little of much value in the book. The entries, after mentioning the names of the camping places, with usually the distance marched, are mostly long diatribes against British and local officials, the inhabitants, the country, and the weather, varied by dreary dissertations on politics, philosophy, religion, etc.

The author set out on one of the lesser used and more difficult tracks across the mountains, with practically no knowledge of any Indian language, with an indifferent camp outfit and a bad lot of servants, and blames everyone but himself for the troubles and difficulties that arise, and which fall heavier on his unfortunate wife, whose pluck is the only bright feature of the book. The only solution for trouble is the "stick," but when the shikari follows his master's example it is 'dastardly and cowardly.'

There is a lot of stupid gossip about British officials in Kashmir and the introduction of the game laws which most certainly should have been deleted, but as mentioned earlier it would have been much better if this book had never been published at all.

H. W.

"SHIRIN." By Mrs. C. C. Rice. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. Pp. xii + 133. The Sheldon Press. 2s. 6d.

A Persian Story.—This is an excellent book for those who desire to understand the present struggle amongst Persian women for educational freedom in this Moslem land. It pictures the efforts to gain general acceptance of the contribution women can make to the general uplift of that country. It illustrates the immense difficulties that exist in the old conservative view to counteract this struggle, how that opposition is gradually being overcome, and how capable Persian women are of fulfilling the high ideals of those who seek to give women their true place in the life of the people. It is the impact with the West that has led to this ardent desire to uplift despised womanhood in Persia emphasized by the presence in their midst of woman doctors, teachers and nurses. The story which runs through the book is an interesting one of Persian girl life, and has dramatic incidents revealing the infuriated opposition to female emancipation which endangers at times even the lives of those foremost in the struggle. It also shows the evils of child marriage and in the plurality of wives.

A. K. BOYLAND.

The following books have been received for review :

"Alarms and Excursions in Arabia," by Bertram Thomas. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ". 296 pp. Illustrations and maps. (London: Allen and Unwin. 1931. 15s.)

"Conflict. Angora to Afghanistan," by Rosita Forbes. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ ". xxvi + 302 pp. Illustrations. (London: Cassells. 1931. 15s.)

"Eastward to Persia," by Sirdar Ikbāl Ali Shah. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ ". xiii + 292 pp. Illustrations. (London: Wright and Brown. 1931. 12s. 6d.)

"First Athenian Memories," by Compton Mackenzie. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$ ". x + 402 pp. (London: Cassells. 1931. 7s. 6d.)

"From Drury Lane to Mecca," by Eric Rosenthal. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ ". 248 pp. Illustrations. (London: Sampson Low. 1931. 15s. 6d.)

"Glimpses of High Politics through War and Peace, 1855-1929," by N. V. Tcharykow. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ ". 330 pp. Illustrations. (London: Allen and Unwin. 1931. 16s.)

- "Indian Industry," by M. C. Matheson. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. xv+227 pp. Illustrations. (London: Milford. 1930. 3s.)
- "India's Religion of Grace and Christianity Compared and Contrasted," by Professor R. Otto. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5''$. 144 pp. Illustrations. (London: S.C.M. Press. 1931. 6s.)
- "Intimate Glimpses of Mysterious Tibet and Neighbouring Countries," by G. E. O. Knight. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5''$. 72 pp. Frontispiece. (London: Golden Vista Press. 1930. 3s.)
- "A Journey to China," by Arnold Toynbee. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. x+345 pp. Map. (London: Constable. 1931. 15s.)
- "Lenin," by D. S. Mirsky. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. xii+226 pp. Frontispiece. Makers of the Modern Age Series. (London: The Holme Press. 1931. 5s.)
- "The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna," by Muhammad Nazim. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. xv+270 pp. Map. (London: Cambridge University Press. 1931. 15s.)
- "The Magyars in the Ninth Century," by C. A. Macartney. $9'' \times 6''$. 241 pp. Map. (London: Cambridge University Press. 1930. 15s.)
- "Mesopotamian Origins," by E. A. Speiser. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. xiii+198 pp. (London: Milford. 1930. 12s. 6d.)
- "The Mongol in Our Midst," by F. G. Crookshank. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. xx+539 pp. Illustrations. (London: Kegan Paul. 1931. 21s.)
- "Mustapha Kemal of Turkey," by H. E. Wortham. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. xi+216 pp. Makers of the Modern Age Series. Frontispiece. Map. (London: The Holme Press. 1931. 5s.)
- "New Schools for Young India," by W. J. McKee. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. xxii+435 pp. (North Carolina Press. 1930. \$ 4.50.)
- "Omar Khayyām," by Brigadier-General E. H. Rodwell. $10'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. xii+95 pp. (London: Kegan Paul. 1931. 15s.)
- "The Persians," by Sir E. Denison Ross. $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5''$. 142 pp. Illustrations and map. (London: Milford. 1931. 5s.)
- "The Question of the Straits," by Philip Graves. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. x+215 pp. (London: Benn. 1931. 10s. 6d.)
- "A Season's Work at Ur," by H. R. Hall. $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7''$. xxiii+300 pp. Illustrations. (London: Methuen. 1930. 25s.)
- "Souvenirs du Gazi Moustafa Kemal Pacha," by Jean Deny. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$. 103 pp. (Paris: Geuthner. 1927.)
- "Survey of International Affairs, 1929," by Arnold Toynbee. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. xii+545 pp. Map. (London: Milford. 1930. 21s.)
- "Through the Caucasus to the Volga," by F. Nansen. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. 255 pp. Illustrations. (London: Allen and Unwin. 1931. 12s. 6d.)
- "A Tour in the Himalayas and Beyond," by Lieut. Col. Sir Reginald Rankin, Bt. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. 297 pp. (London: The Bodley Head. 1931. 12s. 6d.)

OBITUARY

MR. CECIL CRAWLEY, C.B.E., MR. ROLAND MICHELL,
C.M.G., AND LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR RICHARD
TEMPLE, BART., C.B., C.I.E.

WITHIN the last few weeks the Society has lost three much valued members, Mr. Cecil Crawley, Sir Richard Temple, and Mr. Roland Michell. The last two reached an age of over eighty, and were known not only for their administrative ability, but for their knowledge and understanding of Eastern matters. Sir Richard Temple has left much valuable work behind him, and readers of the JOURNAL owe him a considerable debt of gratitude for his ever ready help in reviewing; Mr. Roland Michell's friends know something of the immense width of his knowledge, but, unfortunately, he never collected or published his recollections. It will be a great misfortune if his notes on the Dervish sects are not put together, for he himself said he probably knew more about them than any other living man: his friendship with many of the various sects when he was in Egypt, first in charge of Prince Ibrahim Pasha, from 1870 to 1878, and then as Chief of the Statistical Department of the Egyptian Revenue Survey, and other posts, enabled him to collect much first-hand information which would be invaluable to scholars.

CAPTAIN P. W. J. MCCLENAGHAN, M.C.

THE tragic death of Captain McClenaghan will have come as a shock to his many friends in India, Persia, and elsewhere. On December 9, 1930, while on parade in the Lahore cantonments, he was shot dead by an N.C.O. of his regiment, who had become temporarily insane owing to some trifling grievance which he attributed to the deceased officer.

Captain McClenaghan was the second son of the Venerable Henry St. George McClenaghan, Rector of Codwall, Letterkenny, Co. Donegal, and Archdeacon of Raphoe. He was educated at the Royal School, Armagh, and passed into the Indian Army in 1915 at the early age of seventeen, proceeding to India in the same year. He served with distinction in Iraq, 1917-18, in Egypt in 1918, and in Waziristan in 1923-24.

Before rejoining his regiment in India, Captain McClenaghan had recently spent two years in Persia studying to pass the interpreter's examination. He resided at Isphahan, where he acted as British Vice-Consul, and became most popular with both Persians and Europeans.

He took a great interest in Persia, and lost no opportunity of touring about the country. In this way he visited the constructional work on the northern section of the Trans-Persian Railway, and wrote an interesting account, which was published in the January, 1931, number of the JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

Captain McClenaghan leaves a widow and family, to whom all possible sympathy will be extended.

BRITISH POLICY IN ADEN

THE LAHEJ CONFERENCE

MEMBERS may remember that in the April number of last year's JOURNAL there was an article on "Tribal Problems of Today," which advocated that as Sandeman's policy for administrating Baluchistan when he took it over in 1886 had proved so successful, it should be further extended to other parts of the East, and might usefully be employed as a pattern on which other successful administrations should be built.

It is interesting to note that in *The Times* of March 17, 1931, there is an authoritative article on British policy in Aden, which shows that Sandeman's policy is being pursued by the Aden Government with regard to the Protectorate. Aden must face two problems: that of the Protectorate and that of the Settlement. The matter was fully set out in the Anniversary Lecture of June 10, 1926. The outline of the Protectorate policy as stated in *The Times* is as below:

"The Protectorate policy is twofold: that of boundary relations with our immediate neighbours, and that of the inter-tribal relations of the protected peoples. The Lahej Conferences are designed to help the solution of both these.

"The boundary question is almost wholly connected with our relations with the Imam. During the years 1918 to 1928, in spite of repeated remonstrances, the Imam's forces continued a policy of aggression towards the tribes under British protection. Village after village on the north and north-west borders were annexed. In 1928, negotiations having proved fruitless, the British Air Force co-operated with the tribesmen, and drove the Imam out of Bhala, restored the Emir, and reconquered most of the 1904 territory. The restoration, however, is by no means complete. Large portions of the territory of the Upper Yafa tribe are still in Zeidi possession, together with the rich plateau area of the Audali; the Sultan of the Audali is a boy ten years of age, whose people naturally look to the Aden Government to fulfil their treaty obligations of protection. Worse than this, there are still about seventy hostages at Sana in Zeidi hands.

"While it is a mistake to regard the Imam as an oppressed apostle of liberty, he should not be regarded as a particularly formidable potentate. He has canvassed frantically for foreign support and received no response, and he is perfectly aware that his position is entirely dependent on the patience and inactivity of the home Government. He is yearly becoming more eager for a treaty as his domestic differences increase.

"The policy at present pursued by the Aden Government is to disregard the Imam, and put our own house in order in the Protectorate. Here the problem is that of all Arab communities—to check the continual tendency to disintegration and internecine conflict. Until April of last year the various tribes in the Protectorate had no bond in common except their respective alliances with the Aden Government. Blood feuds were common, and regarded by most Europeans as ineradicable. Since 1928 it has been clear that it is impossible to extend protection to a people who are incapable of mutual co-operation. There seemed only two courses open—either the abandonment of the Protectorate to its Zeidi invaders, and the substitution

of the present series of treaties by one treaty with the ruler of the Yemen, guaranteeing the safety of the Settlement, or the institution of direct administration throughout the Protectorate. Both these courses were open to serious objections: the first was a betrayal of our treaty obligations, and offered a solution only so long as the Zeidi invaders were able to maintain control; the second would be expensive, and out of accord with the general inexpensive mood of modern imperialism.

"A third solution, desired by the present Resident, was the establishment of a Jirga system on the lines of that in existence in Baluchistan. After consideration this policy has been adopted, and a preliminary, experimental conference was held in April of last year. The assembly took place at Lahej at the invitation and under the presidency of the Sultan, a ruler eminently suited by his wealth, education, and position to act as *primus inter pares*. The court was without precedent, and the chiefs attended full of curiosity and some suspicion. They were told of the objects of the assembly—that they should form a unit capable of concerted action in frontier defence, collective negotiations, and settlement of local differences by arbitration. A simple agreement expressing these ideas was drafted and signed by the following chiefs: the Sultans of Lahej and of Upper Yafa, the Mausata and Hadhrani Naqibs, the Dhubi and Muftahi Sheikhs, the Sheikhs of the Alawi and Qotaibi, the Lower Aulaki Sultan, the Emir of Dhala, the Fadhli and Haushabi Sultans. At the second conference held in November their number, so far from decreasing, was increased by the addition of the Audali and Upper Aulaki Sultans, the Upper Aulaki Sheikh, the Aqzabi Sheikh, the Busi Sheikh (of Upper Yafa), and Sultan Fadhli Muhammad. This increased attendance, together with a notable tendency during the last eighteen months to settle disputes by arbitration, make it probable that these tribal conferences have ceased to be an experiment, and become an institution of practical politics.

"To assemble on a basis of friendly relationship all the tribes of the Protectorate is in itself an important achievement. It will take many years before the process is complete of fostering the consciousness of unity in transforming the collection of tribes into something like a Federal State. When that comes about the aim of the Aden Government will be to make Aden the cultural capital of the Protectorate, thus substituting service for administration."

THE INDO-EUROPEAN TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT

Sir Arnold Wilson's article in *The Times* of March 2, when Persia decided to take over full control of the Telegraph Department, cannot be bettered, and the claims of the staff cannot be too often repeated. By the kind permission of *The Times* we are printing this article in full:

The Indo-European Telegraph Department, after an honourable existence of nearly sixty years, handed over, on February 28, the control of all its land-lines in Persia to the Persian Government. Its example has been followed by the Indo-European Telegraph Company, which was incorporated in 1868 to take over from Messrs. Siemens Brothers and others the right to erect and maintain a line of telegraph between Teheran and London, via Berlin and Odessa, Tiflis, and Tabriz. Thus ends an episode in the history of British relations with Persia which reflects nothing but credit on the participants.

The first effective telegraph service between India and Europe was via

Baghdad, Fao, and the Persian Gulf. The Gulf cable, laid in 1864, under the guidance of Sir Lewis Pelly, by Sir Charles Bright, the celebrated electrical engineer, and Colonel Sir Frederick Goldsmid, of the Royal Engineers, at a cost of some £411,000, or £358 per nautical mile, was one of the best ever made. The most serious damage that it suffered in a useful life of over forty years was when it entangled and drowned, on the ocean bed at a great depth, a whale whose agility was not equal to its curiosity. While this cable was being laid, a land line was being constructed, at the request of the Persian Government, from Bushire to Baghdad, via Isfahan, Teheran, and Khanaguin, by a detachment of Royal Engineers under Colonel Patrick Stewart, of the Bengal Engineers, and Lieutenant (later Sir John) Bateman-Champain.

In 1871 the Indo-European Telegraph Department was transferred from the Government of Bombay to the Government of India, and by them, in 1901, to the India Office, which is now presiding over its obsequies. About this period it became necessary either to renew the Gulf cables or to develop a more direct land line through Persia, as the Turkish section of the existing line had been so inefficiently worked as to be practically useless. The Persian Government, always well disposed to international co-operation, consented to the construction on its behalf of a land line connecting Karachi, via Kerman, Yazd, and Kashan, with Teheran and thus with Europe. This was from the outset a great success, and proved of great value to the Persian Government.

COURAGE AND TACT

Only those who remember the state of the Middle East at this period can properly appreciate the services rendered to Persia by the British staff of the Department. Their duties called for courage, character, and tact, and their influence was wholly for good. In the words of Sir Percy Sykes :

Accurate information was, time and again, given to the Persian Government which saved many a rising, while the fact that telegraph offices were *bast*, or sanctuary, permitted the oppressed to petition the Throne against a tyrannous Governor. It was through these officials, often living alone among the people, that Persians learned something of the order, the rectitude, and the devotion to duty of the British.

It fell to some to calm fanatical mobs, to others to lead rescue parties to save their line-guards and others who had been overcome by the terrible blizzards that sometimes sweep the Persian plateau. Some were murdered, others fell victims to the climate and to the rigours of the life they had to lead. One, Major O. St. John, narrowly escaped being eaten by a lion on the Piri Zan pass between Kazerun and Bushire in 1867. Not a few of their number devoted their leisure hours to the literature and art of the land in which they lived. One of the first Directors-in-Chief, Sir Robert Murdoch-Smith, became an Orientalist of repute, and acquired for the Victoria and Albert Museum a collection of Persian ceramics, textiles, metalwork, paintings, and manuscripts for long unequalled in Europe.

The doctors maintained by the Department, first at Teheran and later at Shiraz and elsewhere by the Department, were the first and, until the advent of the C.M.S., the only British medical men permanently resident in Persia elsewhere than at Teheran and Bushire. They enjoyed immense prestige, and their skill became almost legendary. Among them was Dr. C. J. Wills, to whom we owe two books which are second in literary interest only to Haji Baba—"In the Land of the Lion and Sun," published in 1883, and "Behind an Eastern Veil," in 1894.

IN THE WAR

When the Great War broke out the position of the Indo-European Telegraph Department in Persia was one of great difficulty. The Bushire-Teheran line fell into enemy hands early in the War, but thanks to the enterprise of the then Director-in-Chief, Sir Rayner Barker, a third line was already available, connecting India with Teheran *via* Meshed and Seistan, and telegraphic communication was at no time interrupted. One member of the staff, Mr. Pettigrew, was taken prisoner by the redoubtable Wassmuss, and died in captivity at Ahram; another, Mr. Wittkugel, was killed in action near Shiraz.

The Army in Mesopotamia relied solely upon the Persian Gulf cables to keep them in touch with India. The staff of the Department, already depleted by war demands, was suddenly called upon to deal with an amount of traffic vastly exceeding the maximum for which the service was designed. They continued their unremitting labours in a spirit of unselfish devotion to which it is a privilege even at this distant date to bear witness. The Empire was never better served in the hour of need than in the Persian Gulf. Such is the record of a Department whose members have once more shown that the meticulous performance of routine duties is not incompatible with high achievement in many spheres.

The development of wireless communication between Great Britain and India, and in Iraq and the Persian Gulf, has now deprived the Persian land lines of much of their former international importance. It is understood that the Persian Gulf cables from Karachi to Fao, and certain wireless stations, will be taken over by the British Imperial and International Communications Company. Continuity in administration will be assured by the voluntary transfer to the Company of a proportion of the staff of the Department at present employed there on terms which, it is permissible to hope, will afford them some guarantee both of the prospects of promotion and of the permanent employment held out to them when they joined the service.

FATE OF STAFF IN PERSIA

But the staff in Persia have no opportunity of thus continuing their service under other auspices. With the Department disappears their sole livelihood, and the fact that telegraphy is practically a Government monopoly throughout the Empire precludes most of them from the chance of finding employment in the highly technical profession to which they have devoted themselves. The scale of pensions and gratuities granted by the Treasury (which is understood to have driven a very good bargain with the Company) is more than usually illiberal and compares very unfavourably with those secured for redundant British officials in somewhat similar circumstances from the Egyptian Government. The blow is softened by no scheme to provide alternative employment in India or this country, nor by any organization to train those affected for other employment. There is no doubt that most of them will be reduced to dire poverty. They are not members of a trade union, nor are they "insured persons"; having spent their lives on foreign soil they are out of touch with the official and commercial world; the great majority are men with families. From today they are "nobody's child." We have to modify our institutions to meet the needs of the day, but the claims of economy must not blind us to the demands of justice. **For the British Government to inflict bitter hardship upon this small body of men, who have spent their youth and too often impaired their health in the service of the State, is to set a bad example, and to create, for the sake**

of a few thousand pounds, a precedent which the Government of India may some day invoke against the India Office. It is calculated, too, to give pause to those who have hitherto regarded the permanence of Government service in foreign parts as adequate compensation for small pay and scanty amenities.

At no time in our history has it been more important to ensure that public servants in India and elsewhere should feel that their legitimate interests are the concern of the State, which cannot do better than follow the precepts of Ecclesiasticus xxxiii. 31 :

"If thou have a servant, entreat him as a brother : for thou hast need of him, as of thine own soul : if thou entreat him evil, and he run from thee, which way wilt thou go to seek him ?"

The Indo-European Telegraph Department has left the field, its task performed. Its members carry into retirement, or into other spheres of activity, a reputation worthy of our nation. They leave behind them a tradition. If those who have taken up the torch will remember it, they will do well.

The emphasis laid on Sir Arnold Wilson's plea for fair treatment of the staff will be endorsed by every member of this Society. Sufficiently strong public opinion should enable this Government to act wisely and fairly, hard pressed as they are.

SIR AUREL STEIN

The friends of China, and even her critics, will learn with amazement that even while special efforts are being made in England to explain the policy and friendship of the Nanking Government and their moral hold on their own people, the Nanking Government is allowing Sir Aurel Stein to be hampered in every possible way in pursuing his work in Chinese Turkistan, and, if rumour is true, is even considering the demand for his immediate expulsion. Of Sir Aurel's championship and admiration for the Chinese people there is no shadow of doubt whatever. His friends will testify that in private, as well as in public, he has expressed it with the pertinacity remarkable to himself.

Sir Aurel, who has retired from the Government of India, is seeking, at some danger to his own health and strength, to trace the route of the Buddhist priest, Hsuan Tsang, who journeyed to India in the seventh century, spent seventeen years there, and made his journey back to China with such great results to all China's subsequent history. Sir Aurel's interest in his 'patron saint' Hsuan Tsang is well known ; his lectures and writings have shown it clearly. He is so good a friend to China that he has employed his genius and scholarship to explore and make clear much of her past greatness, which was lost even to her own *savants*, by employing the modern method of exploration which demands such great self-denial from its followers.

Friends of China may well hesitate before joining in any new effort until they see what the Nanking Government will do in this matter ; will they follow the maxim of Confucius : *Government is good when it makes happy those who live under it and attracts those who live far away*, or allow themselves to be driven into an unreasonable and unfriendly action by a small minority of those whom they profess to govern ?

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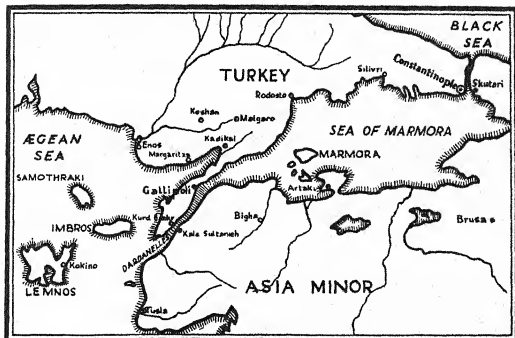
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THE PROBLEM OF THE STRAITS.

BY ADMIRAL SIR RICHARD WEBB, K.C.M.G., C.B.



At the Anniversary Meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society, held at the Royal Society's Hall, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W. 1, on Wednesday, June 10, 1931, a paper on "The Problem of the Straits" was read by Admiral Sir Richard Webb.

The Right Hon. Lord Lloyd, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., in the chair.

IN approaching this subject one is at once struck by the very far-reaching nature of the problem. Something far more than a mere passage of the ships through a natural canal is involved, including, as it does, the strategic security and the economic welfare of a large portion of Europe and Asia.

For if we look at a map of Eurasia we see that there is a plateau with a rim of mountains north and south running from the Carpathians in Europe to the western limits of China, whence the northern mountain chain swings up to the Behring Straits and the southern down into Malaya, separating, isolating China from either India or Siberia.

The mountains that rim the plateau east and west, north and south, are important ones of the Old World. The plateaux between them afford easy passage east and west, except in Armenia and the Pamirs, though possible even there; but passage north and south over the rims is difficult. The plateau consists in the Balkans (lying at sea level) in Europe; in Asia it comprises Asia Minor (3,000 feet), Armenia (6,000-7,000 feet), Persia (4,000 feet), Afghanistan, Pamirs (14,000 feet), Tibet (10,000 feet), and Chinese Turkestan (5,000 feet)—a covered way

between Europe and Asia, protected north and south by mountains, and independent, as it were, of sea power. There is just one break in this immense plateau system—the Dardanelles.

North of this plateau and mountain system—this roof garden, as it has been termed—and extending from the plains of France through Germany to Poland, Russia, Siberia, right up to the Pacific, lie steppe and plain (with minor exceptions), bordered with ice in the Baltic and White Sea, ice along the north, and ice in the North Pacific. Thus, today, Russia, flanked on the west by Germany and Poland, and on the south by the "roof garden" with its high rims, seeks unfettered access to the Seven Seas (for tropical raw material and world trade), perhaps unconsciously now, but consciously in the past. *But the Turk at Constantinople bars the way.* This is, in brief, the age-long problem of the Straits.

Early History.

Going back to earliest times, we see what importance the ancients attached to the waterway connecting the fertile basin of the Danube and the rich plains of what is now Southern Russia, on the one hand, with the rest of the then-known world, situated round the shores of the Mediterranean, on the other.

It was no accident which resulted in the selection of the site of Troy as the sentry-box of the guardian of the Straits. Traces of no fewer than nine successive settlements have been found, the earliest going back to the Bronze Age. All these settlements on the hill overlooking the entrance to the Straits undoubtedly had as their object the control of the rich trade passing between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

It is the sixth city of the series which is generally identified as King Priam's Troy, and it is easy to imagine the Greeks, the great sea-traders of that day, finding some such excuse as the Helen legend to pick a quarrel with the city and so shake off the stranglehold on their Black Sea trade.

The ninth city seems to have fallen into ruins about the beginning of the Christian era. The intervening centuries saw an ebb and flow of nations and armies through and across the Straits.

Meanwhile, in the seventh century B.C., the city of Byzantium had been founded by the Megarians on the western shore of the Bosphorus; it suffered many vicissitudes until, in A.D. 330, Constantine the Great, realizing the impossibility of administering the vast Roman Empire from one fixed centre, and realizing, also, the immense possibilities of the situation both in peace and war, selected it as his eastern capital and renamed it Constantinople.

But the fall of the Roman Empire and the gradual spread of the Osmanli power changed the whole aspect. And so, by the seventeenth century, we find that the Ottoman Empire contained not only the

Dardanelles and Bosphorus, but the whole coast and basin of the Black Sea. The Straits were thus purely an inland water of the Ottoman Empire, and, down to the latter part of the eighteenth century, entrance into the Black Sea was denied to the ships of any nation other than Turkey. Then came the capitulations, by which ships of certain countries, including England, France and Venice, were allowed to come up the Dardanelles as far as Constantinople, but never through the Bosphorus.

Coming of Russia.

In 1700, when the Russians had penetrated to Azov and a Russian Black Sea fleet had been formed, application was made to the Sultan to open the Black Sea to Russian commerce. But Turkey took a serious view of it, and replied that "when foreign ships obtain the right of sailing freely on this sea, the end of the Ottoman Empire will have sounded."^{*}

Seventy years later Russia had greatly extended her territory along the Black Sea coast, and Turkey found herself compelled to concede the right of navigation, not only in the Black Sea, but also through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles; similar concessions to other maritime countries inevitably followed.

The Treaty of Paris in 1856 established the principle of free navigation for all merchant vessels; but, none the less, right down to 1914 the Porte always maintained its sovereignty by the formality of granting a separate firman for each vessel which passes the Dardanelles.

But the situation as regards men-of-war is on altogether a different footing. "Although essentially a question of naval strategy, it was, for more than a hundred years, to be one of the pivots on which the policy of the Great Powers depended. More and more Turkey herself became merely a pawn in the game; the protagonists were Russia, Austria . . . and England."[†]

Russia, from very early times, has seen clearly that free passage for her ships of war could only be permanently secured if she herself had control over the Straits, and the attainment of this control has, up to the coming of Bolshevism, always been the ultimate object of her policy. In the days of Catherine II., Russia was encouraged by that monarch to regard herself as the liberator of the Orthodox Church, her rôle being to free Constantine's city and church from the grip of the infidel. Turkey was to be partitioned, Russia taking the Straits, and France, Egypt; England—the interloper—being excluded. Our position in India and the Levant was thus threatened, and so it is easy to see why Pitt laid down the principle that the maintenance of the Turkish Empire was a British interest.

It was the threat by Napoleon in later years to our position in India

^{*} "Studies in Diplomatic History," Headlam Morley, p. 216.

[†] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

that brought about a strange coalition in 1789. Russia had allied herself with Turkey so as to prevent France from seizing the Straits. To that alliance Great Britain joined herself. But it was short-lived; Russia's naval activities in the Mediterranean on the side of her new-found allies created profound distrust in England. Friction ensued and, as a result, Russia in 1801 transferred her alliance to Napoleon. But the assassination of the Tzar Paul in the same year brought about a reconsideration of the whole question, and the new Tzar, Alexander, laid it down as "one of the fundamental principles of my political system to contribute in every way to preserve the Empire of Turkey, the weakness and bad administration of which constitute valuable guarantees of security."

This did not, of course, mean that Russia renounced her claim to Constantinople, but merely that she meant to bide her time until a more favourable occasion, meanwhile adopting the well-known political expedient of maintaining a weak State on her frontier instead of annexing it.

But this meant trouble. Should Turkey shake off her "sickness," or, worse still, should some other Power acquire influence over her, Russia would have to intervene by force of arms.

Meanwhile, the Peace of Amiens, although it left England supreme in the Mediterranean, was giving Napoleon breathing space. Three factors dominated all others: India, the ultimate goal of Napoleon's Oriental policy; the Levant and Egypt; and Constantinople and the Straits. Consequently, when he endeavoured to enlist Russia on his side he failed because he refused to bribe her with the Straits. Russia's immediate objective was Malta and predominance in the Levant. This could only be reached by the Straits, and accordingly in 1805 she negotiated a treaty with Turkey embodying the two essential points of Russian policy—viz., the closing of the Black Sea to all ships of war, and the opening of the Straits to those of Russia.

In the upshot, Russia joined the coalition against Napoleon; the latter thereupon induced Turkey to close the Straits to Russian ships, and Russia accordingly declared war on Turkey.

Here was indeed a golden opportunity of solving once and for all the question of the partition of Turkey and establishing the freedom of the Straits. England was the dominant sea-power in the Mediterranean, and in 1807 Admiral Duckworth was sent by Collingwood to force the Dardanelles, sink the Turkish fleet, and dictate terms off the Golden Horn.

It was Copenhagen over again, but, alas! there was no Nelson. Vacillation and delay took the place of resolute and immediate action; nothing was accomplished, and the British fleet ingloriously withdrew, receiving a severe hammering from the Dardanelles forts as it passed out.

But the European kaleidoscope again changed. Russia in 1808 allied herself to Napoleon, but the two could not agree about Turkey. Russia wanted not only Constantinople but also the complete control of the Straits. This was an impossible condition for the French, who visualized a Russian threat to Toulon. So Turkey turned once more to England, the outcome being a treaty, in 1809, of great importance. Hitherto Turkey had exercised her unfettered discretion in allowing or forbidding to ships the passage of the Straits; now it was admitted by Turkey in the treaty that, while she retained the right to close the Straits, she gave up the free right to open them.

This treaty was the only permanent result of the Napoleonic struggle so far as Turkey was concerned. All Russia's efforts had failed: Turkey was intact, and Great Britain had secured the closing of the Straits against Russia.* Consequently, the Russian fleet which participated with ours at the battle of Navarino was the Baltic and not the Black Sea fleet.

Russia's next chance came in 1833 with the revolt of Mehmet Ali: she sent a fleet and an army to protect the capital from falling into the hands of the rebellious Pasha. When the threat passed and the Russian forces withdrew, Russia concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Turkey whereby she secured sole and exclusive right to send her ships of war through the Straits.

But this was too much for the other Powers to put up with. Consequently in 1840 a Quadruple Alliance was arrived at between Turkey, Russia, England and Austria, whereby Turkey was guaranteed protection against Mehmet Ali should he prove troublesome; in the following year a Convention of the Straits was signed by the same Powers with the addition of France, whereby Turkey reaffirmed the principle of prohibition for ships of war of foreign Powers to enter the Straits, the Sultan reserving the right to deliver firmans of passage for "light vessels under flag of war." This Convention, with certain modifications in 1856 and 1871, has remained in force ever since.

By the Treaty of Paris, which followed the Crimean War, the Black Sea was neutralized; it was thrown open to all merchantmen, but was forbidden to men-of-war of all nations, only Turkey and Russia being allowed to keep a few small vessels for coastguard duties: and it was declared that neither Turkey nor Russia would establish or maintain any "military-maritime" arsenal. This, of course, did not apply to Constantinople itself.

The position was an intolerable one for Russia. Her commerce and her coasts were at the mercy of Turkey, who could, and did, maintain a strong fleet in the Marmora, the third strongest—on paper—in the world.†

* "Studies in Diplomatic History," p. 225.

† "The Question of the Straits," by P. P. Graves, p. 120.

But the war of 1870 gave Russia yet another chance. She denounced the Treaty of Paris, and Europe was too pre-occupied to do more than protest. In the upshot, Russia was allowed to create a Black Sea fleet, while the Sultan was allowed, at his discretion, to open the Straits in time of peace to vessels of war of friendly or allied Powers.

It is interesting to note that that far-seeing statesman, Lord Salisbury, who had previously opined that in backing Turkey in the Crimean War we had "put our money on the wrong horse," had, when Foreign Secretary in 1878, told Lord Beaconsfield that he would be glad if the Straits could be declared as open as the Sound. "The exclusion of Russia from the Mediterranean," he said, "is not so great a gain to us as the loss resulting from our exclusion from the Black Sea, because we are much the strongest as a naval power."* This was the lesson of the Crimean War, but it was never fully learnt.

The intervening years before the Great War saw several important developments. In the first place the establishment of Roumania and Bulgaria on the shores of the Black Sea closed the era of purely Russo-Turkish interest in the navigation of its waters. Secondly, the naval situation in the Eastern Mediterranean had profoundly changed with the opening of the Suez Canal and our occupation of Cyprus and Egypt: a change vitally affecting both Russia and Turkey. And thirdly, our influence in Turkey had declined as that of Germany had increased.

The first point need not detain us now. But as regards the second point, Russia felt that the balance of power had seriously changed to her detriment. "It was impossible," the Russian Ambassador had said in 1882, "that Russia should consent to be shut up in the Black Sea, inasmuch as the opening of the Suez Canal had completely altered the whole aspect of the case, and rendered it absolutely necessary for Russia to insist upon an immediate transfer from the Black Sea to her Pacific possessions."† And the situation was still further complicated by the creation in 1878 of the Russian Volunteer Fleet, which wore the mercantile flag in time of peace, and was therefore free to use the Straits, but whose crews were subject to naval discipline, two officers at least in each ship holding the Tzar's commission. This came to a head during the Russo-Japanese War, when two volunteer ships passed through the Straits and the Suez Canal as merchantmen; on arrival in the Gulf of Suez they assumed the character of ships of war and proceeded to seize several ships alleged to be carrying contraband. Strong protests followed, the commissions were revoked, and reparations were eventually made.

As regards the possible passage of the Black Sea fleet to join Admiral Rodjestvensky, there was considerable anxiety on our part as Japan's ally, and there can be little doubt that we should have stopped their

* "Life of Lord Salisbury," vol. ii., p. 291.

† "Studies in Diplomatic History," p. 238.

passage through the Suez Canal; but Russia realized the situation and the attempt was not made.

The final pre-war move, so far as Russia was concerned, came in 1912, when, in consequence of the formation of the Triple Entente, it was suggested by Russia that the support of her fleet in the Mediterranean might be of great use to England and France. However, nothing came of it before the outbreak of war. This is largely accounted for by the fact, as recorded by the Russian Ambassador, M. Teharykow, that "the Triple Entente at that time did not extend to the Near East."* Each country was, he tells us, pursuing its own policy in Constantinople. France was trying to seize control of the Turkish finances, England concentrated on the junction of the Bagdad Railway with the Persian Gulf, while Russia was specially interested in railway construction in Asia Minor and—as always—the opening of the Straits to Russian men-of-war.

A golden chance of improving Russo-Turkish relations was lost in 1910, when the Tzar's proposed visit to Constantinople en route to Italy to return the visit of the King of Italy was cancelled, the Tzar—much against his will—proceeding by another route. This was due to certain reactionary influences, and was a great disappointment to the Ottoman Government. "There can be little doubt," says M. Teharykow, "that such a visit would have not only laid a solid foundation for the predominance of the Entente in Constantinople, but would have prevented Turkey from joining Germany in the Great War."

However, that was not to be; and so it gradually came about, as the accumulation of many causes, that German influence increased, while that of England and the other Entente Powers declined, and the old fear of Russia revived in Turkish minds. As one Turkish officer put it: "You have a very fine fleet, but it will not keep a Russian army out of Erzeroum . . . the fate of Erzeroum may be decided by a great battle in Poland. . . . In the Balkans we must rely on Austria; while she is the ally of Germany the Germans will see she does not assist the Balkan States against us."† This remark as regards the fleet found an echo in later times when Mustapha Kemal was reported to have said, in reply to a question as to why he shifted his capital to Angora, "British battleships are very powerful, but they can't move on wheels."

Germany's gaze was fixed eastward. "Drang nach Osten" had a wealth of meaning, and Turkey was the bridge from Europe to the vast possibilities of an Asiatic Empire. Germany, therefore, strained every nerve to win Turkey's friendship, profiting by our unpopularity due largely to our occupation of Egypt and Cyprus. The Kaiser's various moves need not be recounted in full, ranging, as they did, from a

* "Glimpses of High Politics," p. 274.

† "The Question of the Straits," by P. P. Graves, p. 130.

spectacular demonstration on the Mount of Olives to a German Military Mission under that able officer, General Liman von Sanders, and his subsequent appointment to command the Turkish forces in Constantinople, including the forts of the Bosphorus.

Meanwhile Turkey herself was changing. The old decrepit Turkey, on which Russia set so much store, was passing away, and was being transformed under various influences, such as the Young Turk movement, guided by Talaat and Enver, into a new and alert neighbour. For Russia, as always, the question of the Straits was paramount. Her anxiety had been great during the first Balkan War, when the Bulgarian army had reached the Chatalja Lines, and she had then announced that if the Bulgarian troops entered Constantinople the Russian fleet would be at once sent into the Bosphorus. But the second Balkan War saw the defeat of Bulgaria and the Turkish reoccupation of Adrianople.

Turkey's political ambition had always been to control the Christian West, and this had, no doubt, been her real reason for keeping her capital at Constantinople instead of at Angora. This ambition was fostered by Germany, who erroneously persuaded Turkey of the commercial importance of Constantinople to Anatolia, her real motives being, in a military sense, her cry of "Drang nach Osten," and, in a naval sense, her desire to control the rich and strategically important waterway of the Straits.

The German-controlled Bagdad Railway, the line through the Cilician Gates and the Taurus Tunnel, the extension to Maan in Arabia—ostensibly as a pilgrimage route, but actually a line of approach to the Suez Canal—all these and other activities had their explanation in Germany's anxiety to free herself from dependence on sea-power in her advance into Asia and Africa. For we must remember that the German idea of Mittel Africa was as much dependent on the "Bridge" of Anatolia as was the Berlin-Bagdad Railway itself.

We may note that our own interest in Anatolia is a military one; Turkey is, as always, the bridge between East and West. Our interest in the Straits, on the other hand, is purely naval; we are concerned only with their freedom, no matter who lives on their banks. Hence Pitt's thesis that alliance with the Turkish Empire is essential to British (*i.e.* military) interests is quite compatible with Lord Salisbury's dictum as to an open Straits (*i.e.* our naval interests), and with Russian ambitions, always assuming that the Anatolian capital is at Angora and not at Constantinople.

Situation on the Outbreak of War.

The actual situation in Turkey on the outbreak of the Great War seems to have taken the chief actors on the political stage of the

Allies by surprise.* Not even Russia, and certainly not England, had the faintest suspicion that relations between Turkey and Germany had progressed to the point of a secret alliance against Russia. This treaty was proposed by Turkey on July 27 and signed by both countries on August 2. Had an inkling of the truth reached London the orders to the Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean as regards the probable destination of the *Goeben* and *Breslau* would probably have taken a different form, and our battle cruisers would have barred the way to the Straits, thereby changing the character, and probably the duration, of the war.

The requisitioning by us on July 28 of the two new Turkish battleships fitting out in this country greatly upset Turkish calculations, and Mr. Churchill tells us that, so far from making Turkey an enemy, our action nearly converted her into an ally.† However, the arrival of the *Goeben* and *Breslau* stiffened Turkish backs, and thereafter "Turkey was animated, guided, and upheld during the struggle for four years by the German military and intellectual power."‡

Turkey's entry into the war in October, 1914, gave Russia her long-awaited opportunity, and it is easy to understand her pre-occupation as to the eventual fate of Constantinople and the Straits. The Allies, on the other hand, felt that, failing some definite guarantee to Russia, she might make a separate peace with the Central Powers. Accordingly, soon after the outbreak of war, and when the contemplated attack on the Dardanelles was first considered, Russia came to an agreement with England and France early in 1915 stipulating the annexation to Russia of Constantinople and the whole of the Straits, although we are told that M. Sazonoff, Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, was personally averse to Russia's taking possession of the city.

The actual events which led up to the heroic but misdirected and disastrous attempt to force the Dardanelles has been told so often and so vividly that we need not linger on that phase of the problem of the Straits. But one interesting fact came to my knowledge. I was assured by a very high Turkish statesman that very rarely in Turkish history had our prestige stood higher than it did during and after that tremendous struggle. That it sapped the man-power of the Turkish army, and so eased the task for Generals Maude and Allenby, there can be no doubt, and with a little better luck and management events might have been different. The obvious alternative after the naval failure of

* "I can recall," says Mr. Churchill—himself a Cabinet Minister at the time—"no great sphere of policy about which the British Government was less completely informed than the Turkish."—"World Crisis: The Aftermath," p. 359.

† "World Crisis: The Aftermath," p. 358.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

March, 1915, was a landing in the Gulf of Alexandretta. It is said Lord Kitchener favoured the idea, and its rejection has never been fully explained. Aleppo is—as a glance at the map shows—the strategic key of Europe, Asia and Africa. Again, in 1917, when the Grand Duke Nicholas was on the point of delivering an overwhelming blow at the Turkish army in Anatolia, it was largely the collapse of Russia which saved the situation for the Turks.

The Armistice, October 30, 1918.

The first clause of the armistice concluded on October 30, 1918, at Mudros between Admiral Calthorpe, the British Commander-in-Chief, "acting under authority from the British Government and in agreement with their allies," and the Turkish plenipotentiaries, headed by Raouf Bey, stipulated for the opening of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, and for security of access to the Black Sea. It also stipulated for the Allied occupation of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus ports.

But it was not until nearly five years later, July 24, 1923, that the armistice was converted into a peace by the Treaty of Lausanne. And in that delay, as all the world knows, lies the explanation of the humiliating exit of the Allies from the Straits and Constantinople, the overwhelming defeat of Greece in carrying out a task set them by the Allies, and the resurrection of Turkey.

The prime factor was the failure of those in authority at the Peace Conference to recognize that speed was of the essence of the contract. Had a peace been concluded in 1919, as it quite well might, the Turk could with little difficulty have been compelled to cross the Bosphorus into Asia Minor; indeed, he fully expected it, and his departure then would have simplified the problem of the future of the Straits.

But even that delay might not have produced such disastrous consequences had it not been for the Smyrna policy. The Powers—as Mr. Graves tells us—"forgot geography when they gave the Greeks a patch of lowland round Smyrna on 'ethnographical' grounds."^{*} Then came the wonderful work of Mustapha Kemal in resurrecting the Turkish army at Angora and Sivas, well removed from sea-power at Constantinople, under the sting of the Greek occupation of Smyrna—a Smyrna always vital to the economic welfare of the Anatolian plateau, the Turkish homeland. As one of my colleagues on the High Commission has well put it: "The decision to put the Greeks into Asia Minor was one of those amazing blunders by which the fruits of victory, won by soldiers, are lost by politicians."[†] That decision was taken by the representatives of Great Britain, France and the United States on the urgent representation of M. Venizelos (himself incorrectly informed

^{*} "The Question of the Straits," p. 20.

[†] "Turkey, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," Sir Telford Waugh, p. 175.

by his agents) and on the wholly mistaken idea that the Greek community in Smyrna was in imminent danger from the Turks; actually, no such danger existed, as all Allied authorities on the spot and their Foreign Offices knew very well.* And it is worthy of note that one of the countries responsible for the decision was the United States; but, when it came to facing the music, that great institution, the American Constitution, came to its own rescue and denied all responsibility. It was the Monroe Doctrine working in the American mind, and it is strange that the diplomatic world of Europe had not more clearly foreseen this.

First Peace Treaty.

It was not until May, 1920, that the first peace treaty, the Treaty of Sévres, was handed to the Turks.

The intention of the Allies in this treaty was to insure absolute freedom of the Straits, not only to all merchant vessels and commercial aircraft, but also to all warships and military aircraft both in peace and war; and no act of hostility was to be committed either in the Straits or in the Sea of Marmora except as might be ordered by the League of Nations.

The territorial changes were planned to ensure this. Greece was to have Thrace up to the Chatalja Lines and also the peninsula of Gallipoli. Constantinople was to remain Turkish and the capital of Turkey, while a zone of territory was laid down, including both shores of both Straits, the Marmora and the islands both off and in the Straits, within which only Great Britain, France and Italy might maintain armed forces. Turkey and Greece, the territorial sovereigns, were both debarred from practically any military or naval forces in that zone. To enforce this a Commission of the Straits was to be formed, backed by the armed forces of the Allies. On this Commission all the countries affected were to be represented, provided they became members of the League of Nations. Subsequent withdrawal from the League would, *ipso facto*, involve withdrawal from the Commission.

There were several very serious obstacles to this solution of the Straits problem. In the first place Greece's frontier was brought to within dangerous proximity of the capital of her age-long adversary, and this danger was accentuated in Turkish eyes by the large Greek element in the city. Then Anglo-French rivalry had to be considered. Although France signed the treaty she never liked it; for one thing it emphasized Great Britain's position as the strongest naval Power,

* "The rumour of this intention (of sending Greek troops to Smyrna) had . . . roused the protests of the Smyrna European colony, and the American missionaries in Smyrna vied with the British High Commissioner in Constantinople in their separate simultaneous warnings against the perils of such a step."—"The World Crisis: The Aftermath," Mr. Winston Churchill, p. 365.

since sea-power was bound to be the principal executive force behind the Commission. This was also distasteful to Italy, who had bargained for a large slice of South-West Asia Minor, and the grievance against so-called "British naval predominance in the Straits" found indignant echo in Paris and Rome. This attitude undoubtedly stiffened Turkish opposition to the treaty ever in a much modified form, and emphasis was added by the signature in October, 1921, of an agreement which was virtually a separate peace between France (as represented by M. Franklin Bouillon) and Angora. It is interesting to note that this defection on the part of France saved her nothing of the humiliation to which her nationals were subjected after the Peace of Lausanne.

But behind and really dominating these was the question of Russia, and the fact that this freedom of the Straits laid the Black Sea open to warlike operations by all countries. The situation of 1840 was recurring. Again, as in the days of Mehmet Ali, and the threat of Egypt backed by France, Constantinople was now in danger from the threat of Greece backed (as was alleged) by England, and once again Turkey turned to her old enemy, Russia, for support. This brought about a treaty between the two countries in March, 1921, in which both parties agreed not to recognize any peace terms imposed by force upon the other. Turkey's north-east border was recognized as extending from just south of Batum to the point where it abutted on Persia, thus settling a long-drawn-out dispute over the various Trans-Caucasian republics; as regards the Straits it envisaged a conference of the Littoral States, which was to guarantee the freedom of the Straits and the free passage through them for trade relations of all peoples, and which should not infringe the full sovereignty of Turkey or the security of her capital, Constantinople.* It will be noted that no mention is made of the passage of ships of war.

Now to revert to the actual situation as between the Greek and Turkish armies.

The ebb and flow of the struggle in Asia Minor does not concern us; only its outcome. Early in 1922 the Greek Commander-in-Chief, General Papoulos, an able soldier, was relieved of his command, and his place taken by an officer whose eccentricities were the common talk of the Near East. It was purely a political appointment, and one which M. Venizelos, had he been in power, would never have countenanced. At that time the situation was a stalemate; but the brilliant Turkish leader, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, noting the change of command and the loss of Greek morale, and profiting also by the rearming of his own forces by France, Italy and Russia, struck hard in a frontal attack, routed the Greek army, destroyed once and for all the Greek dream of

* See "Survey of International Affairs, 1920-23," by A. S. Toynbee, p. 371.

Constantinople and San Sophia, compelled the eventual withdrawal of the allied forces from the Straits and Constantinople, and brought the problem of the Straits back to where it was in August, 1914, before Turkey entered the war; that is to say, it threw away the fruits of a victory over Turkey won almost entirely by British soldiers, and marked by the sacrifice of countless lives on the Gallipoli peninsula and in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and rendered necessary a settlement by negotiation, a settlement wherein Turkey met us practically on equal terms instead of having to submit to terms dictated to her by her victorious enemy.

The Treaty of Lausanne

Nevertheless, it would be a strange commentary on the use of armed force if it turns out eventually—as some think possible—that the negotiated Peace of Lausanne proved more lasting and less productive of bitter feelings in years to come than the dictated peace terms of Versailles, St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly.

In the Lausanne Peace Treaty of 1923 is included a "Convention relating to the régime of the Straits." The Convention commences by declaring the principle of freedom of transit and of navigation by sea and by air in both Straits and in the Sea of Marmora. Merchant vessels and civil aircraft have complete freedom of passage in time of peace, and also in time of war if Turkey is neutral. If Turkey is a belligerent she must let neutral vessels pass, provided they are not assisting her enemy. Men-of-war and military aircraft also have freedom of passage in peace time, but the maximum force which any one Power may send through the Straits into the Black Sea must not exceed that of the strongest fleet of the Littoral Powers of the Black Sea. But the Powers reserve to themselves the right to send into the Black Sea at all times a force of not more than three ships, of which no individual ship shall exceed 10,000 tons.

In time of war, when Turkey is neutral, the conditions are much the same for neutral war vessels and aircraft: belligerent war vessels and aircraft must, generally speaking, be allowed to pass through the Straits; but all hostile acts, including the exercise of the right of visit and search, are forbidden in the Straits. When Turkey is a belligerent, neutral war vessels and aircraft must be permitted to pass through, subject to certain necessary precautions to establish their neutral status.

Both shores of both Straits are demilitarized, as are certain islands in the Marmora and off the entrance to the Dardanelles. The Turco-Greek frontier is pushed back to the Maritza River, with a demilitarized zone each side of it, and the Turks are once again in Adrianople. A garrison of 12,000 men is allowed for Constantinople and the neigh-

bourhood, and an arsenal and a naval base are permitted to be maintained at Constantinople.

Straits Commission.

Finally, a Straits Commission is set up under the League of Nations. It consists of representatives of all the great maritime Powers and the Black Sea States, and also Greece and Yugo-Slavia, with the Turkish representative as President. Russia, however, not being a signatory to the Convention, is not represented on the Commission.

The Commission carries out its functions under the supervision of the League of Nations, to which it reports, but it has no executive power or means of enforcing its decisions. Its powers are purely advisory, and it has, for example, no authority to intervene in the matter of movements in and out of the Black Sea of the warships of Powers bordering on the Black Sea. Should the freedom of the Straits be imperilled, it is primarily for France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan, acting in conjunction, to meet the threat "by all the means that the Council of the League of Nations may decide for this purpose."

The Situation Today: Russia's Five-Year Plan.

Such is the situation as it exists today. The riddle of the freedom of the Straits, *i.e.* free passage to commerce to and from Black Sea ports in all circumstances, is still unsolved. A local war, for instance, between Turkey and, say, Greece or Bulgaria might paralyze the economic and financial organization of Russia and Roumania, ruin great shipping interests in distant countries and adversely affect the prosperity of the world. Whether the Lausanne Treaty, with its Straits Convention as an admittedly temporary expedient, will stand the test of time it would be hard to say. In the East, as it is often said, it is only the temporary which is permanent.

But no political readjustment can alter the immense geographical, economic and strategic importance of Constantinople and the Straits. If we regard the entrance to the Straits as the mouth of a great river whose tributaries are the Danube, the Don, the Dnieper, and—as I shall show presently—even the mighty Volga itself, with all the ports of the Black Sea and Constantinople, we get some idea of the immensity of the region directly affected by any interference with its normal flow of shipping.

As always, the most important factor is Russia, now the Soviet Union. We have seen how, in pre-war days, Russia's whole impulse was towards Constantinople. It dominated Russian policy for at least two centuries. Now, for the moment, the present rulers of the Soviet profess not to be interested. The removal, by execution or exile, of

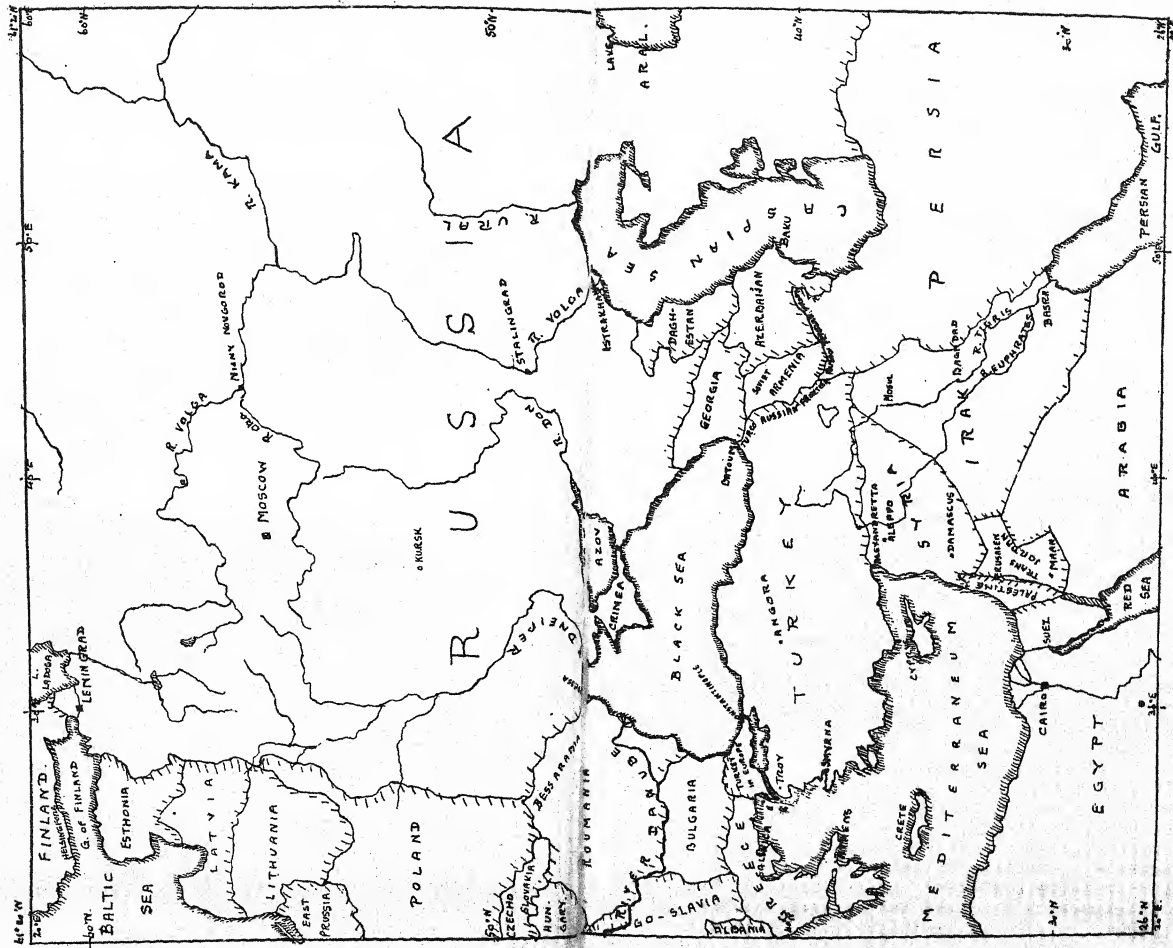
some 15,000,000 Russians has well-nigh eliminated the class which worked for Russian expansion. The present rulers and the people appear quite indifferent; their slogan is "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and Lenin is their prophet.

But in spite of themselves new problems are pressing on them, largely of their own making, and these may, sooner or later, change the view of those who are uppermost in Russia. Dominating every question in Russia today is the Soviet Five Years' Plan. This Plan, which is a continuation of the Russian "New Economic Policy," was started on October 1, 1928, and the Soviet Union hopes that by 1933 it will be twice as powerful a State, industrially, economically and militarily, as it was in 1928. Assuming that events take a normal course, and that no European war supervenes, or severe crop failure, or international boycott, there seems at least a possibility that this may be achieved, and we have always to remember that, for some totally inexplicable reason, the leaders of the Soviet Union profess to be obsessed with the idea that their country is on the verge of being attacked by some other State. As lately as March 11 last the Deputy Commissar for War told the Congress of Soviets that France had worked out a plan for the military invasion of the U.S.S.R. with the assistance of Poland and Roumania; while on May Day a manifesto was addressed to the "millions of victims whom the Imperialists are preparing as cannon fodder for the war against Soviet Russia," accusing the border States, backed by Great Britain and France, of preparing for war on the Soviet Union.

It is important to note that with the Soviet Union it is always the State that is considered—not the individual. It is the State that is to become powerful; the individual simply does not count, and utter misery is the result. The Communists are "determined that the Revolution shall not perish, even if a few peasants starve."*

None the less, the younger generation, which knows little of pre-war or external conditions, are enthusiastic supporters of the Plan. It is their God. Factories are being erected all over Russia, and the whole country is being industrialized; old landed estates, after being split up into tiny individual holdings, are now being collectivized. Various districts are earmarked for the manufacture of certain commodities—for instance, Magnetogorsk, when completed, will be the second largest steel plant in the world. Mass production of tractors is planned at Stalingrad (late Tzaritzin), and for motor-cars at Nijny Novgorod. The world's largest wheat farm, of 1,000 square miles, is located in the North Caucasus. Dnieprostroy is to have the largest power plant in the world, supplying power to innumerable factories. Nature itself comes to help: the Don basin, north of the Sea of Azov, has the

* "Economic Life of Soviet Russia," by C. B. Hoover.



greatest deposit of coal in Europe; and further south-east are the great oil-fields, where Baku leads the world in oil reserves—all these resources are being eagerly developed.

In short, generally speaking, an attempt is being made to plot for five years the whole course of life of an entire population of 150,000,000 people. And the Five Years' Plan is unquestionably to be followed by another one of anything from five to fifteen years, the whole aim being to outstrip the leading "capitalist" nations, and by flooding the world market bring about world unrest and world revolution. Finally, the Red Army is all part of the Plan—the constant danger to Europe of a conflict of arms with a powerful, well-equipped, modernized, zealous State, imbued with the conviction that it is its duty to bring the whole world into the Soviet Union.

Communications: The Volga-Don Ship Canal.

The ultimate success or failure of the Plan is too vast a subject to deal with now, but it is not hard to see how the working of the Plan affects our problem. Huge imports of manufactured articles and raw materials have been necessary for the various factories and for the mechanization of farms. But soon the tide will turn, and vast exports will flow out of the country by any and all available channels to flood the markets of the world. We have already seen what vast regions feed direct into the Black Sea: and there is yet another feeder. The Volga is the great river of Russia; it empties into the Caspian, while the Don flows into the Black Sea; in the neighbourhood of Stalingrad only a short distance divides them. "At Tzaritzin," says the "Encyclopædia Britannica," "the great river is separated from the Don by an isthmus forty-five miles in width. The isthmus is too high to be crossed by means of a canal." But what was an impossible engineering feat fifty years ago is not necessarily so today. Indeed, as far back as the sixteenth century Muhammed Sokolli, the able Grand Vizier of Selim the Sot, had conceived the gigantic project of joining the two rivers so as to insure Turkish domination over the Muscovite countries, and it was the disastrous attack on Astrakhan, with the object of carrying out this plan, that first brought the Turks into collision with the Russians. The plan failed for military reasons, but its inception shows its possibility; and it is interesting to note that its sponsor then turned his attention to a possible Suez Canal.

The possibility of such a ship canal is, no doubt, ever present in the minds of Russia's present rulers; it would revolutionize movement of trade throughout the whole country; it would put the vast Volga basin, with its canals reaching up to Leningrad and beyond, as well as the whole Caspian region, in direct touch with the outside world by ice-free routes.

It is no part of our task today to consider the effect of the "dumping" of such a huge output on the markets of the world. A world boycott of Russian exports would, of course, spell disaster for the Five Years' Plan, and would doubtless have other repercussions also.

Warm-Water Ports.

Now more than ever is Russia's straining for a warm-water ice-free port bound to revive. In what direction is she to turn? In the Baltic she now has only a small coast-line, ice-bound for a great part of the year, as are her more northern ports. In the Far East her dreams of expansion have been blocked by Japan, who has obtained great rights in Manchuria, but has failed to induce her nationals to settle there. On her western frontier only rail transport would be possible, and this could not cope with a fraction of the expected output.

Then there are the North-West Frontier of India and the Persian Gulf. The former must ever be a threat to us and a formidable political weapon, but it is far too distant for practical trade purposes. Persia, on the other hand, is a weak State, and we remember Russia's predilection for such a State on her frontiers.

Russia's whole trend is southward; there, rather than northward or eastward, is she to find her ice-free outlets, her markets, and her trade routes. Already she has established herself securely in the Caucasus by a series of treaties and agreements, and, reaching down below the Caspian, has captured all the markets of Northern Persia; now her gaze is doubtless directed to the nations on her south-eastern border and to the ports beyond of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

But those nations are no longer the unsettled tribes of former days; their independence is to them a very real thing, and they will brook no domination from a stronger Power. Persia is particularly affected; although, as we have seen, she is still a weak State, she is awakening under her new and energetic ruler. Her people and her army are becoming more and more forces to be reckoned with, and any Russian advance would encounter strong opposition from Persia, unless, of course, she threw in her lot with Russia, an eventuality which would not altogether surprise students of Eastern affairs.

Moreover, any threat to Persia would be a serious menace to England, both in regard to her oil supply, on which she is at present so dependent, and also in regard to her Indian Empire.

Lastly, we have the Straits, the natural outlet, as it always has been, for Russian trade. The great majority of Russia's immense factories, as well as her farms, mines, and oil-fields, are in the south; consequently, now more than ever do the Straits become of immense importance to Russia, both as a gateway of trade and as a shield from

oversea attack : as Bismarck called it when speaking of Russia and the other Black Sea States, " the key to their house."

Russia's Strategical Position.

Had Russia remained on the side of the Allies up to the end of the war, not only would the Straits and Constantinople (or Istambul, as it is now named) have fallen to her lot, but even Turkey herself might have been reduced to vassalage. The Balkans on the west and Persia and Turkestan on the east would have felt her heavy hand. Her Empire would have been colossal. That, at least, Europe and the Middle East have been saved.

Now if Russia wants a voice in the solution of the problem of the Straits—as she assuredly will—she must accomplish it either by force or by international agreement.

Let us first see what she can accomplish by force.

Neither by sea nor by air can she accomplish her object unless the attack is accompanied by strong military forces. Even a successful air attack on Constantinople would have little influence on the accomplishment of her object, and the same applies to any naval bombardment. Moreover, an oversea expedition across the Black Sea would be an extremely hazardous undertaking in the face of possible aerial, surface, and under-water attack, backed, as Turkey would undoubtedly be, by naval and air forces of other Powers. Even if a surprise landing were effected it would be almost impossible to maintain communications.

A military expedition, therefore, would have to take a land route, and there are two possible lines of approach—the Balkans and Anatolia. By whichever route Russia comes she is bound to find many nations ranging themselves on the side of Turkey to resist such a blow at international interests, always assuming that Turkey herself does not accept close alliance with Russia.

The old route, by the Balkans, is much the shortest and also the easiest as far as natural obstacles are concerned. Bessarabia, which Russia claims as hers, would offer no great difficulties, but Roumania has added greatly to her strength and now ranks as a second-rate Power. Bulgaria, too, is a fine fighting nation. Moreover, a fresh Balkan Entente, of which Turkey is a potential member, is beginning to take shape ; meetings of its members are constantly taking place in the respective capitals, and their mutual interests—seasoned, no doubt, with a profound distrust of Russian activities—are bringing the Balkan States ever closer together. Definite results are, however, likely to be delayed owing to the refusal of the victors in the late war to make any concession to Bulgaria.

And so we come, by way of the Caucasus, to the Anatolian way, a way that leads across the very heart of Turkey.

Let us first look at the Russo-Turkish frontier as it is today. In the interval following the Russian collapse of 1917 Turkey stretched out to the Caspian and joined hands with the States of Daghestan and Azerbaijan, both States with strong Turkish sympathies. Post-war vicissitudes caused a reluctant Turkish withdrawal, leaving the former of these States and part of the latter in Soviet Russia. In the latter State, also, is situated the all-important oil-port of Baku, with its pipeline to Batum. The districts of Kars and Ardahan, on the other hand, passed to Turkey; while Armenia, one of the oldest Christian countries in the world, has virtually disappeared, to the lasting disgrace of the Allied Powers, whose friendship proved more fatal than even Turkish hostility. A mere fragment remains on the Russian side of the frontier in what is now Soviet Armenia, with its capital at Erivan. The Russo-Turkish frontier now runs from just south of Batum to Astara on the Caspian, about 130 miles south of Baku.

Turkey.

And now as to Turkey. The Turkey of today has been shorn of her crippling Arab States—Syria, Palestine, Arabia and Iraq—and the surgical operation has left her stronger and more united. Turkey is now peopled, as the National Pact of 1920 laid down, by an Ottoman Moslem majority, united in religion, in race, and in aim. It is now a compact homogeneous State of some 400,000 square miles; its present population of 13,500,000 has room for expansion up to about 40,000,000 or more—that is, at the rate of 100 per square mile, which is approximately the density of Bulgaria.

Turkey has no Five Years' Plan, but she has an able and far-seeing ruler in the Ghazi Pasha, under whose guidance great changes are taking place. And behind the Ghazi stands an exceptionally able and clever Prime Minister, General Ismet Pasha, and a very capable C.G.S., Fevzi Pasha, at the head of the army, and some say the Ghazi's eventual successor.

Perhaps the most outstanding feature in Turkey today is the society known as the "Turc Ojaghi," or Turkish Hearth. This organization dates from 1912, and its aims have hitherto been cultural rather than political. Its objects are the culture of the home, the development of the children and youths; it embraces all questions of sanitation and hygiene, and aims generally at the elevation of the individual. It is easy to see how such an organization, well run and with branches in every town and village of the republic, must have an immense influence on the whole Turkish people, and not least on their fighting efficiency. Whether it will eliminate from the Turkish character those traits which found their worst expression in the Armenian massacres and the appalling treatment of our men who surrendered at Kut el Amara it is

hard to say, but there can be no doubt that its fine spirit is animating the whole nation. Largely, no doubt, as the result of this, the army is greatly improved. As always, it is very popular in the country; the soldier has lost that furtive, hang-dog look, and has developed his self-respect.

For some reason it has been decreed that the Turc Ojaghi is to be incorporated in the only real political party in Turkey, the People's Party; it is to be hoped that it will not thereby lose its humanizing influence.

Another great undertaking in Turkey is the twenty-five years' railway scheme: this was started in 1926, and aims to give Turkey a very complete railway system, useful alike for commercial and strategical purposes. Swedish material is employed, and the undertaking is backed by Swedish banks.*

But Turkey has been at war from 1912 to 1923, and the strain has been terrific. She needs rest and time to pull herself together before being called upon to face any further struggles.

Should events, however, force Russia, in spite of herself, to invade Anatolia so as to get at the Straits, Turkey would be hard put to it to prevent the passage of the Red Army across her mountains and plains in a single-handed struggle. But that here, also, she would not be single-handed seems fairly certain, so long as the League of Nations is a living force in European politics, again assuming that Turkey resisted rather than welcomed the invader.

As to the future, a well-known Turkish writer assures us that in form Turkey is bound to remain a republic; the traditional forces are so much discredited that the revival of the Sultanate is an impossibility. Turkey's face, she says, is resolutely set towards the future, and she quotes as her motto: "We come from the East; we go towards the West." In its economic system, she tells us, Turkey stands in desperate need of capital, and, moreover, Islam is not communistic. Islam, she says, in its recognition of the rights of man, emphasizes the right of property as its fundamental principle.†

But any movement by Turkey to the West must be cultural rather than geographical. It is in the highest degree improbable that she will ever again penetrate further into Europe than her present Adrianople boundary. And the question we have to ask ourselves is how far that cultural movement affects our problem. "It would," says a distinguished historian, "wholly accord with the paradox of Turkish history if the ultimate solution were to come, not from the ingenuity and wisdom of the West, but from the inextinguishable vitality of the Turk himself."‡

* For outline of railway scheme, see C.A.S.J., vol. xv., i.

† "Turkey Faces West," by Halide Edib, pp. 260-261.

‡ "The Eastern Question," by J. A. R. Marriott, pp. 540-541.

But the Turk "has been consistent only in inconsistency," and whether the reaction which is bound to follow the eventual withdrawal of the Ghazi Pasha from the scene will land the Turk back in his old capital and in his old crafty, cruel, and corrupt ways, or whether, on the other hand, the changes are lasting and permanent, it would be idle to speculate. In any case, the process of regeneration must be a long and difficult one.

Turkish-Russian Relations.

As regards the present relations between Turkey and Russia, these are largely governed by a Treaty of Neutrality and Non-aggression signed in December, 1925, and renewed in December, 1929, whereby each State guarantees neutrality in the event of military action against the other on the part of other countries, and also undertakes to refrain from any attack on the other, and not to participate in any alliance against the other. The treaty was originally a counterblast to Locarno, and its main provisions have been widely adopted in treaties between other contiguous countries. Consequently, the greater part of the Near and Middle East is now covered with a network of treaties based on the Soviet-Turkish model. These treaties raise many interesting points which need not detain us now, but in any case it is questionable whether they should be taken at their face value or whether there is not behind them an attempt to establish in the Near East a system of alliances of which Russia shall be the dominating partner.

On the naval side a protocol between Russia and Turkey was signed last March (*The Times*, March 10, 1931), whereby the two countries bind themselves not to construct any kind of warship destined to reinforce their respective fleets in the Black Sea or adjacent waters, and, generally, not to reinforce their fleets in those waters in any way without six months' notice. This is interesting in that it seems to show a desire for peace, but it is none the less very vague: Turkey has no fleet in the Black Sea, anyhow, and the "adjacent waters" may mean anything from the Sea of Azov to the Mediterranean. In any case, the weak naval forces of both Powers would, as we have seen, have little direct influence on any struggle for the guardianship of the Straits. That struggle must, as I have tried to show, be primarily a military one, the Navy and the Air Force rendering great assistance on interior lines of communication, reconnaissance, and so forth.

A similar treaty of friendship and neutrality between Turkey and Greece was signed at Angora on October 30, 1930 (exactly twelve years after the signing of the Armistice), by M. Venizelos and the Turkish Foreign Minister. The naval *status quo* is guaranteed, each party promising six months' notice of any intention to build new naval units. The treaty also provides for the neutrality of either party in the event of the other being attacked.

All well-wishers of better relations between these two hereditary foes must feel genuinely glad at this sign of better things. Since Greece, at the bidding of the Allies and the United States, embarked on that Smyrna adventure, she has reaped a bitter reward. Her debacle in 1922 "dissipated the dream of a revived Byzantine Empire with its capital once more on the Bosphorus," and now she is devoting her energies to putting her house in order.

For the purposes of our problem, therefore, she does not come very much into the picture, but she is too virile a nation and her people too clever and businesslike to be excluded for any great length of time from Near East problems.

The Future of the Straits.

Such, then, is the kaleidoscopic picture which presents itself to Europe's eyes when she looks eastward at that narrow strip of water so fraught with danger and intrigue, which for over five hundred years has done more than any other one thing to endanger the peace of the world.

Having now reviewed the whole situation, and assuming that Russia does not decide to use force in its solution, we must ask ourselves: "What is the immediate problem of the Straits, and how is that problem to be solved?"

Essentially, I submit, the problem is twofold.

1. That there shall be free passage through the Straits for all commercial vessels and aircraft to and from the ports of the Black Sea at all times and in all circumstances. In short, the Freedom of the Straits.

2. That the passage of warships and military aircraft into and out of the Black Sea shall be so regulated that no hostile act can be committed in the Straits or in the Black Sea which will jeopardize the Freedom of the Straits or the security of Littoral Powers of the Black Sea.

Into these two conditions the future of Constantinople does not necessarily enter. Even at Sévres, and still more at Lausanne, any idea of turning the Turk out of Europe had been abandoned. Greece's claim is at present impossible of realization, while today—more than ever—Russia has no real need of the city itself.

It would seem, then, that the conditions of the problem can only be met when the control of the Straits—the custody of the key to the Black Sea—is in the hands of some Power or Powers able to guarantee these two conditions.

Who is qualified for the task of guarantor?

I suggest there are four alternatives, all of them dependent on the continued existence in some form or other of the League of Nations:

(1) A control by a condominium of the Littoral Black Sea States, with headquarters at Constantinople, under the League of Nations.

(2) Sole charge by Turkey under stringent guarantees to the League of Nations.

(3) A continuance of the present Straits Commission under the League of Nations.

(4) The transfer of the League of Nations itself from Geneva to the shores of the Bosphorus.

With regard to (1), this alternative has in time past been urged by at least one close student of events.*

It would have the advantage of giving to Russia and the Black Sea States a greater degree of security concerning this "key to their house"; it is urged that aviation has diminished the political and strategic importance of the Straits, and that this new factor should make it easier for the other Powers to recognize the special interests of Russia and the other Black Sea States, and thus to establish in this part of the world the normal conditions essential to the maintenance of a durable peace.

As against this, neither Russia nor Turkey are at present members of the League of Nations, and, moreover, the trade of the Black Sea is the interest of many nations other than those situated on its borders. Nevertheless, the proposal has its possibilities, as we shall see.

As regards (2), the picture I have endeavoured to draw of Turkey speaks for itself. Everything depends on her future development, and he would be a bold man indeed who would assert that a return to an undisputed Turkish control of the Straits could be in the best interests either of Turkey herself or of the world in general.

As regards (3), its weak point lies in the fact that, as we have seen, there is no executive power on the spot to enforce its authority. The League of Nations, to which it reports, is at the other end of Europe, pressed and besieged by urgent questions of all kinds demanding decision. It is true that an offending nation might render herself liable to drastic coercion under Article XVI. of the Covenant of the League by all members of the League, or, alternatively, by the great naval Powers; but a unanimous verdict of the Council naming the offender would be necessary—by no means an easy matter, especially in the case where instant decision and action are essential to prevent a check in the flow of trade. This difficulty might to some extent be got over by

(4) *Viz.*, the transfer of the habitat of the League itself from neutral-tinted Geneva to world-important Constantinople, the site chosen by Constantine the Great for the capital of his Eastern Empire, the meeting-place of East and West, the centre, surely—if there is one

* *Vide* "Glimpses of High Policy," by M. Tcharykow, pp. 278-279.

—of the world's affairs. Whether the roots of the League are now too deeply embedded in Swiss soil it is hard to say; but such a view-point would at least give it a better general, because more distant, picture of the complicated European tangles and a clearer outlook on world affairs as a whole.

Moreover, it would help the League to free itself from the charge, often brought against it, of concerning itself chiefly with the affairs of Western European nations.

It would be a moral rather than a physical solution, and, as at present, armed force in the form of some executive authority would be necessary to put the League's decisions into effect. In years to come, and should the situation in Russia become more normal and more stabilized, that executive authority might be vested in the Littoral States of the Black Sea, as outlined in my first alternative, but for the present at least it must remain in the hands of the Powers nominated by the Treaty of Lausanne.

Mr. PHILIP GRAVES: There were some points in the lecture that I should like to refer to. Of course there is one place where we are up against the unknown: nearly every student of Russian affairs seems to have a different theory as to how that country will develop, and a general study of Russian life, which is more important than the state of the Five Years' Plan, gives one a picture of young Russians growing up with an idea of their mission. I should say these people are likely to explode against their rulers if their rulers do not show value. If these people do not get the world revolution they have been brought up to believe in, they will ask: "Why all these hardships?"

There is another point of interest—the connection of the Black Sea basin with the Russian problem. At present Persia is very dependent for her trade on the goodwill of Russia, and on the security of the caravan route which comes out on the Black Sea at Trebizond. Is it not conceivable we shall have a rather important change in the next few years when the pipe-line has been carried across from the oil-field near Mosul to the Mediterranean? I take it the pipe-line will have to be accompanied by a railway; and it is surely very probable that the Persians, who are very slowly constructing a railway out of revenue, will realize that it may possibly pay them better to link up with the Mediterranean by way of Mosul, and for certain classes of traffic to become, as they are not now, independent of Russia. I think that is a point that is of great interest and importance for the near future.

As to the Volga and Black Sea connection Russia has very large resources, and one sees no reason why they should not link the two seas, and then perhaps link up the Caspian to the Aral Sea by the old

channel of the Oxus. A despotic country, with an enormous amount of cheap labour and forced labour at its disposal, can do a great deal in that way. As to the mechanics of it, I take it they could for a long time draw on German and American brains.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Telford Waugh has had a long experience of Turkish affairs, and we should be glad to have a few remarks from him.

Sir TELFORD WAUGH: It is eighteen months since I left Turkey, so I am not really in a position to say what is going on in the country today, but I have heard lately, and I have it on good authority, that there is talk of a secret understanding between Turkey, Germany, and Russia. Although the relations between the Turks and the Germans during the war were very bad, the Turks resenting the German bullying and the Germans loathing the Turkish incompetence, yet since the Armistice the Germans, with their usual patient, methodical work, have begun to get an influence again. The Ghazi Pasha himself was very angry with Germany and could not stand the Germans during the war, but I think that hostility has largely died out, and the truth is that German influence today is stronger in Turkey than any other European influence. The railways that Sir Richard Webb spoke about as being constructed by Swedish banks are really being constructed with German money; Germans are behind the Swedes.

In Turkey you find Germans all over the country, engineers and mechanics, picking up jobs here and there, and living under conditions which an Englishman would not put up with. The German Embassy has been quietly working. The German Ambassador told me before I left: "We have lost the old colony we had, the well-to-do merchants; now we have a colony of poor people, but they are there—in numbers." It is quite possible, I think, that this idea of a secret understanding may be true. The Turks, I think, are quite alive to the danger of Russia; even though the Russian Empire has disappeared, they know the danger will grow again. But I think they would feel much more comfortable in making arrangements with Russia if they knew Germany was with Russia; it would rather take off the edge of the danger for them, and I think that is a point that should be borne in mind—the possibility of an agreement between Germany, Russia, and Turkey, by which Russia would have what she wanted in the Straits. As far as the control of the Straits goes that would remain in Turkish hands, but Russia would have freedom of egress and entrance.

I also have read lately that interesting book by Mr. Tcharykow, the pre-war Russian Ambassador in Turkey, who came back after the war as an exile and recently died. The book was published shortly after his death, and is called "Glimpses of High Politics." He lays it down that Russia really did not want Constantinople even before the war. Constantinople would be of no use to her, and it is to her interest to keep

the Turk there, and if the Turk is kept there I think he is quite prepared to allow Russia to have her say.

LORD LAMINGTON: I agree with the remarks made by the last speaker. Russia could only want the freedom of the Straits for the purpose of commerce or for an attack on other people. At present Russia is absolutely invulnerable, and whatever policy one takes up one cannot attack Russia with any chance of defeating her. She can undertake any policy she likes in any part of the world. If it fails she retreats. I regret I was too late to hear the remarks of the lecturer on the Soviet Plan or as to the obsession in Russia about an attack from outside. Is that not done to stimulate the people to martial ardour? Russia's policy is to try to establish Soviet Government and make it universal; if she fails in that undertaking I should think it more than likely she will endeavour to make some attack outside. The position seems very vague, and it would be a remarkable person who would be able to prognosticate the future of European politics. As to the railway across Persia, north to south, I do not really think it will ever be accomplished. Persia's agreement with an American syndicate to build the railway having failed, she now tries to construct it herself at a cost of one million pounds a year. As the estimate is twenty millions, this would mean a cost of forty millions or thereabouts altogether.

THE CHAIRMAN: We should all desire to thank Sir Richard Webb for an extraordinarily interesting lecture. It is scarcely surprising that the Admiral should be a master of the subject seeing that he was Acting High Commissioner in Constantinople after the war and head of the Naval Commission to Greece, besides holding high commissions in the Navy; he has familiarized himself with the subject on which he has been talking. I agree with Mr. Graves that it is very possible the explosion may come in Russia earlier than we anticipate; I think the Soviet rulers are active abroad, but they are up against something even more formidable when they try to organize the mujiks and the workmen of Russia on an economic basis, and if they do not attain their aims we may get military movements or a collapse in Russia.

But my duty now is only to thank the Admiral on your behalf for a wonderfully interesting lecture and for a study which will provoke us all to take a renewed interest in this question in the light which he has brought before us. (Applause.)

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE AND TRANS-BORDER COUNTRY UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION*

By J. COATMAN

I KNOW there are some people here who have a very profound acquaintance with the North-West Frontier and North-West Frontier affairs, so if I deal with some elementary matters for the benefit of those whose knowledge is not so complete, I hope these few will forgive me. Now, the title of my address, "The North-West Frontier Province and Trans-border Country under the New Constitution," needs, perhaps, a little explanation, because, to begin with, the new constitution is not yet in force, and we do not quite know what it will be when it comes into force; and altogether what I think I had better do is to try to give you as accurate a picture as I can of the circumstances of the Frontier and its people, and some account of the forces which are at work in that extraordinarily interesting but strangely little-known part of the world.

Of course, the question of the North-West Frontier and its trans-border in the new situation is part of a very much wider subject—namely, the whole political future of India. But the North-West Frontier as part of the problem is of peculiar and vital interest, because the North-West Frontier, as it happens, is one of the few spots on the earth's surface where we, the British, if I may use a homely metaphor, can take a knock-out blow. It is like the solar plexus or the point of the jaw in a boxer: if he gets a blow there he is knocked out. The question of the North-West Frontier in the reforms is thus bound to be not only of interest, but of painful and vital interest to us.

Now, let us look for a moment at what the Frontier is. The word "frontier" itself needs a certain amount of definition. To a Frontier

* Delivered by Professor J. Coatman on March 25, 1931. General Sir George Barrow was in the Chair.

Opening the meeting, the CHAIRMAN said: "Professor Coatman is now going to speak to us on a subject which I suppose he knows more about than anybody in England or in the world. He has studied the subject from A to Z, and was attached to the Round Table Conference. I think most of you know Professor Coatman, if not personally, by reputation, so I will not go into the formality of introducing him to you, but will ask him to begin his lecture straight away."

officer the word "frontier" does not conjure up any idea of the definite line of a scientific frontier. We think of the whole of the great mass of territory between the Indus and the other side of the Sulaiman range of mountains going from Chitral down to the borders of Baluchistan—which for our purposes is not in the North-West Frontier—that is, six or seven hundred miles of a tangled mass of mountains, with a good deal of level ground between the Indus and the mountains in the south of the Frontier Province, and in odd valleys and places, such as Peshawar and Kohat districts, and others. For the most part the typical Frontier country is the Sulaiman Hills, which run up in the south to 11,000 feet high.

Strictly speaking, there are two frontiers in that territory. There is the so-called administrative border, which divides the five regularly administered districts of the North-West Frontier Province from the tribal territory, which, for all practical purposes, may be said to be comprised in the Sulaiman Hills. Now, the hills again are divided from Afghanistan by what we call the Durand line. In 1894 Sir Mortimer Durand delimited the frontier of this tribal territory from Afghanistan. These hills, the tribal territory, although not administered by us as we administer the ordinary districts of the Frontier Province, is nevertheless part of the greater India.

The tribal territory lies within the British and not the Afghan sphere of influence, and the British Government's policy towards it has, since 1921, been definitely directed towards introducing there some of the blessings of peace, order, and education. This policy has received its most striking manifestations in Waziristan, where the location of a cantonment at Razmak, and the building of mechanical transport roads, have begun the process of pacification, which, we hope, will be completed and consolidated before many years are past. This policy should, in the end, remove the age-old menace from the north-west, and make the Frontier hills and Frontier men the guardians of India instead of her constant danger. So that is what we think of when we talk about the Frontier, this great mass of mountain country, with valleys here and there, running from away in the far north right down to the borders of Baluchistan.

Now I will deal very summarily with the Peshawar and other districts. There is nothing to be said about these for the moment except that they are regularly administered, subject to one or two peculiar laws, just like any other district. You must not think that the administrative border divides the five settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province absolutely from the tribes. It does not. There is a good deal of connection between them. Certain tribes, the Mohmands, Wazirs, Bhattanis, and others, actually straddle the borders, part of the tribes living in our districts and part in tribal territory.

There is a good deal of intermarriage amongst people on both sides of the border, and of course there is a good deal of travelling to and fro between the tribal tracts and the British districts by people of our side and their side, and those of us who have been in places like Peshawar city know how very large are the numbers of tribesmen who go down to India and how there are many points of contact between our territory and the tribes.

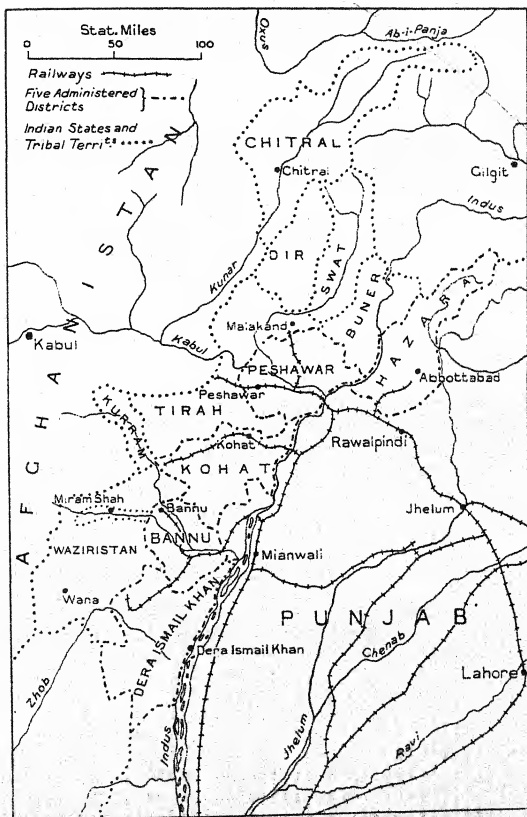
Next look at the tribal country. If you get a really big-scale map of the tribal country you will see the names of the main tribes marked on that map—the Swatis and Afridis, and so on and so forth—and each tribe has its own more or less definitely defined piece of hill country. There are odd disputes about grazing grounds, but normally the tribes stick to their own parts of the hills, marrying for the most part in their own tribe; in fact, each tribe is a little fairly self-contained polity. Nevertheless, as we have found on occasions in the past, there is a clear sense of unity, when occasion arises, between all these tribes. In 1897 we had perhaps the most spectacular demonstration of this fact; for a time from north to south, right away from Swat in the north down to Waziristan in the south, we had most of the tribes on our hands at the same time. That is a picture we have to remember.

Lastly, there is a good deal of touch between the tribesmen of the tribal tracts and Afghanistan. Again, certain of the tribes straddle the Durand line, and certain of the tribes, particularly when they think they can make trouble for us by doing so, are very eager to accept the suzerainty and protection of the King of Afghanistan. The whole of this Frontier tract thus in a way forms one nexus. You can get currents of opinion going right through that tract. I remember how surprised I was when I first discovered this fact, when I was in one of the tribal militias. In the tribal militias we live in forts in the hills with our men, so we get to know our people fairly well, and I know from experience how strangely responsive tribesmen are to what is happening in India, and often I have received news of what is happening in India from tribesmen before I have got it in the usual way or seen it in the newspapers. I have known this time after time. On the Afghanistan side you see the same thing; you see the great interest shown by these tribesmen in what is happening in India. During the war, when the Kaiser sent his famous letter to the Amir, long before our people knew what was in that letter we were told about it by certain of our Sepoys who happened to meet people who had actually spoken to the custodians of the letter. If there is any break in this continuity it comes away in the north, where you get the small kingdoms.

I have taken some trouble to bring out the fact of the solidarity, so to speak, of the whole of this area, because it has very definite bearing on our problem.

Having seen what the Frontier is and something of the possibilities of political homogeneity in this great mass of territory, let us turn more specifically to the North-West Province itself and to its government. As you all know, the North-West Province was till 1901 the frontier of the Punjab. The separation of these five districts from the Punjab was part of Lord Curzon's masterly frontier policy. In 1901 politics in India were of no importance, and so we had an absolutely free hand to do what we liked with the frontier, and we certainly gave the Frontier Province a constitution which made it quite safe both for us and the people who lived there; and the constitution, the political arrangements, of the North-West Province have not changed in the least since 1901, with the small exception of the introduction of election in the Peshawar Municipality—not a very important reform. That is also another factor in the situation, that since 1901 there has been no change in the constitution of the Frontier Province. Its civil administration is entirely in the hands of the Chief Commissioner and his officers. There is no question of any Legislative Council, of any direct power of interference being vested in the people of that province; and if anybody really wants to understand the spirit of the government of the North-West Frontier Province, if he really wants to see how absolutely official it is, let him take the Frontier Crimes Regulations Act, which is the keynote of the Frontier Administration, and he will see there how all power is firmly vested in the hands of the British officers.

Since 1901 many things have happened in India. There have been two first-class measures of reforms, namely the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1908 and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Now, by each of these reforms important changes were introduced into the government of the Punjab, especially by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. I need not weary you by telling you the details of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, but you can imagine that changes of first-class importance such as this could hardly happen in the Punjab without their repercussions being felt in the North-West Province. And here again I should explain that there is a good deal of touch between the North-West Province and the Punjab. For example, on the western side of the Indus—the side, that is, on which the Frontier Province (with the exception of the Hazara District) is situated—there is a part of the Mianwali District of the Punjab. Certain Pathan tribes live in this district, and in certain parts of it some sections of the Frontier Crimes Regulations are in force; similarly in the Dera Ghazi Khan, Attock and Mozaffargarh districts of the Punjab. So there again you get the Western Punjab also drawn into this great nexus. Therefore these political changes which have taken place in the Punjab, accompanied by a tremendous stirring of political opinion, have produced their effects on the North-West Frontier also.



Now, apart from the military operations which have been undertaken since 1901, the history of the North-West Frontier Province has been, on the whole, peaceful. I can think of only one great upheaval, and that was the Khilafat agitation which came to its head in the autumn of 1920, when for a time there was certainly a very grave situation in certain parts of the Frontier Province; but that agitation on the North-West Frontier was a religious agitation, an agitation against the Turkish Peace Treaty, which Mohammedans regarded as a direct attack on Islam. It had not any political basis, as we understand the word "politics."

Nevertheless, before 1920 a political life of a rudimentary kind, and for various reasons necessarily cautious and concealed—a political life of a sort—had come into existence. And you can understand why it was so. Apart from the reforms in other parts of India, all this time we had been educating a large number of the people of the Frontier Province, and not only them but certain tribesmen, particularly the sons of the Khans and the chiefs up in the north; and the educated youth of the Province, there is not the least doubt, have for years proved responsive to the influences coming from the east.

Now, as I say, these developments of a political life on the Frontier did not come to the surface until after the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and the inauguration of the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Punjab Legislative Council. Speech in those bodies being privileged, the persons interested in the introduction of political reforms into the Frontier were able to ventilate their ideas, and those of you who ever have occasion to look at the debates of the Legislative Assembly will see how from 1921 onwards, year after year, there are regular debates on this subject. Mohammedan members introduce measures into the Legislative Assembly asking for this or that measure of reform.

In 1922 the Government of India decided that it would see what could be done in the matter of reform for the Frontier, and it formed a Committee under Sir Denys Bray, the Foreign Secretary, certainly the best man for the task. Sir Denys Bray, with another British colleague and two Hindu and two Mohammedan members, toured the whole Frontier in 1922 making inquiries, and then made a report. The British and the Mohammedans agreed and wrote the majority report, and the two Hindus wrote a minority report. Sir Denys Bray, Sir Norman Bolton, and their Mohammedan colleagues decided that in view of the peculiar circumstances it was not possible to do anything but maintain the tract as an area under the absolute control of the Government of India. Nevertheless, they admitted the genuineness and the strength of the desire for some changes, and they recommended a very cautious measure of reforms, particularly in regard

to the judiciary and in regard to election instead of nomination for local bodies.

The Hindus, on the other hand, said the five districts of the Frontier Province should be amalgamated with the Punjab, and the trans-border tracts should be left with the Government of India. Nothing was done on the Bray Report, and for various reasons, chiefly the communal reason. With the prospect of something being done, the old communal difficulties immediately flared up, as they are flaring up at the present moment, and the Punjab Hindus, who had pressed very strongly for the amalgamation of the Frontier districts of the Province, gradually began to cool off, for it dawned on them that if this was done the Mohammedans would be in a still more overwhelming majority in the Punjab than before, and they could not help holding the balance of power. So this idea of re-joining the Frontier districts to the Punjab gradually faded into oblivion, and nobody recommends it now.

It is a very striking thing that all through these debates in the Legislative Assembly there has always been this cleavage between Hindus and Mohammedans. From time to time they have seemed to be about to agree on the subject of the Frontier Province, but always in the end they have found themselves unable to agree.

Well, now, another element in bringing about the growth of political life in the North-West Frontier Province has been the presence, in Peshawar particularly, of a wing of Hindu extremists, accompanied by a few Mohammedans professing the Congress doctrine, and from time to time these men have had considerable influence among their people on the Frontier. They had a good deal to do with the actual organization of the trouble in the Peshawar District last year, but, as I have been trying to show, they could not have done what they did had the way not been prepared for them by the existence and previous working of definitely political influences and aspirations among the people of the Frontier Province, who for years past have been chafing bitterly against the inferiority of their political status as compared with that of the inhabitants of the Punjab and other parts of India.

Anyhow, the Frontier Congress men have been a very strong factor in the growth of political life of the North-West Frontier Province, as such men have been in every country in the world throughout historical times. Also there is the trans-border influence—men, for example, like the Haji of Turangzai, of whom there are always a few across the border helping everything that has an anti-British tinge, men with a tremendous influence among their co-religionists, whose influence has been at work from the old days, from 1860 onwards.

I have gone at some length into these matters because even today some find it very difficult to say why any reforms should be given to the

Frontier Province. You find people who know the Frontier Province quite well, and who speak with authority, who deny that there is any general desire for political change. But I want you to understand that these forces have been working for years and must have produced very strong reactions among the people. And here again, speaking from personal knowledge, I know how, when I was stationed in Peshawar, I was struck by the interest of the young men at places like the Edwards College and the Islamia College—both of them colleges of the Punjab University—in politics, and their desire that their Province also should have a political life. I first knew these young men twelve or fifteen years ago, and since then undoubtedly a great development of political life has taken place. And those of you, again, who read the account of the disturbances in Peshawar last year will have been struck with the suddenness with which the trouble arose, the way in which the Red Shirts seemed to spring out of the ground as if by magic. It was not magic at all. There has been for years a good deal of agitation going on beneath the surface. Now, so far, the Province has not produced any eminent politician. The only leaders of these Frontier people, even of the districts, are their own Khans. But the Khans themselves are divided on this subject of reforms for the North-West Frontier Province. A few of them undoubtedly oppose any measure of reforms because they see in reforms the destruction of their own power. But, again speaking from personal knowledge, I know that the majority of the Khans, certainly in the most advanced district of the Province, Peshawar, do think that reforms, as near as possible to the Punjab model, are necessary in order to absorb all this floating discontent in the Province which shows itself occasionally, as last year, in a violent outbreak.

Now that, briefly, was the situation in which we were placed at the Round Table Conference. It might be thought that it is perfectly easy to give the same reforms to the Frontier Province as to the Punjab; why should we not do it? There are many good reasons why we should not, and the first reason is the one I mentioned to you at the beginning of my address—namely, the position of the North-West Frontier and its importance from the point of view of defence and foreign relations. And on the Frontier even the ordinary process of government, the police and the building of roads, cannot be looked upon in quite the same way as in other parts of India, because, after all, the North-West Frontier Province is the terrain in which our armies might have to operate in case of war. We cannot play fast and loose with that territory. Even the ordinary processes of government, the building of roads and the administration of police, are not the same there as elsewhere, because the police, the Frontier constabulary and militias, are all part of the defence organization, and even the civil police cannot be left to the unrestrained charge of any Minister, however able, how-

ever loyal he may be, who is going to be controlled by a Legislative Council, because the strength of a chain, after all, is its weakest link and the police are very definitely part of the chain.

Let us take any border section of country. Suppose for a moment that the police were in politics, and that there was a Khan thereabout who wanted to "down" the Minister in charge of the police. Knowing the mentality of these men, one knows it would be easy to plan repeated raids into British territory, which could be carried out with a reasonable degree of impunity, and which would thoroughly discredit the Minister in charge of the police. Another thing that might happen is this. You have got to remember that these Khans, who are rulers of the people still, are what we call in the vernacular very "ziddi." In some cases there are bitter feuds among them. If one of the Khans were head of the police, all sorts of attempts inside the Province itself would be made to break down the police administration in order to discredit him. I am not putting it too extremely. I am myself convinced of the necessity for the fullest measure of political reforms in India, but those of us who have lived on this frontier, and particularly those of us who have served in bodies like the militias and the Frontier constabulary, know that in the quietest time there is a constant pressure on the defence. Somewhere or other it is being tested. Not even in the quietest time dare you run any risk with any part of your defence force.

And the same thing has to be said with regard to roads. You cannot have the precious money which you need for roads spent on all sorts of unnecessary projects, having no connection whatever with the defensive system. The building of roads and bridges and all that sort of thing must still be kept firmly in the hands of the people responsible for defence.

Here then I have given you these one or two examples to show you how difficult the problem is in regard to this frontier. On the one side we have got undoubtedly a genuine desire for political reforms. On the other side we have got genuine reasons why we dare not go the whole length to grant that legitimate desire. And there is another thing that we have got to remember in this connection. You remember what I said about the Frontier Province, the trans-border tract forming the one nexus. That is true. It is administratively impossible to separate the government of the North-West Frontier Province from the control of those tribal tracts. They have got to be in one and the same hand. And there, again, you are up against a very big question indeed in dealing with the tribes. You are up against external relations, foreign relations; it may mean trouble with Afghanistan or trouble with countries farther west. This is another reason why we have got to watch very carefully every step we take in regard to the reforms in the Frontier Province.

I will not deal with the communal side of the matter, for most of us here are fairly well acquainted with it. Naturally the 5 or 6 per cent. of Hindus on the Frontier feel that if the Frontier Province gets a form of government like the Punjab they will be at the mercy of the 95 per cent. of Mohammedans, and their co-religionists elsewhere stand by them in this attitude. However, we will assume all that. These were among the considerations which had to be present in the minds of our people when this question came up at the Round Table Conference. As you know, we had a special Committee of the Round Table Conference to deal with the matter, and the report of that Committee is now available. It occupies only about two pages of a quarto Blue Book, and most of those two pages is taken up with the remark that each of the various subjects under discussion is a matter for examination later on by an expert Committee. Nevertheless, certain broad lines were laid down. The case for reform on the Frontier was fought with very great ability and great pertinacity by Sir Abdul Qaiyum, a famous servant of the Government, and a man for whom everybody has great respect. It went against the grain of every British member of that Committee to refuse anything to Sir Abdul Qaiyum, but nevertheless they had to do it. My own private opinion is that nobody else would have got as much as he got. These external relations weighed with the Committee, and any scheme of reforms had to come within the framework of these absolutely rigid conditions, which we were not prepared to break in any way or at any point. So it was decided that the Frontier Province and the tribal tracts should be each treated on their own merits. It was decided that the Frontier Province should become a Governor's Province—that is to say, when the new reforms come in the North-West Frontier Province will have a Government—a Legislative Council and two Ministers—but the Council and the Ministers shall have no say in the administration of the tribal tracts. Those remain administered by the Governor himself, subject to the final control of the Central Government.

Then with regard to the Ministers. As you know, the Ministers under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (and it will certainly be the case under the next reforms) are elected members of the Legislative Council, chosen because they command a majority of the Council. There again we could not go to that length on the Frontier. Two Ministers certainly, but the proviso is that at least one of them shall be an elected member, so it is open to the Governor to choose an official for the other; and of course at first, at any rate, he is likely to do so.

Then with regard to the Council: it was decided that the Legislative Council on the Frontier should be a uni-cameral body. Those of you who followed the Round Table Conference and read the Simon Report

will know that in the Legislative Council of the future the old official bloc, which has been one of the savings of the old system—I speak as a former member of the official bloc in the Indian Legislative Assembly, and perhaps I am biased—that official bloc in the Legislative Councils which has been a great source of strength to the administration, and to the functioning of the reforms, is to go. There will be no official bloc in the Indian legislative bodies under the next reforms.

So much for the Government and Ministers and Legislative Council. The next question is, what about the separation of subjects of administration between the Province and the Government of India? There, again, the Committee have walked very warily; they have laid nothing down except the one very wide and, I think, very sound proposition that those subjects of administration shall be regarded as central under the new reforms—that is, under the control of the Government of India, which obviously have an all-India importance; that gives us a wide range and certainly brings defence and the militias and constabulary under the control of the Governor and the Government of India and not of the Legislative Council and the Ministers.

Next arises the question of the subjects of administration which were to be declared provincial, and here great attention was given to the question of law and order. I have pointed out its intimate connection with defence, and the danger of anything that might lead to a breakdown. So from the first it was insisted upon, and not only by the British delegation but by others, that bodies like the militia and the Frontier constabulary should not be under the control of the Ministers, but should remain central subjects, under the control of the Governor and the Government of India. But the civil police, it was decided, should be made a provincial subject. But I do not think that means we are running any undue risk, because remember what I said about only one of the two Ministers being an elected member of the Council; the other may be an official, and this means that the Governor will be able to call on an experienced official if he thinks it necessary. He may, of course, not think it necessary.

I do not want you to think for a moment that any of these remarks are intended to reflect on the men who will be the Indian Ministers of the future. I have always maintained that in the Western Punjab and the Frontier you get the best breed of men in all India. There is not the least doubt that the Ministers of the Frontier Province will be a model and pattern of their kind. They will be men with very great natural powers of administration. The men in that part of the world make excellent administrators. They will be thoroughly sound, there is not the least doubt, and they will act up to the very best lights they possess. But the whole difficulty will be the lack of experience and the consequent danger that pressure from the Council might lead, not to anything

dishonest, but to mistakes due to inexperience. So it is only common sense to say that the police, at any rate at first, should be under the control of the Minister whom the Governor will nominate.

And lastly, the only other thing I need mention is this. It has been laid down quite clearly that the Governor of the future is to be the real Governor of the Province. He is to be the mainspring and the final power in the Government, and it is suggested that he, in contradistinction to the practice in the rest of India, will preside at the meetings of his own Cabinet.

Those are the main points in the plan of settlement. We are now to have an expert Committee, probably more than one, on the subject, and things like the franchise have not yet been settled; but that in brief is the outline of the scheme which will come into operation, and I hope you will agree with me that it is not going to be a dangerous thing. Our delegates at the Round Table Conference did all they possibly could to give the fullest measure of reform compatible with safety, and I certainly, from my own experience, on and across the Frontier, believe that this is a perfectly sound scheme; and also I hope I have said enough to convince you that in going forward and in agreeing to reforms for the Frontier of this character we have not just been driven by sentiment, or egged on, or nagged on. I hope I have made that clear. (Applause.)

General A. JACOB: From my experience on the North-West Frontier I would like to say the lecturer has very rightly laid stress on the problem of defence. It is just as well to remember from which direction all the invasions of India have come—all have come from the north-west, and they go back to Alexander the Great, over two thousand years ago. Till we took over the responsibility for the defence of the country no invasion ever failed. That is a point worth remembering. There is this huge mass of mountains along the Frontier, only penetrated by five passes, the Khyber, the Kuram, the Tochi, the Gumal and the Bolan. There is a railway now through the Bolan and the Khyber Passes and through another of the passes. In the Gumal there is no metalled road, and it is rather difficult to take an army through there. A great many people are under the impression that a frontier of huge mountains is a very strong frontier, but it is not. The strongest frontier is a desert. A mountain frontier can be made very strong provided you have good lateral communications; unless your lateral communications are very good, and you can send troops along the border to any threatened point with supplies and ammunition, the mountain frontier may be a weak one in case of an attack.

We have to be responsible for the defence of India in case of an attack, and we cannot leave it to anybody else. The trouble is that these Indian politicians know nothing of defence, and it does not seem

to interest them. I was talking to a member of the Punjab Council, a very keen Swarajist, and I said, "How are you going to maintain the internal security of India? In the event of serious trouble between Mohammedans and Hindus: what are you going to do?" He said, "Call out the troops." I said, "What troops?" He said, "British." I said, "What about the defence of India from outside aggression? Have you ever thought about that?" And I told him about no invasion having failed in the past for over two thousand years before we took over the defence. I asked, "What do you propose to do about that?" There was no answer to the question. You may say, "With whom are we going to fight?" All countries are sick of fighting now, but it does not mean that in thirty or forty years there will not be fighting.

There is one thing these tribesmen insist on in the officers who deal with them, and that is straight dealing. Amongst themselves it is a different matter, but the last thing they expect is crooked dealing from a British officer, and quite right too. You have got to pick your men and have good British officers as political agents all along this border who will have to deal with these tribes. A thing apt to be forgotten is that one of the first qualifications in the political officer in dealing with these people is not brains; the first qualification is that he should be a gentleman. I do not mean necessarily by birth; I mean in his standard of conduct. (Applause.)

Professor J. COATMAN: I am grateful to General Jacob for following up my remarks with his military knowledge. I am in agreement practically with nearly everything he says, except on the subject of political officers. Some of the finest officers we have had have not been British. I look to that particular part of India for a supply of very good administrators, not only for their own part of India but for other parts. Take a department like the Police, where it is absolutely essential to have not only brains, though they are useful, but character and courage as well. My own personal experience is that the most successful Indian police officers are two or three who have come from the Frontier and the Punjab, and one is in command of the constabulary at one point. I was talking to a soldier the other day, and he mentioned that this particular man is thoroughly popular and is trusted by his own men and by others. With that little *caveat* I agree with most of what General Jacob has said.

The CHAIRMAN: I have only one or two remarks to make regarding Professor Coatman's lecture. He referred to the Municipal Committee at Peshawar; and it only shows how extraordinarily difficult this question of having a Legislative Council in the North-West Frontier Province is. When the municipal election took place at Peshawar the ballot was supposed to be secret, but afterwards everybody said whom they had voted for, the opposing parties proceeded to attack each other, and serious

trouble was only stopped just in time. I suppose that will be the case when there are the other elections ; but you must have a beginning.

There are one or two other difficulties about the Province which Professor Coatman did not allude to, though he knows them better than I do. For instance, the North-West Frontier Province is a deficit Province ; it does not pay its way. I do not know how it will work when it is a Government Province.

The LECTURER : That is one of the things left over.

The CHAIRMAN : Whatever opinion we may have about reforms, if you are going to give reforms to India, you must give *some* reforms to the North-West Frontier Province. They are the very finest class of people. To refuse them altogether would not be fair or politic, because though we must for strategical reasons keep control over that province, it would be far worse for the whole Province to be seething with discontent when trouble arose.

I have heard Professor Coatman speak on several occasions, and I have never come away without learning a great deal, and I say on this occasion I have learned a lot ; I am sure we all have, and we are very grateful to him. (Applause.)

CHINA : WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HER TRANSPORT PROBLEMS*

BY MR. SIDNEY MAYERS

THE kind invitation I received to speak on the subject of China was modified at my own suggestion. I was allowed to choose a particular phase of the general subject—namely, the transportation facilities in that country, with special reference to railways. My choice was made for the following reasons : in the first place, it is evident that British trade with China must depend very largely for its expansion upon the means of communication with the interior of the country. For her own purposes of domestic trade the primitive means of transport by road and water-way satisfied requirements well enough so long as the social and economic conditions of the country remained static, but as changes came during the second half of the nineteenth century as the result of Western influences, the lack of modern means of communication was soon found to be a serious obstruction in the way of trade expansion. The cost of moving goods, whether imports or exports, added charges heavy enough to render any speedy development in the volume of trade impossible.

Secondly, the stimulus which eventually resulted in the introduction of some measure of improvement in the means of communication, by the construction of railways, was originally applied by our own countrymen. The disturbance of China politically, socially, and economically, which was occasioned by the introduction of railways, as well as the benefits accruing therefrom, thus had its origin in the activities of our energetic predecessors in the field of trade with China. Moreover, these activities led ultimately to the investment of much British money in the construction of railways, so reasons are not wanting to support the view that the subject of Chinese railways—remote as it sounds—should be of considerable interest to people in this country.

* Lecture given on April 22, 1931. In the absence of the Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd, Sir Harry Fox presided.

The CHAIRMAN : I imagine that Mr. Mayers must be well known to most people in this room, but for the sake of those who do not know him I should like to say that he has been for many years in China, and has had the almost unique advantage of spending part of his time as a British Government official and part as a representative of a great British commercial enterprise. Therefore he has been able to look at questions in China from two different points of view.

A third consideration of a more general nature is that the Chinese Government-owned railways, small as their mileage is for so vast a country, have attracted a most unenviable notoriety in recent years as the chief instrument of civil war. I suggest, therefore, that they form a trustworthy standard by which the general situation of affairs in China can be appraised. If they are working smoothly a considerable part of the country at least may be regarded as peaceful and as affording normal opportunities for trade.

The general character of the railway system in Chinese territory is familiar to most of you, so I will only remind you briefly that in provinces north of the River Yangtze, and in directions running more or less from north to south, it connects the Trans-Siberian railway with Central China by means of two lines in Manchuria—namely, the Chinese Eastern and South Manchurian railways, which are owned and operated respectively by Russian and Japanese companies, and by the Peking-Mukden, Peking-Hankow, and Tientsin-Pukow railways, which are owned and operated by the Chinese Government. In Manchuria other lines of great local importance both economically and strategically form part of the Chinese Government-owned system; while in the provinces of China proper north of the Yangtze, Government-owned lines running in directions more or less from east to west give access to the borders of Mongolia, and connect ports on the coast of the Yellow Sea with the borders of North-Western China.

In Manchuria and in these provinces north of the Yangtze there is, thus, a framework of railway communication, which, with the addition of a few hundred miles of branch lines and the development of roads for motor transportation, would not fall far short of immediate requirements.

In the provinces south of the Yangtze the Government-owned system of railways connects the present capital, Nanking, with Shanghai and Hangchow, and the great southern port of Canton with British territory at Kowloon; but the connection between Canton and Central China by means of the long-projected Hankow-Canton railway still remains incomplete, with a gap of 275 miles in the middle, and with the two terminal sections in need of heavy expenditure for the purpose of re-equipment. Other small lines forming part of the Government-owned system exist in the southern provinces, but their importance until extended is inconsiderable. Mention must, however, be made of another line in Southern China, which is owned and operated by a French company. This is the line from Tongking frontier to the capital city of the province of Yunnan.

The total mileage of these various lines is only 8,000 miles, which, if the population of China is four hundred millions, gives two miles of railway for every hundred thousand inhabitants, as compared with

eleven miles in India per hundred thousand and twenty-eight in Russia. This comparison with two other countries, similarly of vast extent, is in itself sufficient to show how far railway development in China has lagged behind, and how much leeway has to be made up. Moreover, slightly more than 2,000 miles of these railways in Chinese territory—say, a quarter of the whole mileage—is owned and operated by the foreign companies to which I have referred, and about 800 miles, or one-tenth of the total mileage, is owned and operated by provincial authorities or Chinese commercial companies, so that the actual mileage comprising the Chinese Government-owned railway system is little more than 5,000 miles.

The reasons for the slowness of railway development in China must be taken into consideration before an opinion can be formed as to the prospects of greater progress in the future. These reasons comprise firstly her reluctance in the middle of the last century to admit such an innovation as railways. While other countries, Russia and India for example, were being opened up by railways, Chinese conservatism shrank from such a step. Twenty years of British effort to persuade her to allow railway construction to be undertaken appeared to have no result, and indeed had no result, until a new factor tipped the scale. This was the requirement of the Chinese Navy and the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company for coal. The need for coal from Chinese sources of supply led to the need for means of transporting it to a seaport, and so in the 1880's of last century a beginning was made by British engineers in the service of a Chinese company in coal-mining by modern methods and in railway construction.

The acceptance by the Chinese Government of that day of the principle that railway construction had to be allowed, left entirely unsolved the difficulty of finding the money needed for such costly undertakings. The resources of the small Chinese Company which had started railway construction soon became exhausted. The Imperial Government took over the property of the Company, but soon found that its resources were quite insufficient for any extensive plans of railway development. The Government subsisted on provincial contributions which could not be increased at will, and its only other source of revenue was derived from the Maritime Customs, which were pledged as security for foreign loans raised to meet the indemnity claims of Japan after the war of 1894-5.

The only means of finding money for railway development was, therefore, to borrow it in some form or other from abroad. The misfortune for China was that this need for railway development was only recognized by her leading statesmen at a most inopportune period in her history, and that this recognition was forced upon them much more by strategic than by economic considerations. It was the period

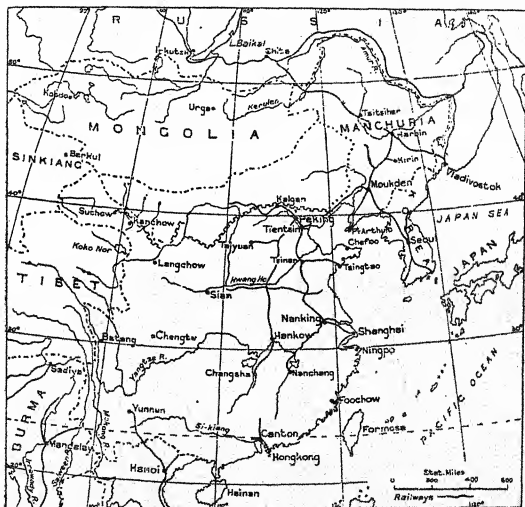
when Russia was pressing eastward with the Trans-Siberian railway, and when she succeeded in shortening the route to her bases at Vladivostok and Port Arthur by acquiring from China the right of constructing railways through Manchurian territory. It was the time also when Germany was seeking a place in the sun, when France was consolidating her colonial empire, of which the frontier of Tongking marched with that of the Chinese provinces, Kwangsi and Yunnan; while the outlook and attitude of our own country, especially towards the East, in that era of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee, were very different from what they are now. Finally, it was the time when China was still crippled by her defeat in war with Japan.

The prevailing idea of foreign diplomacy at that time was to gain concessions of various sorts from China, and in order to avoid rivalry the policy of spheres of influence was adopted. In pursuit of that policy, Russia acquired railway concessions in Manchuria, which passed in part to Japan as a result of the Russo-Japanese War of 1903-4. In the province of Shantung, Germany acquired similar railway concessions, which also passed at a later date to Japan as a result of the Great War, but were subsequently restored to China; while in the province of Yunnan, France acquired the railway concession which has already been mentioned and which is still held. Another concession originally acquired by French and Belgian interests acting in partnership was that for the construction and operation of the railway from Peking to Hankow, but this was terminated by repurchase by China in 1908, almost as soon as construction had been completed.

Before leaving this subject of railway concessions let us be clear as to what the tenure of such rights involves. It means that the foreign companies holding those rights own and operate the railways which they have built. The risks of loss, as well as the profits, are to the account of those companies, while China reserves only the right to acquire possession of the properties at future dates.

The risks involved in such transactions made no appeal to British financiers. British diplomacy had assisted in obtaining for British interests various rights of railway construction which might have been carried into effect as concessions, but another method was preferred. It was to undertake to furnish to the Chinese Government the necessary capital for building specified lines of railway which were to be the property of the Chinese Government from the outset, subject only to a mortgage on the property and a lien upon its earnings. The loan agreements by which arrangements were made for providing the necessary capital stipulated that it should be raised by issuing Chinese Government loan bonds on the London market secured upon the earnings of the railway, and unconditionally guaranteed by the Chinese Government: that is to say, if the earnings of the railway proved insufficient

to meet interest and redemption charges at due dates, the Chinese Government undertook to make up the deficiency from other sources of revenue. Thus the risk of failure and the responsibility for success were to be borne by the Chinese Government. To minimize the risks it was stipulated that British engineers and accountants and other railway personnel should be employed in the higher posts, but the chiefs of



the administration were to be Chinese, and success or failure rested ultimately upon them.

On the whole this method of finance and administration proved fairly successful. The railways were well built at a low cost, trade expanded considerably in the territory traversed by them, and their earnings proved sufficient not only to meet the loan charges but to show a handsome surplus. The British element in the railway staff undoubtedly contributed very largely towards this success, though their presence often gave rise to administrative difficulties, as it was inevitable that their views did not always coincide with those of their Chinese chiefs. This was due to the dual responsibility of their position. Their

functions were to render service to the Chinese Government to the best of their ability, but at the same time they involved consideration of the fact that the railways were built with money borrowed from British sources, and that the reason for the employment of a British element in the railway staff was to assist the railway administration in making a financial success of the undertaking so that interest and redemption payments could be duly met.

I must now turn very briefly to the combinations of various foreign financial interests for the purpose of carrying out railway construction by means of Chinese Government loans, which followed the adoption of the open-door policy or the policy of equal opportunity, as an alternative to the policy of spheres of influence. Starting from the Franco-Belgian partnership which has been mentioned already, and an Anglo-German bank partnership formed more than thirty years ago, a succession of combinations followed between British, French, German and American groups, which eventually resulted in 1920 in the China Consortium, composed of British, French, American and Japanese groups.

The interests of financial groups of six nationalities acting individually or in combination have thus become deeply concerned in Chinese railways. These groups have been the channel for supplying the capital subscribed by foreign investors for the construction of most of the Chinese Government-owned system of lines. The events of recent years have led to much damage and destruction of the railway property created by means of foreign investment, and this damage has to be made good before the earning capacity of the railways can be restored and developed.

One of the immediate problems of China, therefore, is to find means for rehabilitating her existing railway property. The application of funds from the British share of the Boxer Indemnity, as well as from the Belgian, Italian, and possibly other shares of the same indemnity, to the purchase of railway materials and equipment, while affording considerable relief, will fall far short of the full requirement. Moreover, the railways stand in need not only of physical but financial rehabilitation. Many years of civil war, followed by the disastrous fall in the exchange value of silver, have left them with a load of debt which cannot be met from current revenue.

Thus, the restoration of the railway property, the liquidation of the railway debt, and ultimately the extension of the system by new construction are, in three headings, a definition of the Chinese transportation problem. How it is going to be dealt with is a matter for the Chinese Government to decide. It is highly improbable that the resources of Chinese capital will be sufficient to meet the requirements, while the experience of recent years will not encourage foreign investors to regard Chinese railway bonds with confidence, unless they can see

that a fundamental improvement has been introduced into the methods and practice of Chinese railway administration.

Dr. RUSHTON PARKER: I probably know as little about the subject as anybody present, and may be excused for asking just one question. I have just returned from the West Indies. I am a medical man, and medical men, like parsons, know nothing about business; but I was struck with this, that although the West Indies are part of our Empire, it seems to me that our commercial men do not show sufficient enterprise in keeping the main business in the West Indies in British hands, and I wondered whether there is any lack of the same initiative in China. I would like to mention two instances that struck me. I believe I am right in saying that the Trinidad asphalt business is practically entirely in the hands of Americans, although Trinidad belongs to us; and I believe the banana trade carried on between Jamaica and this country is almost entirely in the hands of America, although there again Jamaica belongs to us. Therefore in my ignorance I would like to ask you whether you are satisfied that we British in China have shown the amount of enterprise we might have done, and whether possibly that is one of the reasons we are not as successful there as we might be?

Colonel SMALLWOOD: It is always enjoyable to hear a man who is really master of his subject, and today I know all of us have had that delightful experience. I did not know Mr. Mayers was going to stick so closely to railway transport, because the transport problems of China to my idea are a good deal wider than even that of her railways, although, of course, there is room for tremendous development there. I myself am an ardent advocate of the improvement and increasing of the road mileage of China. I think all who have lived in China know that very often, as Mr. Mayers pointed out, the railway is merely a weapon in the hands of the Tsuchun, and not for a large part of its time used for the movement of civilized passengers and troops, but for the improved transportation of armies, Tsuchuns and their staffs, and war material. We want to prevent future railways going the way the railways of China today have gone. I believe for the next fifteen years some £15,000,000 is to be spent on the new railways in China, this being money to come to China as part of her share of the Boxer indemnity—i.e., the money that was to come to England is to be used on these new railways in China. What I am afraid of is that when these railways are built they will become weapons of the Tsuchuns. It is a thing to be avoided, and I should like to see a clause in an agreement with China that when a railway ceased to be used for the purposes of trade, and became a weapon of war, the Boxer indemnity payments should again be made. But that, I am afraid, would be

infringing on the sovereign rights of China, which is a delicate plant of which we should be careful. But we should be doing China a tremendous good turn if we made some clause of that kind.

During the years Mr. Mayers referred to, from 1918 to 1928, when most of the world was busy beating their swords into ploughshares, China was beating her ploughshares into swords. At that time I was aeronautical adviser to the Chinese Government and responsible for bringing out aeroplanes intended for commercial purposes. Before long those aeroplanes became heavy bombers, in the same way as the commercial railway became a weapon of war. Mr. Mayers told us railways in China were almost indestructible, but perhaps he will remember the report of a southern railway; the report said that not only had all the rolling stock been seized by military leaders, but all the rails taken up, and it was feared there would be very serious damage to the permanent way owing to the excessive wheelbarrow traffic. (Laughter.) I realize the extraordinary difficulties that are in the way of making things better with Chinese railways, but anything I have said is only said with the idea of trying to improve and help things in China, for some of the happiest years of my life have been spent in that great country.

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: I should like to ask whether it is a fact that a gap of 275 miles exists between the Canton and the Hankow sections of railway, because I believe that when that line is finished it probably will lead to a great deal of trade and traffic; people would get on at Hankow and go straight through to Peking, through Kowloon and Canton, instead of going all the way round by steamer to Shanghai, then by railway through Nanking and Pukoo to Peking, or steamer to Tientsin and then by rail.

I also would like to say that in following out railway building in China I was very much interested in one line. The Kalgan line I believe is the only line in China that has been built—surveyed, constructed and entirely run by the Chinese themselves. It is thoroughly Chinese from A to Z. Again I should like to ask Mr. Mayers how far the railway which is running to the east of Changchun is going in the Vladivostok direction? The Chinese seem to be developing railways considerably to the west of Shantung, in the Manchuria district. They have a line to Tsitsihar now, and from that line a branch line runs across country. Looking at it all round, I think myself that, as Mr. Mayers very aptly said, we Britishers can take to ourselves a good deal of the credit for the start of railways in China. The colliery he mentioned I believe is near Chingwangtao. The first railway ever run in China was started by a British engineer at that colliery, and he had to construct his first locomotive from all sorts of odds and ends, and when he had finished the crude locomotive he had to run it by stealth practi-

cally so as to convince one or two of the Chinese that such a thing was possible. Finally, after a great deal of opposition, railways were started, and started in that particular district, and I think great credit is due to the engineer who first brought it out. Again I thank Mr. Mayers for his lecture.

A MEMBER: May I ask Mr. Mayers one question? Is there any prospect of a railway extension across the Salwin valley joining Burma to the Yangtse valley? I believe the thing has been spoken of in the past, but is there any prospect of it coming on in the next twenty years?

The LECTURER: The first speaker, Dr. Rushton Parker, asked about British enterprise in China. Well, there are here many far more competent than I am to speak generally about commercial enterprise in that country. I think in the railway world in which I was interested there was a great deal of enterprise on the part of British manufacturers, to see to it that Chinese railways took a fair share of their railway material; but the most complete answer to the question raised by the first speaker will be found in the report of the recent trade mission under Sir Ernest Thompson which has just returned, and I must refer him to a study of that. It is not a very long document, and will show what degree of enterprise has been shown in China.

I agree with Colonel Smallwood about roads, and should like to see a great many more miles of modern roads in China. But he will not overlook the fact that if the railways can be made a happy hunting-ground for Tutchuns, the roads can be the same for gunmen. Today every Chinese handit has an automatic pistol, and I would not care to go motor-touring in China for a long time yet.

The Boxer Indemnity Fund is going to be a considerable help in the first item of the transportation problem—namely, the restoration of the existing railways—but it will fall far short of requirements. I share the apprehension of Colonel Smallwood that some of our beautiful British locomotives and waggons may possibly be used for military purposes. I, too, being a Victorian, would like to have seen provisions to safeguard them from such misuse, but that is thinking in terms of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee time, and such things are not done now. On the subject of aeroplanes, Colonel Smallwood was one of the pioneers in China. It is true I have dealt practically exclusively with railways, though air communication in China is admittedly going to be most important. Already you can get from Shanghai to Hankow in eight hours, instead of taking four days by river. You get into your plane at Shanghai at eight o'clock and are in Hankow at three o'clock in the afternoon. That is a good example of speedy communication, but you cannot carry by aeroplane many soya beans, or hides, or skins, or other commodities which are the exports of China.

The construction of a railway between Burmese territory and Chinese territory has been talked of from the days of Archibald Colquhoun. He was a great exponent of that project. I used to talk to him on this subject in my young days. I sat at his feet, and in those days believed all he said. But it is a total economic impossibility. There is a reference to the project in Lord Ronaldshay's life of Lord Curzon, and I refer you to Lord Curzon's views.

The gap between Canton and Hankow still exists. The northern terminal section comes down from the port of Hankow. It was built nearly twenty years ago by means of a foreign loan, and its history has been nothing but a chapter of misfortune. I think this is the railway alluded to where the rails were taken up. Trespassers go along the line and steal the dog-spikes. The next train comes along, the rails spread, and you have a horrible accident. The southern section from Canton was built by a Chinese company. It was not well constructed at first, but has been put into better order recently. The gap of 275 miles is a very mountainous section, with 60 miles of most difficult country. The Chinese Government is extremely anxious to make that connection, as it has great political importance. I do not very much share the view that it will be a wonderful commercial success. Most of the country traversed is mountainous. If there should be a great development of mineral industry, there are mineral deposits near enough to the railway to make the transportation of mineral traffic very valuable; but simply as a passenger route between Canton and Hankow it will admittedly have a great importance. I do not think that the gentleman who steps into a first-class carriage at Kowloon to go to Peking will be a paying proposition. What you want is plenty of third-class passengers—they are the ones that pay. Whether there will actually be a great coming and going between Canton and Hankow remains to be seen. But the gap exists, and the Government is anxious to have it filled. Optimists say it will cost £3,000,000, and there are others who put the figure much higher than that. The Kalgan railway was built by Chinese engineers. The Kirin-Changchun line has, I believe, been extended, and you are quite right—the Chinese Government railways now have a connection direct with the Trans-Siberian railway without touching the foreign-owned railways. By lines built in the last five or six years one can get right up on to the Trans-Siberian system near Tsitsihar. (Applause.)

A vote of thanks to the lecturer was proposed by General WILLOUGHBY, seconded by Sir CHARLES MORGAN, and very heartily accorded.

THE DEMONETIZATION OF SILVER

By A. F. ALGIE

A MEETING held on Wednesday, May 6, 1931, at the Royal Society's Hall, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W., Mr. Hale presiding.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Royal Central Asian Society continues to extend the range of its activities. We are accustomed to welcoming from time to time distinguished travellers, archaeologists, political officers, service men and others who give us the crystallized fruits of their experience in Eastern countries. Tonight we may congratulate ourselves on a further extension of our activities, for this is the first occasion that I can remember on which we have ventured into the specialized country of political economy. The subject chosen by our Lecturer is one of very great international importance at the present time. It affects, directly or indirectly, the whole world from China to Mexico. Directly, it affects those silver producing countries, such as the United States and Mexico, whose future prosperity is concerned with silver. It also affects, in the highest degree, the one important country which still bases its exchange on silver. It further concerns our own population in India in so far as that country still buys and sells silver.

The fall in the gold price of silver is one of the most important factors in the present trade stagnation. The proposals emanating from America have recently been the subject of questions in the House of Commons. Mr. Algie's own views on the matter may already be known to some of you from two letters of his which appeared in *The Times* in February and March. Mr. Algie has had active experience in China in currency matters, and I have therefore particular pleasure in asking him to give us his address on the subject of the demonetization of silver. (Applause.)

MONEY as an abstract study is a dry subject, but if it is considered as an adjunct to the launching of great enterprises it becomes alive with interest. The Elizabethan captains wrapped it up with devotion to their Queen and country, yet when they raised money for one of their ships they got no help from constituted authority. It was often difficult for them to equip a ship, yet they looked on it as a means of securing great treasures.

Silver as a monetary standard suffers in much the same way, but if we recognize it as associated with the question of unemployment it becomes electric with interest. I believe that in its solution will be found a partial remedy for unemployment in this country. From this point of view every phase of the crisis through which China is passing becomes of profound importance.

In remarking that popular usage considers money to be wealth Adam Smith, in a vivid passage, tells us that the first enquiry of the

Spaniards when they landed on the coast of America was whether there was any gold and silver to be found in the neighbourhood. On the other hand, he says the Tartars used frequently to ask an ambassador from the King of France if there were plenty of sheep and oxen in the kingdom of France.

In dealing with silver as a means of valuing wealth, we find a sliding rod moving up and down beside another sliding rod; and the rod which should be stationary is that which slides most. How in the world is any one short of a juggler to "fix" the two rods together for more than a passing moment? And yet those trading between Great Britain and China are compelled to pay constant attention to changes in the money market, and trade has become largely a matter of monetary speculation.

It has been related that when Austria's currency was going sky-high, an Austrian bootmaker bought a carload of leather to make into shoes. Whilst he was working the krone fell, and when he sold his shoes he made a profit of several hundred per cent., but with the proceeds found he could only buy half the quantity of leather. He continued the process until the sale of his shoes only brought him enough leather to make one pair of shoes. At this point he was arrested and put in gaol for six months because his books showed he had been profiteering.

Inflation is a will-o'-the-wisp. We remember how complacently Germans regarded the falling currency in the early days of the inflation period. Trade boomed, and the country, generally speaking, was prosperous. But after the crash the whole nation said it had had enough of inflation for all time. Europe had learned her lesson.

Measures taken to maintain Price.—The lesson of silver has not yet been learned.

The metal first began to give trouble in the early seventies, when the German Government withdrew its old silver coins and sold large quantities of silver. Other European countries were forced to suspend the free coinage of silver. As time went on country after country deserted the silver standard. India stood it until 1893, when she could bear it no longer. Japan followed soon after, then came the Philippines, the Straits Settlements, and recently Indo-China has followed suit. Even Mexico created a par between her silver-dollar and the American gold-dollar. Today—although this is not generally recognized—there is only one silver-standard country of any consequence in the world—viz., China.

As silver began to topple, determined measures were taken to steady it. In the year '78 an Act was passed by the United States which required the Government to purchase from 20 to 41 million ounces of silver every year. The Government purchased yearly the minimum

amount, but notwithstanding these purchases the price declined during the next decade, and in 1890 another Act was passed, under which the United States Government was compelled to purchase 54 million ounces a year. The effect of this, coupled with the anticipation that perhaps the free coinage of silver would follow, was a sudden rise in the price, which did not last, and there was a steady decline from this time. In 1893 the Act compelling the purchase of silver by the United States Government was repealed, and the death-blow given to the hope of a bi-metallic currency in the States.

From that time, except for spasmodic recoveries due to exceptional causes like the Chino-Japanese War and the Boxer troubles in China, the course of silver was downwards—until the Great War drove it up to unprecedented heights. Then again, when the price began to decline, desperate efforts were made to arrest its fall. An Act was passed to enable the United States Government to sell to the Government of India, which was in urgent need of silver, part of its great store of silver accumulated during the years of operation of previous Acts; but the new Act stipulated that the silver so lent must be replaced by purchases at not less than one gold dollar an ounce. So that whilst the market price of silver was well below this figure, the United States Government continued for some years to purchase silver at a price much higher. The consequence was a retardation in the fall. But when the last Government purchases were made, the props to silver fell away, and the metal quickly began again to sink downwards.

It is worth noting that all these concerted efforts did not aim at stabilization of the price, but at keeping the price high. The higher the price, the greater the satisfaction of legislators.

Production.—During the period which I have been attempting to describe, very productive silver mines were opened in America and elsewhere. And today between 60 and 70 per cent. of the production of silver is the by-product of a number of other metals. So that whatever the price of the metal, this percentage must be brought to the world's markets. Though this might seem to encourage overproduction, it has apparently done nothing of the kind. The annual average world output today is some 250 million ounces, and the average consumption is some 280 millions. The extra 30 millions has come through Government sales, because during the last decade many European Governments have reduced the fineness of their silver coinage, or demonetized the metal altogether, and the total Government sales of silver from this cause, including Indian sales to which I shall refer in a moment, have averaged during the past three years 58 million ounces, bringing the total supplies of silver from all sources to an average for these years of some 310 million ounces, or some 30 millions beyond the normal consumption. It is not surprising that recognized authorities should

dismiss all other theories, and isolate the sales by Governments as the cause of the recent catastrophic fall in silver prices.

Regulation of Sale.—Many continental Governments, as well as Great Britain, have been sellers of silver. France has recently sold large quantities in the course of establishing a gold standard in Indo-China. Yet there have been attempts in some quarters to fasten the blame for Government sales, and hence the blame for the fall in silver, entirely upon the Indian and British Governments. It is true that the Indian Currency Act of 1927, which established a gold bullion standard in India, has resulted in the sale of some 23,000,000 ounces of silver annually by that Government since that date. But it would be unfortunate if credence was given in China to the statements made in America and elsewhere that India and Great Britain are the cause of the fall in silver, when the responsibility for Government sales is shared by many other countries. In fact, the Indian Finance Minister, in introducing this year's budget, said again, as he said last year, that the Government of India would willingly co-operate if the other interests concerned show any desire to consider the possibility of joint action for the regulating of sales. At the same time he pointed out that the American proposal that the Government of India should cease selling was one-sided, as it was unaccompanied by any proposal to proportionately reduce American output. The Finance Minister might also have added that the criticism did not take into account the action of other Governments. It is dangerous, however, when we are said to be doing acts detrimental to China's welfare.

Of course, the snag is that no one knows how much more the Government of India and other Governments are likely to sell, and as long as this indefiniteness of time and amount hangs over the market, there is small likelihood even of a temporary recovery. It is estimated that the quantity that may yet be sold by the Government of India is some 300,000,000 ounces, but no one knows how much of this is actually likely to come upon the market, nor at what time it may come.

It is clear that indiscriminate and unorganized selling of silver at unselected moments must cause serious fluctuations in the price of silver, and as long as there remains a silver-standard country, the effect upon that country's trade, and also upon international trade as I shall hope to prove, will be of the gravest moment.

Other Factors Causing Depression.—There are, of course, other factors beyond Government sales which depress the price of silver. Take the case of Chinese consumption alone. The fall in world prices eighteen months ago, and the consequent lack of exports from China, diminished the Chinese demand for currency—a demand which had already been restricted owing to the accumulation in the Ports of money

which under settled political conditions would have found its way into the interior. Further, if any of you ever read the newspaper reports of silver you will have noticed frequently, "China came out as a seller"; "China was a seller as well as a buyer." The fact is that China herself is an added depressor of silver, because under her monetary system the banks (as well as speculators) are often large sellers in order to adjust the trade balance; for if imports exceed exports, the banks are forced to sell silver or to procure gold in some other way. This is an additional unsettling cause of fluctuations in silver.

Let me pass for a moment to the currency of China. The Kemmerer Report, presented to the Chinese Government in 1929, says the currency of China is in a chaotic condition. The country has unquestionably the worst currency to be found in any important country of the world.

The only coins which were extensively used in China until direct trade with Western countries began in the sixteenth century were brass and copper *cash* (coins with holes in the middle to permit of their being tied together). These coins were so bulky that a man could only carry on his shoulders the equivalent of a few shillings.

Overseas trade brought foreign dollars, though it was not until 1890 that Chinese silver coins were minted in any quantity. Some of the Chinese coins became debased, but the issues at that time were on the whole of a good touch and fineness. Under the Empire, and later under the Republic, a number of proposals were made for currency reform, but the only concrete accomplishment was the passage of the coinage law of 1914, which provided for the coinage of a silver dollar, or *quan*, which first bore the head of Yuan Shih-kai, and later of Sun Yat-sen. These dollars have retained their fineness, and circulate freely. The Chinese mints, however, were unable to resist the temptation to overissue and debase the subsidiary coinage. This "small money," as it is called, is at a large discount, and varies in price daily in terms of dollars. There are also copper coins, which vary in terms of silver every day, and even from place to place. For example, on the same day the number of copper coins to one dollar was 315 in Nanking, 298 in Shanghai, 260 in Foochow, and 235 in Canton. The price varies daily, too, in each place. In Shanghai the rate may be 298 coppers one day, 300 next day, and 293 on the day following.

Fiat money issued by military satraps is in circulation. There are also banknotes issued by banks of standing and by banks of no standing. Some circulate only in a particular city or town, others in a particular district; others are issued by employers to their employees. Some of these notes circulate at par, others at a discount. Some are irredeemable. Some are payable in big dollars, some in small money, others again in taels.

For in addition to the confused condition of the coins and the paper money, the currency is also encumbered with a peculiar monetary unit called the tael, which is actually a unit of weight. Physical taels, in the shape of silver shoes, commonly known as sycee, are only found in three centres. But as a unit of account the tael is used in varying degrees in almost all parts of China. There are several kinds of taels, which vary amongst themselves both in weight and fineness. Almost all retail business in the treaty ports is done in terms of dollars, but a large part of the wholesale business, practically all the export trade, and indeed most of the larger transactions of all kinds are in terms of taels. The inconvenience and added expense that this causes is obvious.

Chinese Exchanges.—The Kemmerer Report gives an illustration of peculiar by-paths down which the retail trade of China must travel. A small bill will frequently come to an individual, say for taels 3.17. Before this can be paid in cash it must be converted into dollars at a rate which changes from day to day. If the rate is 71.7 it becomes \$4.42 "big money." To pay this amount in coin involves further complication, depending upon the kinds of coin that happen to be in circulation at the particular place, and the 42 cents being payable in "big money" has to be reconverted into "small money" before it can be paid.

I have endeavoured to draw a rough picture of Chinese monetary conditions. Political conditions have not been touched upon, as they do not directly affect the fundamental question of silver, except in the deplorable restraints misgovernment places upon trade, and the consequent diminished demand for currency. The solution of the silver question does not depend upon stable government. It has proved an insoluble problem to many great Governments, and the stabler the Government the more determined it has been to throw silver overboard.

I have already stated that during the past three years the average annual world supply of silver amounted to some 310 million ounces, towards which the Government of India contributed 23 millions, and sales of other Governments contributed 35 millions. Of this amount China consumed on an average 130 millions, India 87 millions, industries 40 millions, leaving 53 millions to other Governments for coinage purposes, on the assumption that all silver produced is disposed of.

Indian Consumption of Silver.—To consider for a moment the consumption by India, it should be remembered that the free coinage of silver between the years 1873 and 1893 resulted in an excessive issue of rupees, and the closing of the mints did not cause fluctuations in the price of silver—fluctuations had occurred since the early seventies—and it was because of these unpredictable and uncontrollable fluctuations that the Government of India stopped the free coinage of silver.

A reliable work on the economic development of India states: "There is general agreement that the system in force before 1893 had become unsatisfactory, and that the subsequent reforms did effect improvements. The gold exchange standard succeeded in maintaining the exchange value of the rupee, suited the needs of the people, and worked smoothly in normal times. The system was seriously tried on only one occasion during the pre-war period, and then the fault appears to have lain rather with the administrative working of the system than with the system itself."

The same work, "Economic Development of India," by Vera Anstey, says the three unsatisfactory currency periods in India were:

1. Last quarter of nineteenth century, when the rupee exchange dropped.
2. Last two years of the war, when world shortage of bullion dislocated currency.
3. Post-war period up to 1925, when both price and exchange fluctuations caused widespread commercial difficulties and losses, whilst the policy involved the Government in serious direct financial loss, and provoked accusations of manipulation in favour of British interests. The dissatisfaction and suspicion aroused during this latter period also led to far-reaching criticisms of the means eventually adopted to stabilize exchange.

No one would attempt to defend the unsuccessful endeavour to maintain the rupee at 2s. and the disastrous consequences that policy brought in its train, but the controversy today is between a gold-currency and a gold-bullion standard, and between the rate of 1s. 4d. and the rate of 1s. 6d. These questions deal with the administrative working of the gold standard, and are not concerned with a silver standard, which no one in India desires to see restored.

It is sometimes argued that although India has a gold standard, she is in fact a silver-standard country, because large quantities of silver are absorbed by her people. It is said that because the people insist on buying silver the Government of India ought somehow to maintain the price; but whilst no one is more conscious than that Government of the desirability of stabilizing silver, it recollects that open mints in the past failed to do so. It seems better to give every inducement to India's masses to put their savings into a form where the unit is of a non-fluctuating value, instead of attempting the Sisyphean task of stabilizing a metal which the Government itself has discarded as a standard.

Today the gold purchasing power of India is entirely unaffected by fluctuations in the price of silver, because the rupee has been pegged at 1s. 6d. The silver that sinks into the country is hoarded, or used in the arts, and does not return to the market in any quantity. It is not

purchased for the purpose of securing a personal monetary reserve, but for personal pleasure and adornment. Individual family savings are not as a rule of sufficient volume to be made in gold, for it is estimated that the *per capita* income of more than three-quarters of India's population averages about £7 8s. per annum. If an individual desires to hoard a personal monetary reserve, he can do so by hoarding minted rupees, which can always be exchanged for their face value. But the hoarding is principally for pleasure and adornment, and is therefore made in silver bullion, which no one knows better than the people of India varies from day to day in terms of rupees.

To put it simply. If a man desires a monetary reserve he will hoard rupees. If he desires to save for personal or family adornment or pleasure he will buy silver and convert it into ornaments.

The statement is constantly made that the East's purchasing power has been cut in half, that eight hundred millions of people have found their savings cut in two. The calamity is great enough without exaggerating its extent. This loose method of talk is readily adopted by those who desire the retention by China of a silver standard, but it beclouds judgment and obscures the fact that it is one-quarter and not one-half of the world whose gold exchanges are plagued by the vagaries of silver.

Effect of a Silver Currency on China's Revenues.—Omitting such areas as Abyssinia, Afghanistan, and Arabia, China is the only country left whose purchasing power in the markets of the world is affected by variations in the price of silver, but her actions affect employment in all countries with which she trades.

To look at the effect on China's revenues. Her foreign obligations are practically all in terms of gold, in payment of which she has only silver to offer. Fluctuations in the price of silver leave her national expenditure largely at the mercy of anyone who has it in his power to affect the price of silver. As the amount of silver required to meet gold obligations continuously varies, it is impossible to budget each year's expenditure properly. The cost of £1 sterling has fluctuated during the past twelve years between \$3 and \$22, and has never stayed stationary, so that the Government does not know from day to day what its total expenditure will be. This year the Government will be called upon to pay many more millions than last year, and the same difficulties face the Ministry of Railways. The increase is wholly due to the depreciation in the gold value of silver, and no economy nor care could prevent it. The Government has partly met the situation by collecting maritime customs duties on a gold basis. But a nation may well argue, as did the Hongkong community under similar circumstances, that if its Government flees from silver it should take the community with it.

It is always a matter of surprise to those who picture China in a perpetual state of chaos that the maritime customs revenue continues to grow.

The Chinese revenue from foreign trade in 1928 was \$116,000,000, the following year it almost doubled at \$222,000,000, and last year it was nearly one-quarter more at \$266,000,000. These increases, however, were not due to an increased volume of trade but to the fact that the tariff was increased in 1929, whilst in 1930 the collection of dues on a gold basis came into force. But the fact that the volume of foreign trade has remained practically unaffected is in itself matter for surprise. The explanation given is that there is increased demand for all sorts of foreign products at the treaty ports, and whilst trade with the interior is bad, it is balanced by greater activity in the coastal regions where the floating capital of the country is now concentrated for greater security.

But the revenue from foreign trade in 1930, and even for the early months of 1931, when the receipts reached record figures, represented duties payable on goods ordered before the collapse in silver. A change in the picture has already taken place. There has been a practical cessation of import purchases owing to their increased cost in silver. Chinese importers are faced with the fact that they will have to pay nearly twice as much for the goods now reaching them as they would have had to do if they had paid for them when they ordered the goods last autumn. The merchant who finds himself called upon to pay \$21 for a particular article finds that another merchant has only paid \$15 for the same thing; another has perhaps paid \$17 and another \$19; and the fact stares him in the face that when payment becomes due it may cost another man in the future \$25 or more, or it may cost him \$15 or less. That trade under such conditions has become impossible is evidenced by the many grave warnings of a financial crisis.

And yet it is not the high cost in silver of a pound sterling that obstructs and inhibits trade—it is the unknown fluctuations that lie in the future. A merchant who is unable to say whether his imports will cost him \$21,000 or \$15,000 would, if exchange was pegged at a fixed figure, know exactly what his goods would cost him, and that he could not be called upon to lose or gain a large sum in a monetary gamble. The practical result of this fluctuation in dollar costs is that the retailer adds to his price what he thinks is sufficient to cover him against possible losses, and to that extent he penalizes foreign trade. It is the unknown and unknowable fluctuations in exchange, and not the fall in silver, that is the curse of traders.

It is sometimes said that a falling exchange benefits exports, and that the extra sums paid for imports is counterbalanced by the larger sums received for exports, so that on the whole no damage is done. The practical experience of past years proves otherwise. An exporter

does not benefit by the full drop in exchange, as he cannot always judge rightly regarding its course. And he may find after he has closed his transaction with his agent abroad that he has lost not only his commission, but a sum in addition, owing to a rise in exchange that occurred before he shipped his merchandise. It may be said, Why did he not settle exchange with his bankers at the moment he had closed his transaction with his foreign client? What do the exchange banks exist for, if not to give such facilities to trade? Suppose the bank "settles" exchange for him. The risk is merely passed to someone else. The bank assumes the risk, and the Kemmerer Report says on this point: "Fixing exchange forward, hedging by purchases and sales of gold and silver bullion, and other methods of protection against exchange fluctuations are frequently impracticable, or the facilities for them are not readily available. Even when availed of, the burden is often merely shifted to somebody else. If the risk is contracted away and assumed by speculators, these persons must receive a profit for their trouble. They are supported necessarily out of the transactions, and can continue in business only so long as the risks exist."

When civil war ended last autumn, large imports were ordered for which exchange has not yet been settled—that is, the importers do not yet know how much they will have to pay for these goods in dollars. It is this fact that is causing consternation to importers and a stoppage of all further purchases. *The Times* Shanghai correspondent cabled in January: "The price of the pound sterling in silver was today over \$21, a rate of exchange which is causing importers extreme dismay . . . there is a risk that the market for foreign products in China will collapse altogether."

In February the same paper's Tokyo correspondent cabled that the Canadian Minister in Tokyo, who had "made a thorough examination of Chinese trade prospects, is deeply impressed with the decay of purchasing power owing to the fall in silver, and fears that the market for foreign goods will cease to exist unless remedial measures are found."

It was even rumoured in Shanghai that the Government was contemplating the declaration of a moratorium on gold loans. *The Times* correspondent cabled: "There is no doubt that the taking of such a step has been under consideration, and has been urged by certain foreign advisers of the Government."

A month or so later the Minister of Finance in his annual report was able to speak sanguinely of the balancing (in the absence of unforeseen events) of the Budget in 1932, as he said the repayment of foreign and domestic debt was proceeding at a much greater rate than current borrowing.

It is perhaps not amiss to allude here to the deplorable fact that many foreign loans are in default. It is a lamentable fact that the

assigning of revenues, the bonded word of Government or authority, unless backed by foreign financial control, is no security that default will not occur. The calm repudiation of public and private indebtedness has become a byword.

Effect of the Fall in Silver on China's Export Trade.—There is one aspect of a low exchange that is of especial interest to exporting countries. That is, the possibility that a low exchange may permit China to compete with other exporting countries even within those countries' own boundaries. Cotton goods manufactured in China were gaining access to foreign markets when silver was double the price it is today, which means that China can today receive for the same goods twice as much in silver as she did formerly, and the purchasing power of silver within China's own borders is still practically as good as formerly. The cotton mission of the British Economic Mission to the Far East says: "Every effort is being made by China to reduce her costs of production still further, and definite programmes for the extension of spinning and weaving plants have been adopted. The competition of the mills in China, not only in the China market, but also in the Near Eastern and African markets, will certainly increase."

The fear that a low exchange may permit China to compete with Manchester even within Lancashire's own boundaries is very real. And if this fear has the effect of making people aware of the direct connection between employment in this country and a variable exchange in China, the desire to take remedial steps must inevitably follow. It is not generally recognized that the threatened elimination of China from our export markets is at this moment directly due to the fact that she has not yet stabilized her foreign exchanges. It is only a step from this realization to a recognition of the fact that employment in this country is affected by the absence of stabilization. Mr. J. H. Thomas visited Manchester whilst Minister of Employment, and told the cotton-spinners of Lancashire that he sympathized with the hardships they were enduring owing to the fall in the price of silver. Here he directly connected employment in Lancashire with an unstable foreign exchange in China.

In February last the International Chamber of Commerce met in Paris and passed a resolution urging all Governments which hold stocks of silver, or within whose territories silver is produced, or which can influence the price of silver by their monetary policy, to adopt concerted measures in consultation with the Government of China, to maintain silver on as stable a level as possible.

It is not to be supposed that China traders have sat silently all these years under the disabilities and inhibitions of a fluctuating exchange. When silver dropped at the beginning of this century to the then unprecedented price of 21d., traders in China, who had seen

their 5s. piece melt into 4s., and then into 3s., began to be disturbed when the coin threatened to become only worth 2s. Great agitation arose for the stabilization of exchanges on a gold basis, and several schemes were drawn up. The Foreign Chambers of Commerce urged a settlement, and were supported by the great Chambers of Commerce in this country. Even the Chinese Government itself was galvanized into action, and at its request three American Commissioners were appointed by the United States Government. The Commissioners recommended the adoption of a gold standard, but nothing was done. And though the Chambers of Commerce year after year kept the question in the foreground, no settlement was made.

It is noteworthy that none of the Chairmen of the great Eastern exchange banks at their recent annual meetings propounded a remedy for silver. They all emphasize the gravity of the situation, but leave remedies severely alone.

What are the remedies that are proposed ?

There are three proposed remedies for silver :

1. Raise the price.
2. Stabilize the price.
3. Grant a large silver loan to China.

To deal with the first of these. If the inference be correct that it is Government sales of silver that have provided a surplus supply of the metal, then the regulation or limiting of Government sales will mean that the market will not be flooded with unwanted supplies. To what extent this would raise prices is problematical. It would probably do so, and the market would be expected to revert to its long career of fluctuating values instead of declining values. Some people would say that this is no remedy at all, but a palliative for a chronic disease.

A plan for sustaining the price has been made by the chairman of an American smelting company, which he supports by figures of supply and consumption. His recommendations for agreed Government sales and purchases do not actually aim at stabilization, but at maintaining the price—an aim which would leave the evils of fluctuation untouched. But it is regrettable that the British and American Governments have apparently decided not to convene an international conference, for until a better remedy is provided an agreement regarding Government sales is most desirable. The American scheme shows from figures that during the past three years the total mine production was not sufficient to meet the demands of India and China plus the demands for industries, so that the sales of Government-owned silver would be needed to supply the demands of those Governments who are still buying silver for coinage. Therefore, it is argued, agreed Government purchases and sales should balance each other, and would eliminate selling pressure on the price.

Difficulties of Stabilization.—To deal with the second remedy—stabilization. The stabilization of the price, whether at a low or a high figure, would solve the problem, but would seem to be dependent upon some form of international bi-metallism. Such an achievement would seem an impossibility: Those who advocate it recommend means that the world has rejected. Why have all other Governments rejected silver?

The third proposal is that an international silver loan of the equivalent of some £200,000,000 should be made to China, presumably on the theory that the remedy is "the hair of the dog that bit you." The ostensible object is to increase the purchasing power of China, and for that purpose it is proposed to pour more silver into the exchequer. Such addition of silver to China's stocks would undoubtedly have the effect of raising the price, but it would do nothing towards preventing fluctuations, in fact the effect would in the end be unsettling, as the loan would have to be repaid in gold. That the loan would benefit silver producers is evident; but the Chinese Government, in so far as it has spoken, has rejected the proposal, which it recognizes is not in the interests of China. Foreign opinion in the East is of the same opinion. It would seem that for the present the possibility of such a loan may be ruled out, although the Pittman resolution recommending the loan has been laid before President Hoover with the approval of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The probability is that it will there rest.

Is there, then, no solution of the silver problem?

I believe that it is necessary to recognize that the problem is unsolvable, and that its solution is unnecessary. In other words, the solution is to abandon silver as a standard of value and leave it to its fate.

There are many indications that the next economic step that China will take will be to attempt the stabilization of her exchanges on a gold basis. In this task she will need the whole-hearted co-operation and assistance of the Powers, and it is to be hoped that if she does take that step we shall be amongst the first to aid her. Experts tell us that no solution of stabilization can be reached except on a gold basis. The Kemmerer Report says: "There is not much disagreement among thinking people in China and abroad as to the desirability of China's bringing her monetary standard into equilibrium with the money standard of most of the rest of the world by placing her currency on a gold basis." Six out of the seven projects submitted to the Chinese Government during the past thirty years have recommended the adoption of a gold standard. The Kemmerer Report, whilst not minimizing the difficulties, affirmed the practicability of stabilization. And whilst the fall in silver since that report was issued increases the difficulties, they are not insurmountable.

A Gold Exchange Standard.—I shall not attempt to describe minutely the various schemes that have been submitted to the Chinese Government in great detail for the adoption of a gold standard. Some of them have been drawn up by financial and banking experts of well-known repute and experience. The latest scheme does not provide for the minting of gold coins. Nor does it require the circulation of gold, but it provides for the maintenance of the parity of all coins with the value of a fixed gold unit.

Doubt as to the practical ability of the Government to enforce the necessary changes, added to a not unreasonable aversion to an increase in the demand for gold, has withheld wholehearted assistance being offered by other Governments to these projects of reform.

As regards the first objection, the Chinese Government alone can determine the time when the application of the change is possible. As regards the second, the Kemmerer Report says: "China's adoption of the gold standard would probably augment the world's demand for gold much less than most people think because of her small *per capita* circulation of money, and because the form of the gold standard proposed for China does not require the circulation of gold coins. The problem of gold stabilization is one of the most important economic and social problems in the world today—perhaps the most important one—but it is a problem for the world and not for one nation."

It seems that Europe, which became so alive to the evils of inflation amongst its own States, has perversely closed its eyes to the very same evils amongst one-quarter of the population of the globe.

The Cotton Commission of the British Economic Mission to the Far East has rightly urged on manufacturers the necessity for reduction in costs, but I would point out that a reduction in costs fades into insignificance before a variation in one day of 20 per cent. in exchange.

There is a Chinese proverb which says that "the tiger from the eastern hill and the tiger from the western hill both devour the lamb."

Let it be admitted once for all that no permanent solution of China's economic difficulties can be reached until her foreign exchanges are stabilized.

The fact that the exchange value of the Chinese dollar fluctuates daily is a direct cause of unemployment in this country, because the increase, diminution, or stoppage of Chinese buying is directly caused by the vagaries of her exchanges. Given a stabilized exchange, the demand for our products would cease to be intermittent, because the cost of China's purchases would only be affected by the variation in producers' costs and by the seasonal demands of her own trade. If one-quarter of the world's population carries on its trade with a measuring rod which alternately contracts and expands, it stands to reason that the remaining three-quarters of the world must suffer in every trading relationship

with her, and it is the needless variations in that relationship which causes alternately demand and lack of demand for the labour of men's hands in this country.

In those countries where a gold standard has been adopted—in Japan, the South American countries, British dependencies—the result has been a raising of the standard of life, followed by a general improvement in economic well-being.

Even a slight raising of the standard of life in China would increase the demand for world products to an undreamt-of extent. We know from the Simon Report how low is the standard of life in India, yet the *per capita* circulation of currency in India is 14s. 6d., whilst in China it is estimated to be 7s. 6d.

The British Economic Mission says of future prospects of trade with China: "By nature for the most part peace-loving and industrious, the Chinese, if they could enjoy the blessings of tranquillity for a short period, would quickly produce sufficient wealth to give them a buying power which would do more to counteract the results of the present under-consumption of the world's products than almost any other conceivable factor."

To sum up, I will state as my opinion that the talk of stabilizing silver is futile, and merely distracts attention from the necessity for establishing over the whole world one standard of value as a step towards untrammelled international valuation of commodities.

Mr. S. F. MAYERS: Mr. Algie, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The first man on these occasions always gets the best of the wicket: he has the opportunity of preparing what he wishes to say. I had the privilege quite recently of addressing the members of this Society, and the discussion after my lecture, which was on another subject connected with China, was opened by a member who said that he felt himself qualified in one respect at least to open the discussion—because he probably knew less about the subject than anyone else in the room. I cannot claim an entire unfamiliarity with the subject of silver; anybody who has lived in China for many years must be familiar with its extraordinary fluctuations which impede commercial transactions and have been for many years a great obstacle to trade, as Mr. Algie has pointed out. The reflection I have had in listening to Mr. Algie's extremely able presentation of the silver question is that he appears to me to have laid not enough emphasis upon the cause of the fall in silver. I recall one phrase of his: he said that in a certain year "silver began to give trouble." Well, silver had been used by humanity for two thousand odd years without giving trouble until humanity began to meddle with it, until humanity began to discard it from use. Mr. Algie laid emphasis upon the sales by Governments of their dis-

carded silver—those potential sales which are like a cloud over the whole market horizon, nobody knowing when the cloud is going to burst—and that, as Mr. Algie has pointed out, is one of the great contributing causes in the recent fall in the value of silver. But I do not think he emphasized the effect of abandoning the use of silver, nor did he explain to us what good reasons can be adduced, as one looks back upon the history of the past fifty years, to justify that abandonment. I recall that he asked the rhetorical question, "Why should Governments use silver? Governments have abandoned silver, why should they return to it?" But he did not furnish us with an answer to that question, and that is a point upon which I would like him to enlighten us. Here is this excellent metal which has served humanity since the dawn of history. For coinage purposes it was abandoned as a measure of value by Great Britain a little over a century ago, but was maintained by all other countries up till 1873, when, as a post-war measure after the Franco-German war, Germany saw an advantage in giving up its use, and, as Mr. Algie has told us, by gradations the other countries gave it up. I would like to have a reflection of views from Mr. Algie as to whether in retrospect it can fairly be said that this was a wise measure, and I would like to ask him if he agrees with me, that if the metal were more used for currency purposes, would that not go far to stabilize its value? He has told us that the annual production rests round about the figure of 250,000,000 ounces. Many specialists who have written papers on the subject recently have drawn attention to the extraordinary phenomenon that the ratio of silver and gold production has a peculiar habit of remaining fairly constant in quantity somewhere about fourteen or fifteen to one. Now, if the metal were used again freely—if instead of having silver coinage here in England, as we now have, of only five hundred per mille fine, we had those respectable silver coins we used to be so proud of up till 1920—we know by recent information conveyed in the House of Commons that this alone would consume 70,000,000 ounces of silver. Mr. Algie's market amount last year was, so far as I can recall, 310,000,000 ounces. I think he said that was the available stock, leaving a margin of about 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 ounces hanging over the market, and constituting the factor weakening the exchange value of silver. Mr. Algie has been so perfectly clear in his conclusion that there is nothing to be done about silver, that I feel I am asking him to cover ground which he has already covered in his own mind and abandoned as impracticable; but there are other students of the case who are not so certain that the only salvation lies in China adopting some sort of a gold standard. I do not think the world has any reason to feel very proud of the way the gold standard works now. It seems to be giving the financiers of the world a good deal of trouble. It evidently does not work quite

as well as theory would expect it to work, and I raise the question whether the placing of another 400,000,000 people on some form of gold standard is necessarily the height of wisdom? I take it that one of the main factors necessary to achieve success would be a well-organized central banking system in China, and I see no immediate prospect of that appearing. There is a central bank there, but I have not yet heard that it has reached the standard of central banks in other countries. I would like Mr. Algie's opinion on that point, as to whether China, in adopting the ideas placed before it by the Kemmerer Commission, could conceivably carry them out effectively without the existence of a really well-organized central bank. I have been privileged to hear several eminent authorities speak on the subject of silver recently. I have noticed that all of them dismissed as almost beyond the attention of experts any question of doing anything about silver. They have not given any reasons, and I think I may fairly claim that Mr. Algie did not give any reasons as to why nothing can be done about silver. You might use it, for example. If you have a commodity like silver, which you do not produce by tapping a tree or planting a seed, which you can only get by mining silver ore, or as a by-product of copper and other metals, which you know by experience has not an unlimited possibility of production, and which is in itself a very useful metal for coinage purposes, I hear no answer to the question as to why it is not more used; and I have been encouraged to feel that an answer to that question is due, by listening to an eminent banker here in the City of London. After two successive meetings on the subject he got up, after everybody else had pooh-poohed the idea of being able to do anything about silver, and he followed them by saying: "I quite agree with all that the previous speakers have said, but of course if we all took to using it again it would make a great difference." I would like Mr. Algie to comment upon that. He may be perfectly right that experts have determined that nothing can be done about silver. But in my own mind I still ask myself the question whether they have not said that because it would mean retracing steps which have been taken in the past, and this retracement of steps might possibly show errors of judgment in the past. Those concerned in trade with China, or finance with China, I think view with indifference what is done to stabilize Chinese exchanges: that is the object that they strongly desire to see brought about, whether by gold exchange standard or by some remedial measures applied to silver; but the effects of instability on trade and finance connected with China are so deplorable that the nature of the remedy is a matter of indifference to the people concerned. On the other hand, they, I think, are justified in a feeling of impatience that when the grave difficulty of the present time is put before Governments in this country and in America, all that they see is a game of long

bowls being played between these two Governments. The Senate, as Mr. Algie has said, has passed a resolution in America advocating an international conference on the subject, and a few days later we learn authoritatively that the American Administration has not the slightest intention of convening such a conference. Requests have been placed before our own Government here to take into consideration the convening of an international conference, and they have said that while they were perfectly sympathetic, and would gladly take part in an international conference, they also have not the slightest intention of convening one. Beyond that nothing is said and nothing is done. I would like Mr. Algie to tell us, if he can give us this information, whether there is any prospect of any other country succeeding in calling an international conference on the silver question, and if not, whether any information has reached him regarding the probability of the Governments in the principal countries affording that concerted assistance of which he spoke as being necessary to China if any effect is to be given to the recommendations of the Kemmerer Commission. (Applause.)

Mr. LINDSAY: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I wish to add my tribute of praise to that of the last speaker, and to thank you, sir, for having selected a speaker who has spoken to us so lucidly and clearly on a very difficult subject. Now, sir, my interests in this question are very closely connected with India, and as a loyal subject and a dutiful officer of the Government of India I had come prepared to defend the policy of that country against all comers. But I am very glad to find that that rôle is not going to be required of me, and that Mr. Algie has discussed the monetary policy of the Government of India with the greatest fairness. There is one point on which I should like him to have followed Sir George Schuster's speech a little further. If he had turned to a paragraph or two later in that speech—the last Budget speech of the Finance Member—he would have seen that Sir George dealt with silver in its position *vis-à-vis* other commodities—that is to say, as a commodity—and drew attention to the fact that during the past five years the price of silver had fallen very nearly parallel with the prices of tin, lead, spelter, and copper. From that lesson Sir George concluded that silver, like other commodities, must be falling as a result of some great major cause which affects all commodities alike. That pointed to the fact that our great problem nowadays is to find out what that major cause is. One will find that it is not at all confined to the metals, but affects almost every market of the world. Now, sir, people ascribe this great world fall of prices to various reasons: some to the Wall Street collapse, and some to the stickiness, shall I say, of that alternative precious metal—gold. We in India have found that one of the greatest reasons and causes for depression is the enormous gap which exists between the prices of the

raw materials which we produce and export and the prices of the manufactured goods which we so largely import. That, I think, is generally accepted—it is certainly accepted among agricultural countries, who chiefly suffer, as one of the primary causes of the present depression. And, of course, there is another scarcely less important cause of depression nowadays, and that is the fact that we always tend to compare ourselves with the position that we occupied before the war. Pre-war the dominant factor was that we had behind us fifty years and more of peace. I do not say that it is going to take as long before we return to stability, but certainly those fifty years had a great deal to do with the stability of pre-war times; and it seems to me almost axiomatic that our return to normal conditions, whether it be long or whether, as we all hope, it will be short, will be not so much a return to pre-war stability, but to stability on entirely new lines which are being carved out for us now, and which we also in various ways are helping to carve out for ourselves. I conclude by thanking Mr. Algie for having given us a lead in precisely that direction—that is to say, that the hope for the future appears to be rather more in the direction of the universal adoption of a gold standard than by going back and trying to re-learn the lessons of a silver standard, which have already been learned, and which have let us down as they are letting China down at the present moment.

Colonel SMALLWOOD: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I rather think with Mr. Mayers that it is a mistake to suppose that China would be better with a gold standard than with the silver standard she has today. Mr. Algie has referred to China as one country, almost the only country left, that is still on a silver basis. China is really not a country but a continent, and we can say that a quarter of the world is still on a silver basis. If one uses the expression "one country" it is a little bit misleading. The Kemmerer Commission, I think, was essentially American in composition, and I rather look with a certain amount of suspicion on the conclusions that they came to. The idea of the large silver loan to China was, I think, entirely American, and it is quite obvious that it would be very much to the advantage of America if China would agree to such a loan. But I do not think it would be good for China, and I do not think there is the least chance of its coming. There is a Chinese proverb that you cannot prevent the birds of sadness from flying over your head, but you can prevent them nesting in your hair—I think the Americans in this case are the birds of sadness who wish to nest in the hair of China. It is with a good deal of diffidence I make the following suggestion, but I have an idea which is shared by a good many other people who have thought about the subject, and that is that there is one way in which the Chinese silver position could be improved. I am definitely against

China going on the gold basis for this reason, and that is that I do not think she is the least capable of controlling a series of banking operations which may take place in Sechuan or some other wild and woolly part of China. She could not possibly control those banking transactions, and until she can do so I do not think she can put a gold basis into operation. My panacea—I hope people will not laugh at it, because I believe there is something in it—is that I should like to see the Chinese Government take up the position of being the sole importer of silver into China. That may sound revolutionary, but I think it is possible. The one part of China that is controlled is the coastal ports by the Customs. The whole of the goods that enter into China have to pay a duty. Suppose to those goods we were to add the metal silver, she would be able to control that to an extent because she has Customs Collecting stations in all ports. There would be a certain amount of smuggling, but I believe she would get over that. Supposing, for instance, a firm owes a merchant, or bank, or Government a certain amount of money, that debtor today can go into the open market, buy silver, and pay off his indebtedness with that silver. Supposing he was compelled to purchase that silver from the Chinese Government, he would have to pay a fixed rate for it, and I think in that way the Chinese silver basis would be a real basis, and not the one of intense fluctuations of today. Like everybody who has been in China, I have suffered terribly from the fluctuations in silver; but I believe this is one possible cure, which merits the very greatest attention and research. I do not know whether it has ever been considered in India, but I believe it has possibilities in China, and I should very much like to hear if Mr. Algie considers that matter is a possible undertaking.

One more point I wanted to bring forward. I do not think the world generally has paid sufficient attention to the fact, as Mr. Algie pointed out, that 60 or 70 per cent. of the world's supply of silver comes as a by-product. I think that one of the greatest dangers that silver has to face. You cannot say that silver is now below the cost of production: it is below the cost of production of ordinary silver mines, but it will be a long time before it will be below cost of production as a by-product of lead, etc. I believe that supposing my idea was carried out and the Chinese Government were the only importer of silver, and if she could make some arrangement with India, it would remove the awful cloud of the uncertainty of the silver supply which hangs over the world. If she were the only importer she could go to the Government of India and say: "Please don't put your silver on the market but let us absorb it gradually"; and I think that would help the whole situation enormously. But I should very much like to hear if Mr. Algie thinks it all nonsense.

Sir JOHN MILLER (*communicated*): I am glad to have an opportunity

of thanking the Royal Central Asian Society for the privilege of hearing Mr. Algie's lecture on the demonetization of silver—a matter that interests me greatly from its bearing on the currency of the world.

All who were in India in the last quarter of the nineteenth century can sympathize with the difficulties in China, so forcibly described by Mr. Algie. They were the witnesses and often the victims of an unsettlement of a similar kind, though possibly on a less serious scale, in India. The best solution which that country was able to find was the introduction of a gold exchange standard. There can be little doubt that Sir David Barbour would have preferred to rehabilitate the rupee by a return to the bi-metallic system, which the action of Germany had overthrown. Both financiers and politicians would have nothing to do with anything so unintelligible as bi-metallism—unintelligible in spite of having been in existence and worked excellently for generations; and therefore, I believe, though I have no evidence of the fact, Barbour fell back on the gold exchange standard as a *pis aller*. Mr. Algie, as I understand him, would have China adopt a similar solution. He demonstrated conclusively the difficulties that confront the authorities, the bankers, and the merchants owing to the extraordinary fluctuations in the value of silver, and especially its recent fall. Nothing paralyzes business more than uncertainty, and a gold standard would undoubtedly prevent extreme fluctuations and so would remove one great difficulty that now impedes the foreign trade. But even a gold standard would not get rid of the difficulties altogether. Australia has a gold standard, but the difficulties of the Australian exchange are notorious. And Australia will afford an illustration to show that those who fix their attention on exchanges alone may fail to give due attention to more fundamental matters. Mr. Algie noted the impossibility of carrying on trade when silver might fall with a bump to half of its former value, but an Australian wool-grower is in exactly the same position in spite of his gold currency; the price of his product has dwindled to less than half of what it was some little time ago. His purchasing power has been affected as seriously by the fall in the price of wool as has the Chinaman's by the drop in silver. The same thing applies, though perhaps to a less extent, to the growers of wheat in the Empire and at home, and, to a much more serious extent, to the growers of rubber and sugar. Producers of metals have a similar tale to tell. It is not merely that all these producers have had their purchasing power curtailed, but that the burden of their liabilities has been immensely increased and, if the fall in prices continues, not only will their purchasing power disappear but bankruptcy will be inevitable. The establishment of a gold standard in China would do nothing to remedy this state of affairs. On the contrary, it would have a prejudicial effect on the world generally by increasing the burden thrown on gold, and so

accentuating the fall of world prices which has already caused so much suffering.

But if a gold standard has been good for India, why, it may be asked, should a similar policy not benefit China? To this I would reply by raising the previous question—has a gold standard been an unmixed boon to India? Undoubtedly for many years it kept the exchange value of the rupee steady, and this was an immense benefit to the Government, to the European servants of the Government, and to foreign trade. But no one, so far as I know, has ever examined the repercussions on the internal trade of the country. That is a matter which economists, statisticians and, I fear, all of us, neglect. Our attention is apt to be concentrated on foreign trade, for which we are able to compile statistics on which bankers, merchants, and the Government base their calculations and reckonings. But it is the internal trade which affects the interests of the masses, on which the prosperity of the country depends; and it is questionable whether the gold standard has been a boon to the masses of India. In ordinary times it is difficult to say how the burden of maintaining the gold standard is distributed: one can judge only by what happens in extreme cases, and an extreme case occurred in India after the war, when the Government attempted to act on the recommendations of a strong committee as to the fixation of the gold value of the rupee. The attempt failed, but it cost the people of India many millions sterling before it was abandoned. That was the direct cost to the State; what the indirect cost to trade may have been, in addition to this, there is no means of knowing.

The establishment of a gold standard in India was thus an advantage to the merchant and the European official, and almost a necessity to the Government; but it certainly was not without drawbacks in its reaction on internal trade and the contentment of the masses. European financiers will not hesitate to aver that the advantages preponderated. I think myself that the matter is open to reasonable doubt, and look forward to the time when some Indian economist will examine the question from the Indian standpoint.

Mr. Algie has not dealt with the possible reactions of his proposals on the masses in China. As one who believes that the general acceptance of the gold standard by the nations of the world is the main, if not indeed the sole, cause of the present universal depression, I think it would be rash of the Chinese to put their necks into the golden noose, in which other nations are being slowly strangled. Not only might it be bad for them, but it would make the noose still tighter for the rest of humanity. Better for China to bear the ills it has than to fly to others that it knows not of.

Mr. Mayers advocates the rehabilitation of silver. I agree with him that any such measure would greatly relieve the situation, not

only in China, but also for the rest of the world. But I must not allow myself to stray into the intricate maze of bi-metallism.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Algie has very interesting matter to reply to. My own feeling is that, if China wants to close her market to silver or put it under Government control, we should be the last to object. We were the first to begin the demonetization of silver and the Continent followed, led by Germany and France. Mr. Algie, I noticed, did not say much about Persia; I think he accepted the transition to the gold standard there as an accomplished fact. It is not that yet, but Persia expects it to be so within the next year—probably this year. But, in any case, the quantity of silver in that country probably does not exceed 100,000,000 ounces, so it is not of the first importance.

The LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, the first thing I can say is that I think the Chairman, as he is interested in Persia, might tell us why Persia is going to adopt the gold standard?

The CHAIRMAN replied that the demonetization of silver was one result of the price of commodities being raised within historical times. Why had we ourselves given up silver? Because its unit of value was not sufficiently high in exchange. Silver had been a convenient means of exchange and measure of value centuries ago, but with increasing prices we found it better to adopt the gold unit. As time went on other countries followed suit, and it could only be a matter of time before China at last adopted the gold standard.

Mr. ALGIE said that China also desired a stable unit, and it was the desire to escape from fluctuations that urged her towards a gold standard. He agreed with Mr. Mayers that mistakes had been made in the past. It was possibly true to say that if the German Empire had not been established, and if it had not demonetized silver and been followed by other nations, we might still be enjoying a stabilized price for silver. But we had to face facts as they were today, and to deal with the fact that silver *had* been demonetized. He did not think that, even if all Governments increased the fineness of their silver coins and used silver more largely for currency purposes, more good would result than raising the price—fluctuations would continue as before. And after a few years, when the extra Government demands for coinage improvement had ceased, we should again revert to the same conditions as today—an excess of supply over demand. He thought that it was undesirable to discuss details regarding the establishment of a gold standard. Let us first agree that stabilization on a gold standard is necessary, and then we can discuss and criticize the steps by which it is proposed to carry out the project. He did think, however, that the great progress the Chinese had made in modern banking experience and knowledge did not preclude the possibility of a satisfactory centralized bank. One difficulty of absorbing in coinage consumption an increasing amount of silver was its bulk. It was not possible for a man, whatever

might be possible for the other sex, to carry in his pocket more than a pound or so of silver. In reply to Mr. Mayers' question as to how Britain and the Powers could co-operate with China, Mr. Algie said that he thought help would probably come through the Bank for International Settlements or the League of Nations, and we should be able to assist through Basle or Geneva in granting the loans necessary for the establishment. The Government of India has already offered to co-operate, and only awaits the acceptance of the offer. With regard to what indications there are that China may adopt a gold standard, Mr. Algie said the Chinese Press had been full of accounts of Sir Arthur Salter's visit to China, and the possibility of a loan of £100,000,000 sterling under the auspices of the League of Nations for the establishment of a gold unit. The Chinese Economic Conference at Nanking in 1928 recommended gold, so did the Kemmerer Report. The Minister of Finance has frequently voiced the necessity for obtaining an equilibrium between silver and gold. The Chinese are becoming very awake to the disastrous consequences of adhering to silver in opposition to the whole of the rest of the world. It seemed that political conditions alone prevented the immediate adoption of reforms. There is no doubt that the will for reform exists if the opportunity arises.

Mr. Lindsay had drawn attention to the fact that silver was a commodity and fluctuated in price like other commodities, which was not the case with gold. As he pointed out, the imperative need was the adoption of a universal standard of value.

Mr. Algie reminded Colonel Smallwood that the recommendations to adopt a gold standard did not solely emanate from the Kemmerer Commission; that Commission terminated a long series of recommendations from other authorities recommending a gold basis. Six out of the seven projects submitted to the Chinese Government since 1903 recommended a gold standard; the only one that recommended silver was contained in Imperial Edicts issued by the Emperor Kwang Hsu. He did not think that Colonel Smallwood's suggestion that the Chinese Government should be the sole importers of silver would assist matters at all. It would simply mean that the banks and other buyers of silver would be replaced in the London and American silver markets by the Chinese Government, and fluctuations in the price would continue as merrily as ever. Closing the mints to the free coinage of silver would be one of the first steps necessary for the establishment of a gold standard, but it would be useless unless it was a step towards such an establishment. The question whether the Chinese Government could buy direct from the Government of India overlooked the fact that at present there is free coinage in China, and additions to silver currency are not made by the Government. In any case the sales by the Government of India have only been about 8 per cent. of world supplies, and

the price would fluctuate quite apart from any agreement between the Indian and Chinese Governments.

Replying to Sir John Miller, Mr. Algie said that Sir John had covered a very wide field, and some of the points he had raised had, he thought, been already answered in his paper. He did not think it was reasonable to take Australia as an instance of the failure of the gold standard, because everyone acknowledged that Australia had for years been living beyond her income on borrowed money, and now had to pay the piper. It was not the gold standard that had caused the crisis in Australia, but the stoppage of exports. The Australian's lack of purchasing power was due to the fall in the price of wool; whereas the Chinese lack of purchasing power was due to the fall in the price of wool, plus the fall in the price of silver. The difficulties of wheat-growers, and the difficulties of rubber, sugar, and metal-producers, were limited to variations in produce prices, and the bankruptcy which Sir John foresaw, would have long ago occurred if to the losses on produce prices had been added losses caused by a fall in the purchasing value of silver.

As the speaker had said in his paper, he was of opinion that the fear of a future world gold shortage should not be used as a weapon to prevent a present-day adoption of a gold standard by China. A preliminary step to the solution of our difficulties lay in a common world-standard of value.

Mr. Algie maintained that the gold standard had been beneficial to India, although he admitted many ills had followed the mal-administration of that standard. Sir John admitted that the gold standard had been good for Indian foreign trade, and then proceeded to ask whether foreign trade benefited the country. Here he would surely be impugning the very basis of international trade. If an increasing margin between wages and the cost of living is any indication of benefits to the Indian masses, then the figures published by the Government of Bombay in the Labour Gazette show a progressive improvement in the standard of life under the gold standard. Retail food index numbers since 1914 show a smaller increase for India than for any other country except South Africa and the Netherlands. And whilst the general level of prices of all commodities has been declining in all countries (including India and America) since 1920 under a gold standard, they have been steadily rising in China under a silver standard.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I personally have found this one of the most stimulating meetings I have ever been at. I am sorry the attendance has not been bigger. Perhaps it makes up in quality what it lacks in numbers. It has been a very interesting survey from various points of view. I ask you to give Mr. Algie a hearty vote of thanks. (Applause.)

WHAT THE SURRENDER OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY WILL MEAN TO US

BY SIR HARRY FOX, K.B.E.

(*Late Commercial Counsellor to H.B.M.'s Legation, Peking.*)

A MEETING of the Royal Central Asian Society (in which is incorporated the Persia Society) was held on Wednesday, May 27, at 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1, when a lecture was given on "What the Surrender of Extraterritoriality will Mean to Us," by Sir Harry Fox, K.B.E. The Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., presided.

The CHAIRMAN: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are here today to welcome Sir Harry Fox, who is going to give us a lecture upon what the loss of extraterritoriality means to us in China. For the last thirty-five years Sir Harry has been closely connected with affairs in China, not merely as a spectator, but as an important actor on the Chinese stage. I will not say anything myself, as I know too little about China, but I have some very definite views about extraterritoriality. I have seen the disadvantages which, as I think, a misguided policy as regards extraterritoriality has had in many parts of the world. All the more important is it for us to recognize what the position will be in China, both economically and politically, once extraterritoriality is gone. However, I will content myself with introducing Sir Harry Fox and welcoming him here to the Central Asian Society, of which he is a distinguished member. (Applause.)

MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—On looking at the title of my address, I hope you will not think I have brought you here under false pretences. The subject is a highly controversial one, and the more I pondered over the question the less sure I was that I knew myself what the surrender of extraterritoriality (I will use the abbreviated form of this cumbersome word to save time) *will* mean.

I shall endeavour first to explain to you why the Chinese Government feel so strongly about this question of the "unequal treaties," why the foreign Powers concerned have so far been unable to agree to surrender the extraterritorial rights of their nationals in China, and lastly, how British residents in that country will be affected when they find themselves under Chinese laws and administration and the "Treaty Ports" have become a "tale that is told."

Please understand that I speak with no official authority whatsoever, and that I am merely trying to tell you how this question, just now of such absorbing interest to our countrymen in China, appears to one who has spent the best part of his life in that country, and has perhaps had exceptional opportunities of observing the conditions under which foreigners and Chinese live, both in the Treaty Ports and what we call the Interior.

What, then, does "extrality" mean? It is the system under which foreigners are subject to their own laws, both as regards their persons and property, and are not subject to the laws of China. The system started nearly one hundred years ago, when certain foreign Powers, headed as usual by the British, forced the Chinese Government to recognize their right to live and trade in China.*

In consideration of these privileges it was agreed that the foreigners concerned should be restricted both as regards residence and virtually as regards trade to certain small areas adjacent to the cities on the coasts and rivers of China which were opened to trade under the new treaties, and so the Treaty Ports came into being. In the beginning this arrangement really suited both parties quite well: it absolved the Chinese Government of the responsibility of looking after a number of tiresome foreigners whose manners and customs differed so entirely from their own, and it gave these same foreigners the security for their lives and property which was indispensable to the successful conduct of their trade with the Chinese. At the same time it enabled them to live under conditions approaching more nearly those which they had been accustomed to than would otherwise have been possible to them. The Treaty Ports became in fact little homes from home where the British especially—and our people were the pioneers in almost all the ports—lived comfortably in their own compounds, carried on their business with the Chinese in their own offices and go-downs, and foregathered when the day was done in their own tennis-courts and clubs, a life which was both pleasant and profitable.

For some years the system continued to work well, and the Treaty Ports, where the foreigners ran their own municipalities and public utility works, prospered abundantly. Originally in many cases these had been not more than a mud flat alongside a river bank, or a piece of waste ground outside a city wall, and it has been said rather unkindly that the Chinese Government of the day chose the worst spots they could for the purpose. The Treaty Ports soon attracted to themselves the bulk of the trade both foreign and domestic in the districts in which they were situated. Chinese merchants flocked to them both for trade and protection; they became the centres of Chinese foreign and coastal shipping, the starting-points and termini of her railways and the cradle of her infant industries. Moreover—and this fact Chinese public opinion is apt to forget—the Treaty Ports provided China with her first modern hospitals and schools at no cost to her whatsoever. To such an extent have the Treaty Ports developed under the system of extrality that today one of them, Shanghai, has become not only one

* An excellent and concise account of the history of Extraterritoriality was given by Dr. Morse in the C.A.S. JOURNAL, 1923, Vol. x. ii., and has been twice reprinted.

of the largest cities in the world, but one of the most important shipping ports and industrial centres, challenging comparison in respect to the facilities she offers of electric power and labour with New York, Chicago, London and Manchester, with a population of over 1,100,000 in the foreign Settlements alone, of whom some 40,000 are foreigners.

Now it is not surprising that these bustling centres of foreign activity dotted all over that vast country, and over which the Chinese Government had no control (one of the Treaty Ports, Chungking, was 1,400 miles up the Yangtze), should lead to a certain amount of friction between the Chinese and foreign authorities, the one party trying to restrict and confine the rights and privileges given by the treaties to the smallest possible dimensions, the other endeavouring in the interests of trade to stretch the terms of the treaties to their widest extent, taking full advantage of that bugbear of the Chinese Government, the "most favoured nation" clause. This friction steadily increased as the exigencies of China's growing foreign trade compelled foreigners, especially the Japanese, to leave the shelter of the Treaty Ports and carry their wares for sale into the Interior. It is computed that there are at the present time over 1,000,000 Japanese, not amenable to Chinese jurisdiction, either resident or travelling outside the Treaty Ports in China, including of course Manchuria.

At first the Chinese objections to the privileged position of foreigners in the Treaty Ports were mainly of a practical nature. For instance, they viewed with not unnatural disfavour the increasing number of Chinese who, either by residence in the Settlements or by reason of their foreign employ, were able to evade Chinese jurisdiction and taxation; they had even greater reason to object to the practice, encouraged by some of the Powers, but not, I am glad to say, by our own Government, of allowing Chinese citizens to take out papers of foreign naturalization, often it must be admitted with the object of escaping the arm of the law. The Chinese authorities complained, too, not without reason, that the Settlements were turned into little Alsacias where criminals were able to hide from justice and where political malcontents hatched plots against the Government. In justice to the Settlements it must be said that as regards the latter complaint no discrimination has ever been shown, and Chinese statesmen of all parties, even Sun Yat Sen himself, have not hesitated to avail themselves of this hospitality in time of trouble.

The privileged position of foreign goods landed at a Treaty Port under a conventional tariff imposed by treaty on the Chinese Government and thence conveyed under "transit pass" into the Interior was also a frequent cause of friction between foreign Governments, especially our own, and the Chinese revenue authorities, whose ingenuity in putting obstacles in the way of the free distribution of our merchandise in the

Interior was only equalled by the stubbornness with which our merchants stuck to their rights and did manage eventually to deliver the goods. In this connection it must be admitted that the practice, now to a great extent abandoned, of claiming compensation from the Chinese Government in the case of loss or damage to foreign-owned goods did much to make this "extralized" form of trading obnoxious to the Chinese authorities.

These practical objections, and many others I could mention, though they were a constant source of discussion and even serious friction, were in most cases susceptible of adjustment, especially as the Powers, led by Great Britain, have in recent years adopted a policy of claiming no special privileges for their nationals but merely equal treatment as regards taxation, etc., a policy which culminated in the recognition of China's right to tariff autonomy in the treaties made at Nanking in 1928. Far more important and deep-seated, because based on national sentiment, were the objections to "extrality" due to a Chinese feeling of inferiority, of lack of reciprocity, of deliberately unjust treatment—so it seemed to them—in their relations with foreign Powers, a feeling which, having lain dormant for some time, first showed itself when China suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Japan in the war of 1894-95. These sentiments made themselves heard more distinctly when after the Revolution of 1912 the Government of China came largely into the hands of men who had been educated abroad, chiefly in America, and had returned to China determined to reorganize their Government on Western lines. One can easily imagine the resentment of men of this type returning to China after taking their degree at Harvard or Oxford, and finding themselves debarred from the foreign clubs in Shanghai and even from the public gardens in the foreign Settlements. This is perhaps a trifling matter—but it is an indication of the wide gulf which has in the past separated foreigners from Chinese, and which has, I believe, been largely responsible for many of our present-day troubles. I am glad to say that men of goodwill on both sides have worked hard to bridge over this gulf, and I may be permitted to recall that it was under the auspices of the British Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai that the first Union or Sino-Foreign Club in China was established over ten years ago.

These quite natural feelings of resentment were intensified when, having entered the Great War (in which it must be admitted China had had no particular interest) on the side of the Allies, the Chinese found themselves—so it seemed to them—left out in the cold at the Conference of Versailles and denied admittance to the Council of the Nations. At the same time the loss of extraterritorial rights by the Russians and Germans, whereby a great number of foreigners belonging to first-class Powers came under Chinese jurisdiction, drove a wedge into the privi-

leged position of foreigners in China which the Chinese have not ceased to widen by every means in their power. Always adept at coining catch-words, or, as the Americanized Chinese call them, slogans, the Chinese Government and people have now adopted the phrase "Down with the Unequal Treaties" as their national slogan—words which meet the foreigner in China today wherever he goes, which stare at him in gigantic letters from the red walls of the old Imperial Palace in Peking, which are plastered on the frowning cliffs of the Yangtze Gorges, and borne aloft on banners and piped by the shrill voices of school-children at every political demonstration throughout the length and breadth of the country. If ever there was a national movement in China this surely is one, uniting all political parties in the State, including the Canton party now in active insurrection against the Central Government.

Now, while one cannot help sympathizing with this perfectly legitimate agitation on the part of the Chinese Government and people for the revision of the existing treaties with the object of doing away with the extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, it must be pointed out to them that there is on the part of the foreign Powers concerned an equally legitimate apprehension lest the Chinese Government should, owing to circumstances possibly beyond their control, not be in a position to make new treaties in place of the old based on absolute reciprocity and equality. In other words, the question may fairly be asked, Can the Nanking Government, with whom the Powers are now negotiating, guarantee that they will and can give foreigners in China exactly the same measure of protection for their lives and property and reciprocal treatment as regards their business as Chinese citizens now receive in foreign countries, more particularly in Great Britain? The answer must, I am afraid, be in the negative, not because the Chinese *will not*, but because, with the best will in the world, they *cannot* give this protection.

Can the Chinese Government guarantee, for instance, that when a British subject comes into a Chinese court, whether as plaintiff or defendant, he will receive an absolutely just and impartial hearing, no matter what the subject-matter of the dispute may be or the position of the parties interested; in other words, are Chinese courts of law now independent of all outside interference—even of Government interference—as our courts in England are? Again, supposing we withdraw our gunboats and guards and police forces, can the Chinese Government guarantee full protection for the lives and property of British subjects in the event of armed forces, whether on the side of the Government or opposed to the Government, occupying towns and places such as Shanghai or Tientsin or any Treaty Port where foreigners reside in any large numbers?

If our merchants register their companies and businesses under Chinese company law, can the Government guarantee that this law will be fairly and honestly administered, with no discrimination against them because they are foreigners, as is the case in Great Britain?

Will foreign goods which have paid duty under the new import tariff be able to reach the consumer in the Interior without any further levies except those imposed for local municipal purposes with Government approval, as they do in this country?

If we register British ships engaged in the coastal and river trade under the Chinese flag, as the Government wish us to, can the Government guarantee that they will not be commandeered by any military chief who happens to require transport for his troops?

I do not suggest that we should suspend all negotiations with the Chinese Government until we have received satisfactory replies to these enquiries; but as it is the Chinese themselves who have demanded that the new treaties shall be based on complete reciprocity, it seems only fair that, unless they can give in practice, and not only on paper, the same protection to our people in China as we give to Chinese citizens in England, they should at least agree to the process of handing over jurisdiction, more especially in those places where large British interests are involved, being carried out gradually, with a transition period during which the Chinese Government on their side would have time to consolidate their position and provide the necessary safeguards, and during which British residents would have time to accustom and adapt themselves to the changed conditions of life in China.

Among the points I have enumerated, in regard to which some practical form of guarantee would appear to be essential, I personally regard the military menace to law and order in China as by far the most important. I have myself been witness of the military occupation of Peking and the railway approaches to the sea at Tientsin on at least three occasions during the last ten years, and I can assure you that the havoc wrought by these barbarians—for the rank and file, including many of the officers, are little less than uniformed bandits—must be seen to be believed. The occupation of Peking—or indeed of any other Chinese city—by a Tsuchun's forces means the complete disappearance of the civil government of the city; the entire cessation of the normal life of the people; the wholesale commandeering of all forms of private property, especially transport and foodstuffs; and, both on arrival and departure, looting of a nature too awful to be described. On these occasions the better-class Chinese hasten to convey themselves and their belongings into the much-abused Legation quarter; and I sometimes wonder how many of China's leading statesmen today would be alive today to tell the tale had this refuge not been available.

I believe that the leaders of the Nanking Government are fully alive to this ever-present danger, and that if they are strong enough to withstand the force of uninformed and often deliberately misguided public opinion, they will, even if they do formally denounce the treaties, not proceed to extremes in the case of Shanghai and other centres of foreign residence in China. The fact that the Government have postponed until next year the threatened unilateral action in regard to the treaties, and that our negotiations at Nanking are about to be resumed, is, if I am not mistaken in my knowledge of Chinese mentality, a very reassuring sign.

As regards what will happen to British residents in China when they come under Chinese jurisdiction, it would, as I remarked at the outset of my discourse, be foolish on my part to offer any intelligent forecast. But I venture to mention certain considerations which may possibly mitigate the fears of those who think, not without some reason, that the abolition of "extrality" will mean the end of all things as far as our residence in and trade with China are concerned.

It must always be remembered that for some years past large numbers of foreigners, mostly missionaries—I am speaking for the moment of our own people—and trade agents, have to all intents and purposes lived under Chinese jurisdiction, and that on the whole, provided conditions were normal, they have not fared so badly. Experience has shown that foreign residents in China are on the whole law-abiding persons and seldom or never see the inside of a Chinese court of law, much less a prison, from one year's end to another. The pictures that have been conjured up of respected British residents languishing for long periods in dark Chinese dungeons are, I venture to think, exaggerated. Moreover we shall—at least I hope we shall—always have our Consuls to fall back upon. Someone remarked to me the other day, "I suppose you Consular people will have to shut up shop when extrality goes?" I replied, "Not at all—we will probably have to enlarge our premises." British Consuls will not, it is true, be able to afford the same direct protection to British life and property as they have done in the past, but indirectly and by means of representations to the Chinese authorities they will, I feel sure, be able to render both residents and trade a great deal of valuable assistance, as they did under somewhat similar circumstances in Japan some years ago.

Admittedly those who live in Settlements and Concessions under foreign control, above all residents in Shanghai, will feel the changed conditions more keenly and will suffer a good deal of discomfort and inconvenience during the transition period when municipalities are passing either wholly or partly into Chinese hands, but here again we must remember that quite a number of foreigners are living today at Hankow, Tientsin, Tsingtau, and elsewhere under Chinese municipal control and,

shall we say, getting accustomed to it? Chinese municipal administration is making steady progress in the face of extraordinary difficulties, among which may be mentioned the belief of a certain class of old-fashioned Chinese, usually retired officials, that electric light and water are heaven-sent adjuncts to a foreign style household and not mundane commodities which are cut off if not paid for, and the tendency of some of those in authority to regard money collected on account of rates and taxes rather as personal perquisites than as sums to be accounted for and spent for the public benefit.

It is our traders in China, our great merchant firms, our banks, insurance and shipping companies, indeed all who have invested money in commercial and industrial enterprises in that country, relying on the security afforded by their being under British law, who have the greatest ground for apprehension of the consequences of the approaching change, because with all respect for the traditionally high standard of Chinese commercial morality and for the efforts of the Chinese Government to secure that the new commercial code is administered with justice and impartiality, our experience of the ways in which the best intentions of those who make laws in China can be frustrated by those who administer them has been rather an unfortunate one. But we must always remember that China is the land of compromise, and although the Chinese revel in issuing regulations on every conceivable subject, in much the same way as we do Acts of Parliament, some way can usually be found, I will not say of evading them, but of getting round them. Moreover, my experience of negotiations with Chinese officials, more particularly the modern Chinese official, has been that if one can give way to them on points of principle they are quite prepared to be reasonable in points of practice. I am reminded of what happened in Canton a year or two ago when the local government issued a series of really fantastic regulations for the control of foreign and Chinese insurance companies, involving registration, inspection of books, deposit of a large percentage of capital in cash as a guarantee of good faith, restriction of insurance business to licensed Chinese brokers, and what not. Some of our people were inclined to throw up the sponge at once and withdraw their agencies; others more wisely said, Let us wait and see if we cannot compromise. So they waited and discussed the matters for over six months with the Chinese authorities, and in the end an agreement was arrived at whereby the registration became a mere formality, inspection resolved itself into an obligation to publish an annual balance sheet, the cash deposit was replaced by a banker's guarantee, and the problem of the licensed broker, which seemed to be the great stumbling block, was solved in a simple manner by the Government allowing all members of the foreign staff to register themselves as brokers. One cannot help thinking and hoping that similar difficulties as regards

registration of banks and other British companies and corporations will eventually be settled in the same spirit of compromise.

Then there is Chinese taxation, in regard to which our Chambers of Commerce have quite naturally shown some anxiety. Taxation in China, as the big distributing companies realized some time ago, is largely a matter of bargaining, and as long as there is no discrimination—and against this, in view of Chinese insistence on reciprocity, we can strongly protest—I think British merchants will be able to hold their own. Some of you may have heard the story of the dispute between a well-known British company and the local revenue authorities in a certain province in regard to the affixing of revenue stamps on the cases containing their wares, a dispute which at one time threatened to put a stop to the company's business in a very important market, being finally settled by the offer of the Chinese authorities to sell the company 100 dollars' worth of stamps for 70 dollars cash down. I remember the remark made to me by the head of one of our big distributing companies in China when he visited Peking a few years ago. He said: "It wouldn't hurt our business if extrality were abolished tomorrow"—and then he added as an afterthought—"as long as we have Shanghai to retire to in case of trouble."

So again with British-owned factories and mills in China, the Chinese Government, realizing that they were assisting (one might almost say leading) the industrial development of the country, have always in the past treated them fairly, and I shall be very surprised if they do not receive much the same treatment in the future. Nor have I any great fears for the future of British shipping in the coasting and river trade of China, because our big shipping companies have provided safe and regular transport for the domestic trade of China for over fifty years, and I cannot believe that the Chinese will in their own interest shut us out of a trade which, for the time being at any rate, they cannot adequately serve themselves.

Now, I hope, ladies and gentlemen, you will not think that I am dismissing somewhat lightly and irresponsibly the serious problems with which British interests are confronted in China today. Nothing could be farther from my thoughts. I do realize, because I have been an eyewitness myself for many years, what our people, and especially our traders, are up against in their struggle to maintain their position in that great market. But just as we took the lead in opening up China to foreign trade, and have borne the brunt of any ill-feeling caused thereby ever since, so I believe we shall take the lead in adapting ourselves to the new conditions with which we are now faced. And I also believe that the Chinese, who have a pretty shrewd insight into the attitude of foreign nations towards their country, realize this, and if at times we do seem to get more than our share of the hard knocks

going about, they know at heart that in time of trouble they can always turn to the British for sympathy and assistance. We are in these days fighting as it were a rearguard action, and history tells us that to effect an orderly retreat in preparation for a fresh advance requires as much if not more military skill than leading an army advancing to victory. If I have correctly stated the position, then I think we have in our present representative in China a general on whom we can place the utmost trust and confidence at this critical period. I have had the privilege of being a member of Sir Miles Lampson's staff during the negotiations at Nanking which led up to the first of our new treaties with China; I helped, as the Chinese say, to rub the ink on the table on which he pointed his pen. I know that he has won not only the liking but the respect of the Chinese statesmen with whom he is now negotiating, and I think we can rest assured that whatever terms he makes for us will be the very best that can be made.

One last word. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales said last week, in speaking of British trade with Argentina, that *co-operation* was the keynote of our future relations with the people of that country. The same may be said, and perhaps with even greater force, in regard to our relations with the Chinese. Only we must hope that our Chinese friends will bear in mind that the word *co-operation*, just as the word *reciprocity*, implies a good deal of give and take on both sides, and that no international agreement or pact or contract or treaty can serve the purpose for which it is made unless both parties honestly and loyally try to make it a success. If the Chinese will meet us half-way on that ground—and I believe that is the intention of the Government at Nanking—then I see no reason why, under the changed conditions which will prevail when “extrality” is abolished in China, the British and Chinese peoples should not continue to trade with one another to their great mutual benefit for many years to come.

Dr. RUSHTON PARKER: I would like to ask an elementary question—namely, is Hong Kong on the same footing as other Treaty Ports in China?

The LECTURER: No, Hong Kong is a British colony; the extra-territorial areas in China are foreign concessions or international settlements.

Another MEMBER: It has been stated in the financial papers that the provinces in Canton and throughout China are to be divided up each behind its own tariff wall, and that it will be a great impediment to British trade to get over those tariff walls. A company like the British-American Tobacco Company will have to have a factory in each province.

The LECTURER: The Chinese Government have stated again and

again that it is their intention to have one national tariff, and that is the arrangement we made with them when we agreed to tariff autonomy. Of course, they have this difficulty with the provinces, that the provinces have to pay for the upkeep of their administration, especially of their armies, and they do not get the revenue that comes from the national tariff. That is kept by the Central Government for the service of foreign and domestic loans, so naturally there is a strong tendency on the part of the provinces to levy extra taxation, such as Likin. As regards such companies as the British-American Tobacco Company, I think I may say they have already met the practical difficulties of the situation by putting up factories in various parts of China.

Dr. RUSHTON PARKER: When you spoke of the Chinese giving us the same privileges that they have in our country, it struck me you would have had a much stronger case if, instead of referring to the Chinese of our country, you had referred to the Chinese in Singapore and Penang. I was immensely struck with the wonderful privileges they have there: they seem to be almost the chief people in Penang and Singapore too. They are wealthy.

The LECTURER: You are quite right. It is a very good point; but when I spoke of reciprocity with our country I meant to include the British colonies.

A MEMBER: Does Sir Harry suggest that we should give up our extraterritoriality laws before the Chinese laws are reasonably codified so as to be safe for Europeans? I speak with some knowledge of China. I had the honour of having an obituary notice in 1900. I know a little about the Chinese and the Chinese case. As a patriotic Britisher and one very fond of the Chinese I would like to put forward this contention, that we should not give up our extraterritorial rights without proper precautions that the Chinese laws shall be safe for Europeans.

The LECTURER: This is a very difficult question to answer. I tried to bring out in my address our present position in regard to those safeguards which we consider necessary if we are going to put our people under Chinese law. I also suggested that we cannot possibly sit down and do nothing about it, because the Chinese are determined to recover what they regard as their rights sooner or later. Another difficulty is that the foreign Powers, speaking generally, are not taking joint action in the matter, and it would be very difficult for us alone to refuse to recognize Chinese courts if, we will say, the Americans did agree to recognize them.

Mr. S. F. MAYERS: With regard to that last point, my Lord Chairman, our information shows that though the Powers who still enjoy extraterritorial privileges are negotiating separately, they are negotiating along common lines; and I do not feel that there is any ground to

justify the supposition that one of the remaining Powers enjoying extraterritorial privileges is likely to sign away those privileges and thereby place the remaining nations in a difficulty. Sir Harry Fox opened with the gambit that this problem is a very complicated one, but he dealt with it so luminously that he makes me, as a member of the audience, wonder whether he did not exaggerate the complication, or whether one is not a little more intelligent than one thought. I consider, if I may say so, that he perhaps tipped the balance a little more in favour of what one may label Chinese arguments, than in favour of the arguments which stand behind foreign reluctance in surrendering these privileges. We who have lived for many years in China all know that a privilege of that sort has been subject to abuses. It was abused wherever capitulations or extraterritorial rights existed in any country. In China it has been abused by many of the less important commercial Powers. Sir Harry Fox drew attention to the abuse of registering Chinese subjects as subjects of a foreign Power, and thereby endowing them with extraterritorial privileges, and he mentioned that constant difficulty, during the last fifty or sixty years of international trade in China, of conferring a sort of extraterritorial privilege upon the very goods of the foreign merchant as they penetrated into the interior. All those arguments supporting the Chinese view that extraterritorial privilege is obnoxious are freely admitted, I think, by all reasonable observers. But I do not feel that Sir Harry emphasized quite enough the grave disadvantages that are going to confront the firms concerned with foreign trade in China when extraterritoriality is given up—though there is a great deal of virtue in that word *when*. I think the general feeling is this, that if now, in this year of 1931, extraterritoriality were given up, it would be distinctly a premature step fraught with the greatest damage to British interests. (Hear, hear.) The news from China that we get day by day through the Press shows that the Nanking Government with which Sir Miles Lampson is negotiating is at this very moment confronted by a situation of serious import. A section of the governing Party has seceded, and has set up, or is reported to be setting up, a separate form of government at Canton. I do not think it unreasonable that in such circumstances the representative of a great Power like our own country should say to the Chinese Government that the moment does not seem opportune for carrying a stage further the negotiations which were pending. The willingness to carry such negotiations to a point which would mark a new stage in our relationships with China is by no means opposed by British commercial opinion interested in China. We feel generally, I think, that a new stage has to be entered upon, but I would emphasize what Sir Harry did mention, that there should be a transitionary period, and I would say by no means a short transitionary period; for China has to travel

a long road before she has arranged her budgetary system to make taxation uniform, and to make its incidence regular and just. The danger of being incarcerated in Chinese gaols is a very dreadful prospect, but that is not a point that is laid stress upon by commercial opinion. It is really the taxation problem which looms largest on the horizon. So long as China is a prey to civil war and has not stabilized her budgetary system, it is perfectly obvious that taxation must be irregular. The pleasing picture that Sir Harry Fox drew of the ability of astute persons to compromise with Chinese officials sounds all very well in this room, but such a necessity occasions a great deal of anxiety to people who have to carry on such negotiations of compromise, and a good deal of serious disturbance in the minds of their principals at home who know that, whatever the compromise may be, it will mean additional overhead expenditure. I feel that the question of taxation is the chief obstacle which stands in the minds of all British commercial interests in China against any speedy radical change in the extra-territorial position. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think we all have listened to Sir Harry Fox's lecture with deep interest. Everybody who is a sane person and looks round the world realizes that a gradual change is going to be made, a change which I have watched in Egypt and India, but some of us wonder whether in a rearguard action we ought to throw our weapons away. I think that is the worst way of fighting a rearguard action. In the twenty-six or twenty-seven years I have been in the East—in Turkey and Persia and more recently in Egypt—I have seen the importance of extrality and capitulations, and while I share to the full the view that in a sense they are derogatory to the nation who gives them from their national point of view, yet I think it can be argued with justice that on the whole they have done greater good to the countries that granted them than harm. They have provided wealth and trade and opportunities to those countries which they would not have had; and it is significant the countries in which we have abandoned our capitulations have gone steadily downhill. Look at Turkey, a great Power fallen to pieces economically. We have seen in the beginnings of the loss of extrality a weakening of policy in Egypt. There you see the native courts. It was the pride of every Englishman that any man could get a just and equal verdict from courts composed of British and native judges. But since the British have left nobody pretends that this is the case. One of my chief officials refused to believe for a long time that the native courts could ever go wrong. He said it was the last thing possible. But before I left he told me with tears in his eyes, "It is all gone, finished; our work has gone." Ought we not to proceed more prudently and slowly? Have not we been negotiating too readily in China with very

unstable forces? (Hear, hear.) We are negotiating with a Power that, if not transitory, at any rate is a Power that has not solidified its position in China, and tomorrow, perhaps, will be incapable of carrying out the obligations to get which we are to make sacrifices. I believe that in the disturbed state of the world, and with the very hostile forces that surround us, we need to fight our rearguard action with every weapon in our hand; and not because we want to retard the progress of those countries, for experience shows that the best way to retard the progress of those countries is to abandon our extraterritorial and capitulatory rights. Those of us who love the East and those who love it best feel that we can do it most good by a more prudent policy than has been pursued recently in China and one or two other places.

If Sir Harry is not too tired, I should be glad, when he closes his remarks, if he could say a word about a thing in which I share his interest very deeply. That is the juridical position. I do not see how in the East you can trade if you cannot get equal law and equal justice without fear or favour from a trade point of view; and we cannot be assured of getting a fair verdict from Chinese courts on trade matters. It seems to me to knock the whole bottom out of our trade, and if Sir Harry can say whether I am right or wrong I shall be very grateful. On behalf of the Central Asian Society and all here I tender our very warmest thanks for the very interesting evening he has given us, and for the opportunity of hearing his expert view on a great question. (Applause.)

The LECTURER: Lord Lloyd, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you very much for the kind things you have said about my address. It required some courage to give an address and try to offer a convincing explanation of a situation which I myself regard as most serious and unsatisfactory. Possibly I did, as Mr. Mayers said, tip over the balance on the Chinese side; and I suppose I did that because I feel that the arguments on our side against giving up our extraterritorial rights are so tremendous that people may perhaps wonder what all this bother is about, and I wanted to try and explain what the reasons of the Chinese are and why they feel so strongly about it. I may possibly have overstated their case. I did not really mean to do it, but I tried to get many considerations into a very small compass, and that is not at all easy. With regard to the question Lord Lloyd asked me about the courts, of course it is quite true that the Chinese courts at the present day are, speaking generally, unable to give foreigners adequate redress and protection. That is one of the main points which I believe we are keeping before the Chinese Government. But there is this difficulty, that some years ago the British Government, followed by other Governments, did go some way in telling the Chinese—it was in 1926—that they were prepared to give up their extraterritorial rights when the

Chinese had established competent courts of their own. It is all a question of interpretation. The Chinese say: "We have now got them": and flourish their criminal and civil codes in our faces. We say, "You have not; we can prove you have not," and that, I suppose, is what Sir Miles Lampson is doing in Nanking today. He is probably saying the same things to the Chinese Government that you, my Lord, have just said to me, and from what I know of him I am sure he is saying them with great point. (Applause.)

PROBLEMS OF CHINESE BRONZES

By W. PERCEVAL YETTS

COLLECTORS of Chinese bronzes often deplore the fact that they know nothing concerning the provenance of their treasures. The usual lack of information is due to several causes: first, excavation in China is generally carried out by ignorant and untrained persons; secondly, the finds almost always pass through several hands before they reach the collector; and thirdly, commercial and other considerations often encourage secrecy or wilfully misleading statements. Thus, students are left to seek enlightenment from the bronzes themselves. Some of the pieces are inscribed, and in a few instances the legends offer clues to historical settings; but generally this source of information is most disappointing. Our limited knowledge of archaic script often precludes a full and certain decipherment, and, even when these terse legends can be read, the allusions to persons and places can rarely be identified.

Another possible means of tracing the cultural environment through actual examination of the object is to estimate the standards of style and craftsmanship. Here, again, conclusions are likely to be false, owing to lack of archaeological criteria. There can be little doubt that many of the notions now current will prove mistaken in the light of future scientific excavation. The late Jörg Trübner made a painstaking attempt to trace the evolution of the bronze art in ancient China on stylistic grounds.* He took twenty-six examples of the *yu* class, and grouped them into three main types, arranged in supposed chronological sequence. From their features he formulated theories of evolution, which he supported with collateral data drawn from five vessels of the *kuang* class and several other documents. He showed entire disregard for the collective opinion of Chinese critics during many centuries. This detachment from established tradition might possibly have been an advantage, in so far that it left him free to work out new standards, had he known those relevant archaeological criteria which are a necessary basis for a theme of this kind. But he lacked this knowledge, and his book fails to carry conviction. One sample of his arguments will suffice. He puts, at the two ends of his supposed evolutionary series, first the *yu* belonging to the Pao-chi set, now in the New York Metropolitan Museum, and last a *yu* in the Eumorfopoulos Collection (Nos. A 24 and

* *Yu und Kuang; zur Typologie der chinesischen Bronzen*. Pp. 32, pls. 69. Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Biermann. 1929.

.25 of the *Catalogue*). The Pao-chi *yu* have the handles fitted in the shorter transverse axis, so that, with one hand lifting the vessel, the other may tilt it to pour the contents out at one end of the oval mouth. The author urges that this is a more utilitarian, and therefore more primitive, arrangement than the handle being fitted in the long axis, as it is in the Eumorfopoulos *yu*, "for the sole purpose," he asserts, "of enhancing the noble effect of the silhouette." No doubt this argument might have some force if the *yu* were pourers; but all evidence goes to prove that they were primarily containers from which the wine was ladled. Four undoubted pourers were found among the Pao-chi set, and also several ladles, one (so far as I can remember) actually inside a *yu*.

While awaiting organized excavation, we are left with the hope of gaining clues from the material of the object. If, for instance, we knew that certain types of alloy had been definitely associated with certain schools of bronze casting, it would be a step forward. Again, there is a prevalent belief that the state of corrosion indicates the age.

A recently published article* is mainly concerned with evidence as to corrosion, though the composition of the bronze is also treated. As stated on the title-page, this is an advance copy, and it is subject to revision. No doubt in its final form the subject matter will be sorted out and arranged in a more coherent manner. The conclusions come to by Captain Collins are of necessity merely tentative; for a vast deal more of laboratory work must be done before final opinions can be reached. His premises, too, suffer from the usual lack of archaeological criteria. Unless the exact age of an object can be determined, the attempt is futile to relate its metallic composition with a definite school. Moreover, the question of provenance is of the utmost importance. Beyond doubt there existed at the same time in ancient China different local centres of bronze casting. Probably the practice as regards the composition of the alloy varied as much as their respective standards of style and craftsmanship. To imagine that bronze casters in many of the numerous semi-isolated states which constituted ancient China were governed by a uniform rule is, of course, illusory. Their practice was probably as diverse in regard to material as in other respects. Subject to certain rough empirical standards, they must have used the metal which was obtainable. Presumably they put into the melting-pot every scrap that came to hand, much in the same way that many casters do at the present day.

The foregoing are some of the reasons why we can hardly hope at the present time to gain from the analysis of the metal definite clues to the cultural setting of ancient Chinese bronzes. This is not to say that the work of Captain Collins is valueless to the connoisseur and the

* *The Corrosion of Early Chinese Bronzes*. By William F. Collins. Pp. 25, pls. 4. The Institute of Metals. 2s. 6d. net.

archæologist. All the data which he has collected may some day fit into their true place, when the associated criteria, now lacking, are known. I am not qualified to estimate, as a metallurgist, the worth of the article to science. Presumably it should be received as a welcome contribution, since, so far as I know, only one serious study of the subject has yet been published, and that in a short paper by Professor Chikashige Masumi eleven years ago.*

Corrosion is an even more complex problem than that of metallic composition. Here also there is need for full knowledge of contributory factors. Who can correlate cause and effect without full data of environment? Captain Collins gives some useful tables showing the composition of loess in different localities, and the fact is well known that most of the territory of ancient China was covered with loess. But this does not help us much to assess the influence of purely local conditions, such as the proximity of organic matter and associated objects in the place of burial. And there remain, besides, incalculable factors, such as duration of burial, and the vicissitudes through which a bronze may have passed above ground. In short, a reasonable conclusion seems to be that, in our present state of knowledge, patina is but a minor guide as to the age of a bronze. Certainly, the absence of patina does not preclude a high antiquity.

Captain Collins makes no attempt to explain the black, glossy, lacquer-like surface which is often found on mirrors; unless his remarks on colloidal patination deposits may have some bearing on it. This being a most intriguing problem, which often arouses the curiosity of collectors, a passage by the present writer, which was published last year,† is repeated here in the hope that it may lead to more light being thrown on the subject:

"I have long held the view that the quality of this coating is so perfect and uniform that the generally accepted explanation of a patina due to accidental chances of environment fails to carry conviction. At my request, Dr. H. J. Plenderleith has been good enough to make a chemical examination, and he finds that the black coating withstands all reagents except a mixture of nitric and hydrofluoric acids. This fact suggests the possibility that the coating may have been intentionally produced by mixing siliceous matter with the layer of the mould which comes into direct contact with the molten metal. Thus a coating of a compound somewhat like silicon bronze might be produced. The problem must be investigated further before any definite statement can be made. A glossy black surface is of minor value as a mirror; but the fact must

* *The Composition of Ancient Eastern Bronzes*, in *The Journal of the Chemical Society*, cxvii. (1920), 917-922.

† *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection Catalogue of the Chinese and Korean Bronzes*, etc., vol. ii., 42. London: Benn.

be remembered that mirrors were not made solely for toilet purposes. Many were primarily talismans, and the vogue for burying them in tombs would explain a process aimed at providing an imperishable coating. The perfect state of preservation which distinguishes most of the mirrors having this lacquer-like surface lends support to the theory.

Note should be added that few Chinese bronze objects, other than the mirrors, show this quality. It occurs, however, on certain Korean domestic utensils, of which the spoons are the commonest; and the surmise seems reasonable that the Koreans produced the coating intentionally in order to fit the things for use in contact with food.

Captain Collins writes: "It is believed by many that all early Chinese bronzes were cast by the 'cire perdue' process, considered by some to have been invented by the Egyptians. In consequence no two could be exactly similar." There is certainly no doubt that the Chinese have used the "cire perdue" process for all but the simplest castings. For that very reason, many were exactly similar. Indeed, archaic replicas are known to exist at the present day, and the fact that quite a lot have survived the vicissitudes of more than two thousand years indicates that originally they were much more numerous. One of the main advantages of the "cire perdue" method is that it allows of free duplication. The ancient Chinese, in common with all skilled craftsmen, were ready to take advantage of every means to economize labour. Their frequent use of dies is another example of this instinct. A full account of the technique of bronze casting in ancient China was published two years ago in the first volume of the *Eumorfopoulos Collection Catalogue*. Explanations there given have been confirmed by a recent discovery among the remains of the Yin dynasty at An-yang. Several clay moulds, which must have served for wax patterns of bronzes, have come to light.

Another technical point made was that lead would probably be found in fairly large quantities in the composition of many Chinese bronzes. A verification of this forecast is one of the most interesting data established by Captain Collins. The presence of lead facilitates the attainment of that smoothness of surface and sharpness of detail which distinguish the bronzes of ancient China. There remains the question whether lead was early recognized as a metal distinct from tin. Captain Collins states that it was known during the third century B.C.; but he omits to mention his authority. This is one of the points which might well be enlarged on when the article undergoes revision.

TURKESTAN AND THE SOVIET REGIME

By MUSTAFA CHOKAYEV

LENIN and all the leaders of the October Revolution after him were very fond of laying particular emphasis on the double rôle of Turkestan in the Soviet political system. Turkestan, in the first place, was to serve as "an experimental field" for the practical application of the Soviet policy for different nationalities; and it was, in the second place, to become an imitable example for the solution of a more general and more important problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat—namely, "the revolution for colonial liberation." Almost the entire literature devoted by the Bolsheviks to Turkestan affirms this exemplary character of the "revolutionary liberation policy" carried out in Turkestan by the Bolsheviks. Such an affirmation imposes upon the author of this article the duty to be exceptionally accurate in describing the state of Turkestan under the Soviet power.

I. The Theory of Deception.

Though it is not our intention to embark upon a theoretical discussion with the Moscow Bolsheviks, it is difficult to pass over the double meaning the Bolsheviks have come to attach to their theory of "national self-determination."

"By self-determination of nations is understood," wrote Lenin in April, 1914, "their state separation from national foreign collectives; in other words, the formation of a national independent state" (see "Collection of the Works of Lenin," vol. xix., p. 98).

At the factional Conference of the Bolsheviks in 1917 (April)—the Bolsheviks then constituted only a faction of the Social Democratic Party—which took place in St. Petersburg, Stalin firmly declared that:

"The oppressed peoples comprised within Russia must be given the right to decide for themselves the question whether they want to remain within the composition of the State of Russia, or to separate and form their own independent states" (see "Revolution and the Question of Nationalities," published by the Communist Academy, 1930, vol. iii., p. 8).

In the resolution on the national question adopted at this Conference is found, among others, the following declaration:

"All the nations comprising the State of Russia must be granted the right to free separation and the right to form their own independent states. The denial of such a right and the refusal to adopt measures guaranteeing its practical realization would be equivalent to supporting the policy of annexation" (*ibid.*, p. 26).

In his article on Finland, Lenin wrote in *Pravda* (The Tenth) of May 2, 1917:

"The conscious proletariat and the social democrats *faithful* to their programme stand for *the right to separation* of Finland, as well of all other oppressed peoples, from Russia" (italics of the original quoted, *ibid.*, p. 28).

Well, the Bolsheviks at last found themselves in power. Decrees and appeals were immediately published in profusion confirming the right to Russia's subject nations to free separation from Russia. Moreover, in a

special "appeal of the Soviet of People's Commissaries to all the labouring Muslims of Russia and the East," the Bolsheviks, addressing our people, wrote:

"Do not lose time and throw off your shackles—the century-old grabbers of your lands! No longer let them plunder your paternal hearths! You yourselves should be the masters of your own country! You yourselves should arrange your life in your own image and liking!" (published in the *Gazette* of the "Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government," this being then the title of the Soviet of People's Commissars, November 24, 1917).

After quoting these revolutionary and solemn promises (confirmed by the signatures of both Lenin and Stalin) which preceded and followed the usurpation of state power by the Bolsheviks, I should like to bring to the notice of my readers a document of extraordinary importance. This document is the "Report on the National Question" made by Stalin (of course with Lenin's approval) to the 10th Congress of the Bolshevik Party (1921). Stalin, then no longer a revolutionary agitator, but a People's Commissar for Nationalities, polemizes with Chicherin, and reproaches the latter that he (Chicherin) "speaks too much on national self-determination, which has now become an empty slogan conveniently utilized by the Imperialists."

One notices here already a difference in the treatment by Stalin of the slogan of "self-determination of the nations"; he thinks it already an "empty slogan." But let us hear Stalin speak himself:

"We have departed from this slogan for already two years; the slogan we no longer have in our programme. In our programme we do not speak of national self-determination, a slogan absolutely deliquescent, but of a slogan more clear cut and definite—of the right of peoples to state separation. These are two different things" . . . (see pamphlet, "National Question and Soviet Russia," published by People's Commissariat for Nationalities; State Publication, 1921).

We have seen above that neither Lenin in 1914, nor the Conference of the Bolsheviks in April, 1917, nor again Lenin in May, 1917, made any difference whatsoever between the slogan of "self-determination of the nations" and "the right of each people to state separation." On the contrary, Lenin as well as the Conference of the Bolsheviks both considered these two conceptions synonymous. But as soon as the Bolsheviks consolidated their power the conception of "self-determination of the nations" and "the right of peoples to state separation" became two different things.

Declaring that "the right to separation" from Soviet Russia remains unutilized ("by the will of the peoples themselves comprising Soviet Russia"), Stalin says:

"In so far as we have to deal with the colonies kept in oppression by England, France, America, Japan; in so far as we have to deal with such subjected countries as Arabia, Mesopotamia, Turkey, India—i.e., with the countries which are the colonies of the Entente—the slogan of 'the right of peoples to separation' is a revolutionary one, and its rejection would be playing into the hands of the Entente" (*ibid.*).

In another passage the same Stalin says very clearly:

"The demand for separation of the bordering nations at the present stage of revolution is extremely counter-revolutionary" (see the journal *Peoples' Economy*, No. 9, December, 1920).

Developing the idea of Stalin, the Bolshevik Zatonski said at the 10th Congress of the Party:

"It would be quite natural, we would be behaving quite correctly, if in deferring to the bordering peoples we were strengthening our centre. And even if it were necessary to despoil the bordering countries to strengthen our centre, we would do so."

I will not dwell any longer on the Bolshevik's theory ; I will only point out the fact that the behaviour of the directors of the Soviet policy on national questions, which received the official sanction of the Party Conference in 1921, fits in very well with what the same Bolsheviks (Lenin, Stalin, and others) called in 1917 "the policy of grabbing and annexation."

Thus, having consolidated their power, the Moscow Bolsheviks declared the slogan for so many years so ardently professed by them to be counter-revolutionary when it came to be applied in practice to the peoples subjected to Russia. But the same slogan continued to be "revolutionary" in relation to "the peoples subjected to the Entente."

The outside world, especially the so-called colonial countries, hear only the revolutionary slogans of the Bolsheviks, while we, the peoples under the power of the very same Bolsheviks, have experienced already for thirteen years the whole horror of their bloodthirsty "policy of grabbing and annexation."

II. The First Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies in Turkestan.

From the very first days of the revolution power in Turkestan passed into the hands of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies. The Turkestan Committee of the Provisional Government attempted to assert their right to govern the country without the Soviets, but nothing came out of their attempt. The very first clash of the Government Committee with the Tashkent Soviet led to an almost complete voluntary liquidation of the Committee. The Chairman and three members of the Committee immediately left Turkestan. Two members of the Committee who were sent to the Semirechinsk Province for the liquidation of the unrest which had started there in 1916 were compelled to limit their activities to the registration of "pogroms" and mass murders of the local Kirghiz-Kaizak population by the Russian peasant immigrants, with the active assistance of the "revolutionary soldiers" returned from the front. The remaining two members of the Committee who had stayed in Tashkent submitted finally to the hegemony of the local Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.

This state of things continued for more than two months. The consequent changes in the composition of the Turkestan Committee of the Provisional Government, with the appointment at its head of a Commissary General, did not in any way improve the system of government ; the Soviet of the Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies remained the actual masters of the situation.

It seems strange that we—the Turkestanians—who so heartily welcomed the February Revolution, began in course of time to fear the very same elements without whom that Revolution would have been impossible. I speak of the Soviets of the Workers' and Peasants' Deputies in Turkestan. We were seeking closer contact with the Russian Socialists, but we observed in the Soviets, which were composed entirely of Socialists, tendencies very alarming to us. And this not because we ourselves were becoming extreme Nationalists. Our modest desire for a local autonomy for Turkestan we were ready to leave to the decision of the Constituent Assembly of All-Russia. But we did naturally express our wish to participate more actively in the building up of new life. But under the then prevailing conditions in

Turkestan this proved to be the encroachment on our part upon the old privileges of the Russians.

The Russian population of Turkestan (approximately only 5 per cent.) consisted of the civil servants, merchants, soldiers and peasants. Turkestan had neither the Russian nobility nor the Russian landowners. Among the Russians here, therefore, there could not have been any kind of "class antagonism." The absence in the country of self-government of any shape or form, even of the kind that existed under the old régime in other parts of Russia, was the cause of the fact that literally every branch of government in Turkestan passed into the hands of the Soviets from the very first days of the revolution. But as the great majority of the population (95 per cent.) consisted of the native Turkestanians, there arose a certain contact and interrelationship between the governors and the governed. The Soviets openly took up the position of the defenders of the old privileges of the Russians in Turkestan.

In Russia the Soviets fought against the privileges of the former ruling classes, while here, in Turkestan, the Soviets consisting of the representatives of the ruling nation defended the privileges of the Russian workers and the Russian peasants against the pretensions of the local population.

III. The First Steps of the Bolsheviks in Turkestan.

The usurpation of power by the Bolsheviks in Turkestan took place at the same time as in St. Petersburg. The native population of Turkestan did not take any part whatever in the historical events of the October days. We did not at that time have any definite clearly cut national policy. We continued to regard Turkestan as a part of Russia, and its future fate we considered as tied to that of Russia. Even in regard to the new "Workers' and Peasants' Government" formed in St. Petersburg, we adopted a waiting attitude. If the conduct of the local Russian workers, soldiers and peasants, tended to alienate us from their "local Soviet power," the decrees and appeals of the central Soviet Government on the "rights of each nation, irrespective of the degree of its development or backwardness, to separation and to the formation of its own independent national state" and the right to demand "the withdrawal of the armies of a stronger nation" seemed to us capable of reconciling the Turkestanians to the new state régime in Russia. We did not have to wait long. In the last days of November, 1917, the 3rd Congress of the Soviets in Turkestan was convened in Tashkent. We followed the activities of the Congress with great care and attention; it was to lay the foundation stone of the Soviet power in Tashkent. One of the strangest peculiarities of this Congress was the fact that no representatives of the native population of Turkestan took part in its deliberations. The soldiers sent thither from the interior provinces of Russia; the peasants settled therein by the old (Tsarist) régime on the lands confiscated from our people, and the workers accustomed to regard us haughtily, from above—these were the people who were to decide at this moment the fate of Turkestan. The Resolution of the Congress of the Soviets, which was noteworthy for its clarity of expression, contained among others the following statement:

"The inclusion of the Mussulmans in the organs of the higher Regional Revolutionary power appears at the present moment unacceptable."

This cynicism, so frankly expressed, killed the last remnants of any hope of the possibility of arriving at any agreement with the new power in Turkestan. We knew well the personalities of the leaders of the Turkestan

Bolsheviks and of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries. We knew the dark past of many of them, yet we did not expect that even these gentlemen would with such inhuman cynicism tread down the solemn revolutionary slogans and the rights of peoples. We expected that the Soviet Government formed in Tashkent would offer us some compromise, some sort of temporary *modus vivendi* with the final decision as to the form of government Turkestan was to have, left to the Central Soviet Government. But the resolution of the Congress of the Soviets referred to above destroyed any expectations which we might have had, and we found ourselves compelled to take steps for the open expression of the will of our people.

IV. The Proclamation of the Autonomy of Turkestan (the "Kokand Government").

Throughout the country voices began to be heard more and more frequently calling upon their leaders to stand up for their national rights. It was demanded of the Turkestan National Council, of which I had the honour to be the President, to follow the example of the Ukraine, and by unilateral act to proclaim the autonomy of Turkestan without waiting for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly of All-Russia. The National Council did not take this step even at the risk of its own popularity. The leaders of the National Council were people of the young Radical generation. But our Radicalism was concerned more with the *internal National* rather than the *external National front*. In other words, our Radicalism meant not the erection of barriers between our own and the Russian peoples, but the struggle for modernization, for progress, the struggle for the reconstruction of the life of our people on new lines.

But the usurpation of power by the Bolsheviks followed by the deprivation of our people of their political rights (see the above quoted resolution of the 3rd Congress of the Soviets) compelled us hurriedly to take measures to oppose the will of our people to the decisions of the usurpators. It was decided after consultation with the local branches of the National Council to convoke in Kokand an Extraordinary Congress. During the negotiations preceding the Congress two tendencies were observed: some were for the declaration of independence, and some for the limitation of their steps for the time being to a proclamation of a Provisional Autonomous Government of Turkestan. Both stood, however, for loyal relations with the Central Soviet Government, whom they thought would bring pressure to bear upon the Russian Bolsheviks of Turkestan, who had by their conduct created in the country a considerable friction between the Russians and the native population. After many-sided and exhaustive deliberations, all agreed to the declaration of the autonomy, the project for which was submitted by the author of this article. Thus the 4th Turkestanian Extraordinary Congress proclaimed on December 10, 1917, under my chairmanship, the Autonomy of Turkestan. The resolution of the Congress stated:

"The 4th Extraordinary Regional Congress, expressing the will of the peoples of Turkestan to self-determination in accordance with the principles proclaimed by the Great Russian Revolution, proclaims Turkestan territorially autonomous in union with the Federal Democratic Republic of Russia. The elaboration of the form of autonomy is entrusted to the Constituent Assembly of Turkestan, which must be convened as soon as possible. The Congress solemnly declares herewith that the rights of the national minorities settled in Turkestan will be fully safeguarded."

It is to be noted here that the Congress was attended also by the representatives of the Russian population of the country. A Provisional People's Council and the Provisional Government of the Autonomous Turkestan were duly elected. The new Government did not have a single soldier at their command, nor did they have money. Nevertheless, the Turkestanian Government ("The Kokand Government") quickly gained popularity.

The Government began to organize a people's militia. The voluntary contributions enabled the Government to form the essential organs of Government. The Government decided to issue an internal loan to the amount of 3,000,000 roubles. The preliminary negotiations convinced the members of the Government that the issue would be more than covered in a very short time. An accelerated activity was carried out in regard to the elaboration of the electoral law for the Constituent Assembly of Turkestan, which was to be convened for March 20, 1918.

At the beginning of January, 1918, conferences of the organized workers and "dekkan" (peasants) of Turkestan were held, which not only confirmed and approved the autonomy of Turkestan, but even found it necessary to appeal to the Central Soviet Government "to recognize the Provisional Government of Autonomous Turkestan as the only Government of Turkestan."

The Congress of the Workers and "Dekkan" pointed out to the central Soviet the necessity of the dissolution of the Soviet Government formed in Tashkent, which leaned on the foreign elements hostile to the native population of the country contrary to the principles proclaimed by the October Revolution of the self-determination of peoples.

We are approaching now an interesting moment when the Bolsheviks, after having advised the Turkestanians to take up the self-determination principle, and promised them to take every step guaranteeing its practical realization, began, now that they had attained power, to ignore their own advice. I will quote here the reply of Stalin, then the People's Commissar for Nationalities, to the appeal of the Congress of the Turkestanian Workers and Dekkan, as reproduced by Vadim Tchaikan in his book "The Execution of the Twenty-six Baku Commissars," the book which was published in Moscow in 1922 with the approval of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Stalin answered in the following terms:

"The Soviets are autonomous in their internal affairs and discharge their duties by leaning upon their own actual forces. The native proletarians of Turkestan, therefore, should not appeal to the central Soviet power with the request to dissolve the Turkestan Govnarcom (Soviet of People's Commissars), which in their opinion is leaning upon the non-Muslim army elements, but should themselves dissolve it by force, if such a force is available to the native proletarians and peasants."

This was an open call on the part of the Soviet centre for civil war, and this war did really begin.

After this answer of Stalin, the Tashkent Bolsheviks who, until now, did not dare to lift their hands against the autonomous Government, decided to liquidate the latter; and on February 11, 1918, the Tashkent Government moved their army against Kokand. The Kokand Government, unable to muster enough military forces, could not offer an effective organized resistance and the autonomous Government fell. Now the war began between the Turkestanians and the Soviet troops. The city of Kokand was plundered by

the Bolsheviks ; over 10,000 inhabitants and defenders of the city fell victims of this Bolshevik aggression. The Soviet Government allowed its troops "freedom of action for a whole month." The Bolsheviks triumphed. In the country began what came to be known as "The Basmaji Movement."

I have already had occasion to speak in detail of this movement in the pages of the *Asiatic Review* (see the number for April, 1928), and will not therefore dwell upon it here.

V. The Soviet Power in Turkestan : The Policy of Famine.

The Bolshevik, George Safarov, who was sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to Turkestan and who remained there for two years (1919-1921) as a member of an Extraordinary Commission for the guidance of the Soviet policy, wrote a book entitled "The Colonial Revolution" (The Experiment of Turkestan), State Publication, Moscow, 1921. In this book one finds collected much interesting and valuable information on the Bolshevik activities in our country in these "heroic years" of the Soviet power. This is what Safarov writes of those into whose hands the October Revolution placed the task of the "National liberation" of Turkestan (see p. 71).

"It was not the Bolshevik party that created in Turkestan the Bolshevik power ; it was the Bolshevik power that created there the Bolshevik party and the party of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries. The unavoidable consequence of this was that the Bolshevik and the Left Socialist Revolutionary parties became from the very first day of the revolution a veritable harbour of a considerable number of adventurers, careerists, and even of simple criminal elements. On the other hand," continues Safarov, "the apportionment to the industrial proletariat of the Tsarist colony was a national privilege of the Russians. The proletarian dictatorship here, therefore, put on from the very first day, the typically colonizing cloak."

But what advantage did Turkestan receive from the power with "the typically colonizing cloak"? The answer is furnished by Safarov himself :

"Removed from power, the Mussulman paupers were also deprived of bread. . . . The new town (that is, the Russian quarter of the towns) used to fall upon the starving old towns (that is, the Mussulman quarters) and villages with the avalanche of requisitions and confiscations ; and the Mussulman population, unable to cope themselves with the famine, were slowly dying out. An impassable barrier was thus erected between the new towns and the Soviet power dwelling therein and the wide masses of the native population. . . . In the Mussulman circles there grew thus that fateful disposition towards the Soviet power which was expressed in the following short sentence, 'Will the Russian freedom never come to an end?' 'The Russian freedom' meant death by famine, raids by the Red guards, executions without trials, wholesale confiscations and requisitions" (*ibid.*, pp. 81-82).

I would like the distant friends of the Moscow Bolsheviks to give careful consideration to these lines emanating from one of the most prominent Bolshevik publicists.

I will quote another authoritative source for the elucidation of the meaning of Safarov's phrase, "the Mussulman population, unable to cope themselves with the famine, were slowly dying out."

The source is the book entitled "The Revolution and the Native Population of Turkestan," written by a Turkestanian, Turar Riskulov, who held the highest posts in Soviet Turkestan, and who is at the present the Acting President of the Soviet of People's Commissars of Russia. He and Safarov cannot, of course, be suspected of the Turkestanian "counter-revolutionary"

tendencies; and his evidence on the conduct of his party comrades in Turkestan commands all the force and authority of an official document.

In his own preface to his book (p. xii), Turar Riskulov writes:

"Comrade Tobolin (one of the greatest leaders of the Turkestanian Bolsheviks) stated at one of the sittings of the Turkestan Central Executive Committee that the Kirghiz, as economically the weakest from the Marxist's point of view, must die out anyhow. For the Revolution, therefore, it is far more important to devote the available means to the maintenance of the front rather than expending it on famine. . . ."

Thus we see that "Marxism" which the Moscow Bolsheviks present to us as the only means for saving the Colonial peoples; in Turkestan this very "Marxism" was utilized by the very same Bolsheviks to justify their policy of exterminating by famine the Turkestanian population.

This theory of "extermination by famine" of the Turkestan population the Bolsheviks carried out with great consecutiveness and revolutionary zeal. Turar Riskulov, for instance, who was in 1919 President of the Commission for the Relief of Famine, pointed out, according to a Tashkent paper entitled *Our Gazette* (see its number of February 14, 1919), "the unsympathetic view" taken by the Tashkent and local Soviets in regard to combating the famine, and suggested that a decree should be issued taxing the well-to-do classes, independently of their nationality, for the relief of famine. This suggestion was, however, categorically opposed by Comrade Kosakov, the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Soviet, who saw in such taxation a form of repression, the introduction of which he thought impossible, lest it should augment the number of their enemies. The Government agreed with the views of Kosakov; the project of taxing the well-to-do was thus rejected and the task of relief was left in the hands of the Soviets—that is, in the hands of those Soviets who, according to Riskulov, "were unsympathetic" towards relieving famine. Can one imagine the Bolsheviks as defenders of the well-to-do? But the fact is that then, in 1919, the well-to-do who would have come under the decree were *only Russian*, while the fund thus obtained would be used to help the *Mussulmans only*.

One might wonder how many of the Mussulman population did perish as the result of the Bolshevik "famine policy." The official publications in Tashkent give a figure of 1,114,000 dead. But let us quote again from the above-mentioned book of Riskulov, on p. 78 of which one finds the following:

Question put to Riskulov: "How many of the native population did die and how many survived?"

Answer by Riskulov: "We do not have exact information, but from the communications received from the provinces one can estimate that about one-third of the population must have died. The nomad population have suffered most in this respect." Calculating by the statistics of that time, the one-third indicated by Riskulov amounted to about three millions (3,000,000).

This figure is all the more terrible, as it is estimated by the man who, because of the responsibility attached to his official position, would diminish rather than increase the extent of the catastrophe.

VI. The Causes of Famine in Turkestan.

One may ask what were the causes that brought about in Turkestan in those years (1918-1919) so terrible a famine. During the last of the pre-war

years Turkestan, especially Fergana, its most fertile province, was rapidly being transformed into a cotton plantation. The area for corn cultivation was being correspondingly reduced. Dependence of Turkestan upon imported Russian wheat began, as a result, to grow from year to year. Thus in 1917 already, during the Revolution (before October 11), the requirements of Turkestan in imported grain were estimated at 33 million puds (a pud equals 36 pounds). On the other hand, the lands most suitable for agricultural purposes had been taken over by the Tsarist Government from the native population and given to the Russian immigrants. And during the Revolution, at the very beginning of the famine, we learnt to our great sorrow that the agricultural production by the Russian settlers was as far away from the native population as were those of the Northern Caucasus or of the Samara Province. This produce of theirs was never marketed in Turkestan; the immigrants kept their wheat in their barns, and the local organs of the revolutionary power took steps to safeguard the locked-up wheat from the pretensions of the natives.

To these, so to speak, natural causes was added the policy of the Bolsheviks. In connection with this we must remember the evidence of Safarov quoted before—namely, that “the new towns raided the old towns and villages with an avalanche of requisitions and confiscations, while the Mussulman population were slowly dying out.” In other words, the Soviet power were taking everything from the Mussulman population, exposing the latter to certain death by starvation, while the Russian immigrants guarded their wheat and other agricultural produce safely in their barns.

Simultaneously there proceeded the struggle for the confiscation of lands from the Kirghiz-Kaizak population. The same Safarov mentioned before reported to the 10th Congress of the Communist Party that:

“since the establishment of the Soviet Power (i.e., during the two years of its existence) Russian landownership had increased in the Semirechinsk Province from 35 per cent. to 70 per cent., while the number of the Kirghiz exterminated was to be estimated at 35½ per cent.”

In another passage he relates that:

“on the routes used by the nomads the Russian immigrants placed beehives in order that they might invoke the right, in case of passage through them, to the requisition of cattle.”

It must be noted that all this—the confiscation of lands and the requisition of cattle on account of alleged despoliation of beehives—took place with the full approval and support of the local Soviet authorities.

The transit roads between Turkestan and the wheat-producing regions of the Aktiubinsk and Akmolinsk Provinces were in good state, and communication over them had not been interrupted during the most horrible period of famine—the summer of 1918. At the time, when in Tashkent a pud of flour cost 70-80 roubles, in Aktiubinsk, which was connected with Tashkent by a direct railway line, a pud of flour was selling in the open market at 4-5 roubles. And this flour was not being brought to Turkestan; if it was taken there, it certainly did not reach the local population. The private transport of flour, whether by railways or by camels, was prohibited under the penalty of requisition and shooting of the guilty.

The native population saw their salvation only in flight. Evidence of this is furnished by the same Safarov, who says that:

“In Perovsk (Kzyl-Orda of today, in Kazakstan) sat the Soviet autocrat Gershot. From him fled the whole tribe of Kirghiz. During the flight about a

million persons died out" (see the Moscow *Pravda*, No. 133, June 20, 1920).

It was not a whit better in the settled regions of Turkestan. In this connection I will mention in a word or two the Province of Fergana, the most rich and fertile region in the whole of Middle Asia. Owing to the famine that had begun, the Moscow Government reduced the food taxes in this region to 50 per cent.; but by the endeavours of the local Russian Bolsheviks in Turkestan "the tax was collected to the extent of 120 per cent." (see report of Khodjaev to the Turkestan Central Executive Committee of July 31, 1923). Moreover the Turkestan Soviet Government conceded to the Red Army the right of "self-provisioning"—i.e., to procure their provisions with the means at their disposal. And here are the results. The population of Namagan district (which suffered least from famine) in 1914 amounted to 303,790, while in 1920, after the famine of 1918-1919, it numbered only 190,675 souls (see the paper *Turkestan* of December 16, 1922).

VII. Later Policy of the Bolsheviks in Turkestan.

Grown stronger "on the skeletons of the Turkestanian proletariat"—an expression taken from the book of Turar Riskulov (p. 77) quoted previously—the Turkestan Bolsheviks, supported by the Moscow centre, carried out the policy of "deepening the colonial revolution" against the interests of National Turkestan. The Moscow Government acted simultaneously in two diametrically opposed directions. On the one hand Pan-Islamist agitators were sent to Turkestan with Mavlevi Muhamed-Barakatulla (from India, the former collaborator of the German agency in Afghanistan during the Great War); while on the other hand they resisted and fought even the slightest manifestation of Nationalism in Turkestan itself. Seeing that a means of directly influencing the Turkestanians would be highly advantageous to them, the Moscow Bolsheviks began to organize a Communist Party among the Mussulmans. The first conference of this organized party was convened in Tashkent on May 24-25th, 1919. "The Declaration to the Peoples of the East" was issued to the world, of course, in the name of this party of the Mussulman Communists. The declaration was addressed to "the oppressed labouring brethren of India, Afghanistan, Persia, China, Asia Minor and Eastern Asia." This declaration contained the tale of the "national liberation" of Turkestan and of great services rendered by the Soviet power, and called upon the "oppressed brethren of the East" to support the All-Russian Communist Party in their struggle for the "overthrow of the yoke of the Western colonizers. . . ." And yet it was just at the very same time when the Declaration was published that the events were taking place in Turkestan so vividly described by Safarov and Riskulov, which have been previously quoted—namely, the physical extermination of the Turkestan population. The revolutionary appeals of the Moscow Bolsheviks for the unification of the Mussulman world, for the struggle against the West, could not have passed without producing "nationalistic" consequences within the frontiers of Soviet Russia itself as well. The "Mussulman Communist organizations" of Turkestan put their own interpretation upon these appeals, seeing it in the light of the necessity of the unification of all the Turkish tribes in Russia, from Azerbaijan and the Volga to Turkestan, under the banners of "A United Turkestan Soviet Republic" and under the guidance of Soviet Russia. The Soviet Government became rather alarmed. They did not like the idea of the unification, not only of all the Turkish tribes on the other side of the Caspian Sea, but even within

Turkestan itself. A certain C. Muraveiski (V. Lopokhov) in his pamphlet "Sketches of the Revolutionary Movement in Middle Asia" (the Uzbek State Publication Dept., Tashkent, 1926) writes as follows on this interpretation of "the Mussulman Communist organization" (see p. 26):

"The organization of the local masses followed the unhealthy part of the utilization by the nationalistic intelligentsia of the Soviet power for purposes of national self-determination."

This is a further proof for our already stated assertion that the slogan of "national self-determination" is used by the Bolsheviks for consumption abroad only, and that within Soviet Russia herself the attempt to utilize the slogan is treated as a counter-revolutionary act.

VIII. Sovietization of Bukhara and Khiva: Division of Turkestan.

In Turkestan, Bukhara and Khiva remained outside the Soviet power. The Emir of Bukhara and the Khan of Khiva sat on their thrones and enjoyed their power, thanks to the support of Russian arms. In Khiva, popular unrest and riots had started in 1916, and only Russian punitive forces could restore the throne to Said-Asfendiar-Bahadur-Khan. In Bukhara, the Emir Said-Mir-Alim could not even as much as show his face in the capital of his Emirate, the city of Bukhara, which he visited only once in his life, and then only under the strong guard of the Russian General Dilienthal, in 1910, when he was still the heir to the throne. The overthrow of the Emir of Bukhara and of the Khan of Khiva was not therefore a matter of great difficulty; they held power, not by the recognition of the people over whom they "ruled," but, as already said, by dint of the Russian bayonets which guarded them from their "loyal subjects." But the brutality of the Soviet power in Turkestan dictated to the Bukharans and the Khivans the necessity of refraining from any step which might have led to an exchange of the rule of Said-Asfendiar and of Said-Mir-Alim for that of the Russian Soviets. Moreover, when in the spring of 1918, after the destruction of Kokand and the overthrow of the Kokand Government, the Soviet troops prepared to attack Bukhara, the people put up a terrific resistance, and the power of the Emir appeared even to have gained in strength. If only the Emir of Bukhara had kept his promise of modest reforms, made in the first days of the February Revolution, he might have remained in power considerably longer; so frightful, so fear-inspiring, seemed to his subjects the experiments of the Turkestan Bolsheviks. The Emir of Bukhara and his "colleague," the Khan of Khiva, proved, however, by their nature, incapable of grasping the situation and curtailing the "reign of misrule." The indescribable cruelties in regard to the most peaceful upholders of the introduction of new, more human principles of government, the floggings and executions resorted to by the Bukharan potentate did their work. The Young Bukharans, who had aspired to the modest "constitution by Shariat," could not further restrain themselves, and decided to negotiate with the Bolsheviks. The latter promised them independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of Bukhara, help with money, and technical advisers for putting in order the organization of government. All this was promised on a most generous scale. The executions continued, not only of the Young Bukharans, but also of the Progressivist-Turkestanians, who happened by chance to be in Bukhara. I cannot help referring here to the execution in the spring of 1919, by the personal command of the Emir Said-Mir-Alim, of Mahmud-Hodja Behbudi, the learned Progressivist Mullah of Samarkand,

when passing through Bukhara in connection with the affairs of the Anti-Soviet Turkestanian National Organization. . . . This and many other similar executions enshrouded the Emir's Government with hatred, which had apparently forgotten to count or consider the Bolshevik danger lurking from the north. With the closest co-operation between the Young Bukharans and the Soviet troops, Bukhara was in consequence sovietized. The Emir was not in a position to resist, and he fled to Afghanistan.

Khiva also was sovietized. Both these Khanates were proclaimed as "People's Republics," independent from Soviet Russia. Treaties in which the Soviet Government recognized the complete independence and sovereignty of these states were signed with Bukhara on September 13, 1920, and with Khiva or Khoresm, as it began to be known henceforward, on March 4, 1921. But these treaties remained "scraps of paper," and the Soviet Government behaved in Bukhara and Khoresm as freely as in Turkestan. The Bukharan and Khoresmian "Nazirs" (as the Commissars of the "People's Republics" were called), who endeavoured by referring to the treaties to defend, if only the appearance of internal independence of their country, were subjected to arrests and deportations to Moscow. Thus matters progressed until 1924, when by order from Moscow the local Soviet authorities began to carry out in Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khoresm the decision on the so-called "division of Turkestan into tribal states."

No "colony" is nationally so compact, so united as Turkestan. The only nationality there of non-Turkish origin is the Tadjiks, who number a little over half a million. All the rest of the population of Turkestan consists of Turks by blood and tongue. The inter-tribal demarcation in the strictest sense of the word, if some practical consideration demanded it at all, could have been entertained in regard to these two groups only: the Tadjiks on the one hand, and on the other the Turks, numbering about 12,000,000 souls. But the Soviet power thought of something else. They remembered the unsuccessful attempt "of the Mussulman Communists"—the attempt which remained only on paper—to achieve the unification of all the Turkish tribes round the nucleus of a Sovietic Turkestan. It was as a counterpoise exactly, to this attempt suggested essentially by the agitation of the Moscow Bolsheviks themselves, that the plan of "the division of Turkestan into tribal states" was invented. It was carried out actually in the autumn of 1924. The Bukharan and Khoresmian "People's Republics" "renounced" their independence and together with the whole of Turkestan were broken up, on the pretext of "nationality," into a series of "tribal republics"—namely, into Uzbek, Turkmen, Tadjik, and Kirghiz-Kaizak (with the autonomous district of Karakalpak) Republics. This latter district, Karakalpak, announced its desire to separate from Kazakhstan at the last Jubilee Session which took place on the occasion of the decennary of Kazakhstan on October 4, 1930, and to enter the Federation of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republics directly as an autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic on the same basis as Kazakhstan itself and Kirghizstan. The Uzbek, Tadjik, and Turkmen Republics are considered "independent" and are included on an equal footing with the Ukraine, White Russia, and the trans-Caucasian Federation, in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. These three "independent republics" and Kirghizstan make up Soviet Central Asia. The word Turkestan or anything flavouring of nationalism was excluded from the political dictionary. To the autonomous republic of Kazakhstan were added the former Kazak (or by the old terminology Kirghiz) districts of Semipalatinsk, Uralsk, Toogaïsk, and Akmolinsk. The Turkish tribes of Turkestan who aspired to unity have thus been split up

into separate "nations," and in place of "national self-determination" there took place inter-tribal demarcation within one nationality. The unity of Turkestan has been dealt a blow, the old Roman conception of "divide et impera" having thus once more triumphed.

From this moment—that is, from the end of 1924—the real Soviet era began in Turkestan, the description of which I now permit myself to begin.

IX. In the "National Republics of Turkestan."

The National policy of the Soviet power is saturated with one general idea—namely, subordination of the national question to the interests of the Proletarian Revolution. These "revolutionary interests" brought about a destruction of the national unity of Turkestan. And with these same revolutionary interests are impregnated all further measures of the Soviet Government.

All the Turkestan Republics are called "National externally and Proletarian internally." All the "reforms," from the most important to the least significant, are without any exception whatever subordinated to this standpoint. Hence in their entirety they are incommensurable in their main parts with the national needs of Turkestan.

I will now give a general sketch of the more important of these reforms.

The most important from the Bolshevik point of view after that of "inter-tribal division" is the land reform. As a result of this reform more than 200,000 hectares of land were confiscated in that part of Turkestan where in accordance with Bolshevik data the agrarian question was most acute—namely, in Uzbekistan. This amount consisted of lands of the great landowners; of the inhabitants of towns and villages who were not themselves the cultivators of the land; of the land dealers of the mosques and other religious institutions, as well as of the lands of the ex-officials of the Tsarist régime and of the Emir of Bukhara. The conception of "great landowners" differs in Turkestan from that in Russia. In the former those possessing 10 hectares of land are considered as "great landowners." These confiscated lands were not wholly used for the benefit of the landless Turkestanians. On the contrary, a considerable portion of them went as grants to the "defenders of the proletarian revolution" in the ranks of the Red Army—in other words, to the Russian soldiers. This is just another "revolutionary" form of the old Russian policy of handing lands of the Turkestanians to the Russians.

According to the Soviet statistical data, only about one-third of the landless Uzbek *dekkan* (peasants) received in consequence of this reform lands to the extent of from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ hectares.

The land reform in the Kazak region expressed itself in the redistribution at first of the meadows and pastures. To effect this it became necessary to abolish the great cattle farms, and the Soviet Government carried this work out by requisitioning cattle from the well-to-do farms and distributing them among the paupers. By this means the Bolsheviks succeeded first in "declassing" the Kazak villages, and secondly in drastic reduction of the number of cattle, as testified by the latest Soviet statistical data. The Kazakstan newspapers claim that in many districts the number of cattle has become reduced by two-thirds.

The same picture is obtained also in regard to the arable lands: large farms split up into small separate farms and a proportionate increase in the number of the needy smallholders. For the basic result aimed at by the Soviet land reform is the increase of the number of smallholders of small farms incapable

of self-support. Such a condition of things is brought about by the Soviet power for the purpose of compelling the Turkestanians firstly to enrol into the system of "collectivization," and secondly to cultivate, by preference, cotton. The smallholders unable to maintain their farms are compelled to turn to the Government for help. And this help is given on the condition that the applicant should enrol in the "collectives" and undertake to sow cotton on his allotment, either wholly or to the extent of 75 per cent. Hence the enormous increase in Turkestan cotton cultivation. The area of the irrigated land will, according to the Soviet data, attain in 1932 3,299,500 hectares (see "The controlling figures of the Five-Year Plan for the development of the industry U.S.S.R.," p. 43)—that is, it will be by 443,500 hectares less than in 1913. On the other hand, the cotton area already in 1928 considerably exceeded the pre-war level (in 1913 the area under cotton in Turkestan was 562,400 hectares). In 1930 the area under cotton attained to about a million hectares.

Thus a considerable portion of the land meant for wheat and rice is now under cotton cultivation. The dependence of Turkestan upon the wheat imported from Russia will thus grow from year to year. In 1928, for instance, the needs of Turkestan in imported wheat was estimated at 34,000,000 puds, in 1929 at 40,000,000 puds, while at the end of the Five-Year Plan, *i.e.*, in 1932, when the cotton cultivation plan must be accomplished, *i.e.*, when Soviet Russia will not only cease buying cotton from America, but will even export the surplus of her cotton abroad, Turkestan will have to import 60,000,000 puds of wheat from Russia (see the journal *Novi Vostok* ("The New East"), Nos. 23-24; article by Shlegel, "Turkestan-Siberian Railway").

Such is the result of the Soviet land reform in the central provinces of Turkestan; its complete transformation into a cotton plantation of Soviet Russia—that is, its turning into a supplier of raw material, in exchange for which Turkestan must feed itself, not with its own bread, but with that from Russia imported on the Russian railways.

The very form of solution of the land question in Turkestan was the outcome of the necessity of "artificially creating the class struggle" among the native population of the country. The National, the healthy state interests of Turkestan, demanded a totally different approach to the agrarian problems. Uzbekistan and Kazakstan are the most characteristic provinces of Turkestan. I will therefore dwell upon these. The solution of the land question in Uzbekistan, and consequently of the cotton problem also, depends not on the destruction of the country by "confiscations," but on the opening up of new areas by carrying on irrigation work on a large scale. In accordance with the statistical data of the Bolsheviks themselves in the valleys of Syr-Daria and Amu-Daria about seven to eight million hectares of land could be irrigated, of which a good half could have been allotted to cotton. The project for the irrigation of these millions of hectares of land has been worked out for many years (see the project of the engineer Risenkampf). The Soviet Government, whenever it suits them, raise a noise about this project, but the money required for its realization is used for Communistic agitations in the countries of the East.

In the Kazak province of Turkestan the basis for the solution of the agrarian problem lies, firstly, in the stoppage of the influx of Russian settlers; secondly, in the return to the Kazak-Kirghiz at least of the lands taken from them during the period of Soviet power; and, thirdly, in the settling of the nomadic population. But the Soviet Government, contrary to their own formal decisions of 1924 and 1925 forbidding settlement of the Russians in

the Kazak-Kirghiz provinces, set themselves to a wide organization of the settlement movement. In 1920 and 1921, it is true, there were attempts to restore confiscated lands to their owners, but the initiators of this restoration were accused of Chauvinism and counter-revolution.

The Soviet Government truly began the task of settling the nomads. But how? According to the plan, during 1930 there should have been settled 84,340 Kazak-Kirghiz families. But the Soviet newspaper *Enbekshi Kazak*, in its number of September 11, 1930, states that "thanks to the negative attitude adopted by the local organs of the Powers this plan will not be carried out." But this did not in any way prevent the Bolshevik telegraphic agency from spreading the news, exactly a week after this statement by the chief Kazakhstan official gazette, that the 84,340 Kazak-Kirghiz families had already been settled. While obstructing the settlement of the Kazak-Kirghiz, the Soviet Government are doing their best to accelerate the settlement of the Russian emigrants in Kazakhstan. The Soviet Five-Year Plan foresees that by the end of 1932 more than 400,000 Russian peasants will be settled in the region of the Turkestan-Siberian railway line, which plan, of course, is being carried out with great accuracy.

The Russian settlement in Turkestan is explained away as the "expression of international solidarity between the Russians and the Turkestanians." To the protests of the Turkestanian Bolsheviks themselves, the Moscow Bolsheviks reply either by threats, or by pointing out that "the number of the Russians settling in Turkestan annually does not exceed the annual growth of the national population" [see the Tashkent *Pravda Vostoka* ("The Truth of the East"), March 4, 1929].

Before coming to power the Russian Bolsheviks recognized the right of the peoples comprising Russia to separation, and the formation of their own national states. Later, when they consolidated their power in Turkestan, depriving the native population of all their political rights, Lenin and the Central Committee of the Communist Party suggested to their Turkestanian agents to let Turkestanians participate in the government of the country in proportion to their number. Lenin did not, of course, know the proportional relation of the native population to the Russian population, or else he would not have made such a suggestion, for the proportional representation meant ninety-five Turkestanians to five Russians and others. Neither Lenin nor the Central Committee responded when "the rebels," openly and with firm decision, stated that there existed "no national question" in Turkestan, and that they as internationalists did not recognize any national questions within Soviet Russia. But the centre could not, nevertheless, neglect entirely the national question. A new formula had to be invented, a formula that would outwardly be in keeping with the Bolshevik slogans on the rights of nations, while in substance they would reinforce the Soviet denials of the same national questions. This formula consisted in creating republics in form national and in substance "proletarian." And in these republics the Bolsheviks set themselves to the so-called "nationalization"—that is, bringing closer the machinery of government to the local population. What did this nationalization mean? Not the actual handing over of the machinery to the native population, as the local Bolsheviks thought it at first, but that, while preserving every attribute of the hegemony of the Moscow Party and the Moscow Communists, only the *technical persone*l of the machinery was to be drawn from among the people who possessed the knowledge of the local dialects. Soon schools began to be opened all Turkestan where Russians could learn the local dialects. Behind the backs of the "native" commissars

and Presidents of Central Committees (*i.e.*, Presidents of the Republics, thus raised to a place of authority) stood Russian "experts," who were, and are actually, the real accomplisheers of Turkestan's destiny. The chairmen of the Central Executive Committees of Uzbekistan and Kazakstan—Yuldashbai Akhunbabaev and Eltai Ernazaroff—were both, when they received these appointments, completely illiterate.

The "proletarian substance of the outwardly national" republics of Turkestan was, of course, to find its full expression in the maiden participation of the Turkestan National Proletariat in the State building. But does there exist that "national proletariat" whom the Moscow Government could entrust with the government of Turkestan? Does the "national proletariat," if any, actually participate in the State building in Turkestan? I could quote innumerable data proving the non-participation of the national proletariat in the government of the country, and, moreover, proving that the Moscow Government are doing their utmost to prevent the creation of such a proletariat. But I will limit myself to quoting from a speech of one of the greatest Bolshevik leaders and the closest colleague of Stalin, of Shalva Eliava at the 4th Session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. in December, 1928. The latter, criticizing the statement of the author that power in Turkestan was wholly in the hands of the Moscow agents, said:

"One must not forget that the Uzbekistanian Republic is working in the absence of the proletariat. Proletariat in Uzbekistan is a somewhat vague category. The skilled workers from among the Uzbeks do not yet exist. . . . If there are any skilled workers they are from among the immigrants—the Russians" (quoted from the shorthand report; see Bulletin of the 21st Session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., No. 4th, pp. 47-48).

The "Uzbek Republic" is one of the most developed, most "socialistic" provinces of Turkestan, even to a greater extent also than other provinces. And if in Uzbekistan such is the state of the "national proletariat," if Uzbekistan is "working without its proletariat," what could one say of the rest of Turkestan?

The readers may draw their own definite conclusions on "the proletariat substance" of these republics. But this does not in any way restrain the Bolsheviks of Moscow from announcing to the world the "Proletarian Dictatorship" in Turkestan, without mentioning a word about the fact that this dictatorship is wholly in the hands of the Russian proletariat.

"The Socialistic reconstruction of the economic life" of Turkestan is actually a very sound fastening of our country to the needs of the Russian centre. I quoted at the beginning of this article the words of the Bolshevik Zatonski to the effect, "if for the strengthening of the Russian centre it became necessary to rob the outlying regions, we will not hesitate to do so."

And this is exactly what is taking place now in Turkestan, "the robbing of the country for the strengthening of the centre of the world revolution. . . ."

Schools have been opened by the Bolsheviks by thousands; the pupils therein are counted in hundreds of thousands. One often hears of different universities and of the thousands of Turkestanian "students" studying in them. We are well informed about these schools. There are many of them there; but the great majority are kept for the children of the Russians. In 1928, out of the 1,600 schools designated for the children of the Kazaks only 1½ per cent. were provided with their own buildings. The rest represented some place where children "learnt" lying on the bare floors, without manuals or papers. From the 4,000 to 5,000 students in the Middle Asian State

University, the only institute with a claim to be a high school, the native Turkestanians number in all 360 [see the Tashkent Gazette *Pravda Vostoka* ("The Truth of the East"), June 11, 1930]; all the rest are the children of Russians.

If the "proletariat of Turkestan" is a somewhat vague category, the "proletarian substance" of the so-called "national republics" is also more than "somewhat vague."

Conclusion.

I have attempted to give in the foregoing pages a compressed picture of Turkestan under the Soviet power. In doing so I have faithfully kept to the official sources of the Bolsheviks themselves. Were not the practical realization of the Soviet "liberation" slogans providing us with weapons of attack, our struggle would have no meaning at all.

But the "Dictatorship of the Russian proletariat in Turkestan" is more than the realization by the Russian Bolsheviks and the Russian workers of the State power in our country; it is an unheard-of affront to the national dignity of our people. I have in mind such offensive facts as forcing the natives to go on their knees. To this the Tashkent paper *Kisil Uzbekistan* referred again in 1925 (April number), and a repetition of this affront was reported by the exceptionally well-informed organ of the Russian-Social Democrats in Berlin, *The Socialistic Herald*, in its number of November 8, 1930. I have in view the insults meted out by the Russian workers to the native workers; the beating of numbers of workers and even pogroms, as for instance the pogroms in the town of Pavlodar and at the station Aja-Kuz on the Turkestan-Siberian railway line. I could quote innumerable data confirming these facts. The whole of the Soviet press of Turkestan has lately been full of manifestations of "Great Russian Chauvinism" in regard to the Turkestanians. The Soviet power in Moscow writes opposing this "Great Russian Chauvinism," but the Bolsheviks in Turkestan continued their work, sure of remaining unpunished. This is why the Turkestanians, who at the beginning of the October Revolution stood only for autonomy and, since the latter revolution, for independence from Soviet Russia, now since the autumn of 1921 stand for independence from Russia generally. Bolsheviks have taught Turkestan to look towards England. The Tashkent journal *Za Partiya* ("For the Party") (April, 1928) printed the reprimand administered to Sir Austen Chamberlain by the meeting of Dekkan (peasants) of twenty-eight villages of Samarkand province "for his unsatisfactory policy." The same Tashkent journal in another number stated that many of the Uzbek peasants at the time when the Bolsheviks were collecting for the Aerial Fleet under the heading "Our Answer to Chamberlain" willingly gave money thinking that it was going to be placed at the disposal of . . . Chamberlain.

England and the "British motif" generally play a great rôle in the struggle on the ideological front which is now going on in Turkestan. The Soviet press ascribes the slogan "better England than Moscow" (very much in currency now in Turkestan) to the national leaders of our country (all of whom, by the way, are now either in prison or exiled). The same paper, *For the Party*, in its number of October, 1929, and the Tashkent gazette *The Truth of the East*, lately reproduced passages from the speeches of the Nationalists with the following purport:

"We must wait for help from outside, especially from England, as from a country the more cultured, economically the stronger, and numerically the less, which does not threaten Turkestan with colonization."

It is difficult to verify this statement, but one thing is certain, and it is this, that the position of Egypt under England seems to the Turkestanians to be far better than the present form of "the outwardly national and inwardly proletarian" Republics of Turkestan.

"In India there are only 20,000 English to 800,000 railwaymen. . . . Colonization, that is, confiscation of lands, is not England's policy," stated the paper *For the Party*, and it represents a fully deserved answer of the Turkestanians to the Moscow Bolsheviks after the thirteen years of propaganda.

I would that the Indian revolutionaries who look to Moscow would give a careful consideration to this answer of the Turkestanians to the Soviet Government and the Moscow Communist International.

TURKESTAN COTTON AND THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

ACCORDING to the latest news from the "cotton front," orders have been given by the Central Committee of the Communist party of Central Asia for the mobilization of 100,000 peasants to be employed on the "socialized sector," 50,000 of whom are destined for the cotton plantations.

In Transcaucasia for similar purposes 10,000 *comsomoles* (communist youth) and 1,000 students are being mobilized, together with a certain number of school teachers; these last two elements for propaganda. The peasants of the plains in Azerbaijan are to be prevented from leaving for the mountain pasturages, as is their custom—and a necessity—in summer, in order that they may be set to work in the cotton fields.

These measures have already produced a certain repercussion in the countries in question. In Turkestan militant communists have been killed; in Azerbaijan, on May 18, peasants assassinated a member of the government, Husi Hajiev, formerly People's Commissar for Justice, and at the time of his death a Director of Irrigation, who was one of the leaders in the campaign for the "cotton independence" of the Soviet Union.

These events show the seriousness of the situation. The Government claim that the cotton produced is 98 per cent. of the amount which was aimed at.

THE LAW REGULATING THE CONSERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES IN PERSIA, DATED NOVEMBER 3, 1930

WITHIN recent years the newly found States in the Middle East, once torpid backwaters of the Turkish Empire, decided that the correct establishment of their laws regarding antiquities was a duty incumbent upon them. Under the able guidance of the late Gertrude Bell, Iraq put this section of its house in order, and very recently the modern régime in Persia decided that, in similar manner, it must be up to date.

The archæological wealth of these lands is well and broadly known, and recent research has indicated that in all probability the land of Persia hides beneath its soil the earliest history of our present civilization. It is also probable that, as our knowledge of these early times and peoples increases, the extent of exploration and investigation in Persia will also increase, and a clear and exactly defined code of laws governing this work is highly desirable, both for Persia and the scientific world at large.

In any country, and more particularly in these Middle Eastern lands, the laws of antiquities can be divided into two very well-defined sections :

- (a) The law governing scientific research.
- (b) The law governing trading in antiquities.

In theory these two sections are distinct and separate, in practice they are inseparably connected. In the high interests of science, in the widest acceptance of the term, territorial boundaries and national frontiers should be obliterated. In the interests of commerce they must be carefully observed and guarded. The two interests inevitably clash, and the dealer in antiquities is quick to see and avail himself of any weakness or loophole in the regulations governing his trade by means of which he can turn an honest—or scarcely honest—penny.

It is to be doubted if any State is truly interested in archæological scientific research. The high ideals of modern democracy are too broad and general, and, even when purged from political influence, are concentrated more on the people of the present and the future than on the people of the past. The States in the Middle East are in no respect exceptional in this, and there is very scant genuine interest in archæological research among their peoples. Of dealers in antiquities there are many, and in the art of dealing they are highly qualified, but mercenary interests predominate. The keenness of the Western

scientist to discover or decipher the ancient remains is therefore looked upon, by the mass of the people, either as a mild and harmless form of madness, or as a subterfuge to cover espionage or the acquisition of buried treasure.

No matter what the ideal or object may be, the laws of the land must be established, and in their drafting the following factors must be closely kept in view :

1. That archæological research must be facilitated, because the big powers of the West desire it.
2. That the existing monuments must be maintained and preserved, because it is the correct thing to do.
3. That as far as possible all objects of historical or archæological value be kept in the country, because of good natural and sound national selfishness.
4. That the archæologist must be permitted to carry away with him some of the objects which he discovers, because otherwise he would not come, but the amount removed shall be the minimum to attract him.
5. That dealers in antiquities, being a necessary evil and a source of revenue, be officially recognized, because, otherwise, they will become smugglers.

In many respects the new Persian law of antiquities is admirable. Everything of artistic merit dated prior to the end of the Zend dynasty is to be considered a national monument, and is to be duly recorded in a Government inventory. That is very sound and very ambitious, and, for many years to come, most probably impossible to accomplish. The rights of private owners are in no way infringed, though certain restrictions in the matter of building on to, or in the proximity of, a national monument, might, unless applied without prejudice, present considerable difficulties to the owner. Likewise the purchase or sale and the repair or restoration of inventoried edifices requires the sanction of Government.

Under Article 10 of the new law it is established that all objects which can be classified as national monuments discovered on private property are the property of the State, though the State, at its discretion, may gratuitously grant the owner of the land half the value of the object found. This article is possibly a very necessary one. It is carefully designed, but despite disguise it has somewhat the appearance of a trap. The average Persian is by no means guileless in money matters, and the bait is likely to be viewed with a measure of distrust. It must also be realized that in the estimation of the finder the value of the find is high, generally fabulous. Well-organized smuggling is likely to become a profitable occupation, and the integrity of dealers sorely tried.

That section of the law which applies to excavation opens with the

definite establishment of the exclusive right of the State to excavate. This right, however, is transferable to scientific institutions, societies, or to private individuals, and the object of such excavations is classified as "scientific" or "commercial." This arrangement is unsound and dangerous, and opens the possibility of indiscriminate digging by unskilled individuals, whose only object is the acquisition of material for purposes of sale. The deplorable results of work of this description in other countries is so widely known that to legalize it is incurring uncalled-for risks.

Article 14 of the law is the one which is of most vital importance to archæological expeditions who propose to excavate. It contains the conditions under which all objects discovered will be divided between the State and the excavator. Of all the objects found, a number not exceeding ten can be appropriated by the State, the remainder is divided equally between the State and the excavator. As it is definitely laid down that the period of excavations shall not exceed one year, it is evident that the State possesses the right to secure the cream of the excavator's labours. The principle of this regulation is inevitable, but it remains to be seen whether the denuded balance left to the excavator will be sufficiently attractive to justify the expense of his labour.

The portion of the law dealing with the work of excavation is very brief and there are a number of vital points omitted.

(a) No Government inspector need be maintained on the site, and the right of Government inspection and control of the work is not established.

(b) No records of discovery either by plans or photographs are insisted upon.

(c) No standard of qualification or ability is demanded in the excavator.

These omissions are serious. Though the modern excavator, with recollections of the Old Turkish régime in other lands, will welcome the relief which the absence of (a) implies, (b) and (c) are regulations which in the broad interest of archæology are necessary, and though it may be asserted that, as far as "scientific" excavations are concerned, they are unnecessary, experience has indicated that their omission is a mistake.

The section of the law controlling the commerce in antiquities is brief, but there is reference to a supplementary list of rules which has not yet been issued. The present law stipulates that all dealers must be licensed by the State, and penalties are imposed for all dealing by unauthorized persons.

An export tax of 5 per cent. in addition to any customs duty is imposed on all articles exported, and all such articles must be declared

and export permits secured for them, the State reserving the right to purchase any article at its declared value. The excavators' share in the case of scientific excavations is exempt from all kinds of taxation. This section of the law is sound, and it is doubtful if it can be improved upon.

In general principle the law as it stands is satisfactory ; in practice it may lead to trouble. Commercial excavations are to be deprecated, but if judiciously and carefully controlled, they may tend to decrease the ever-present danger of illicit digging, and consequent profit to the State may accrue. The appropriation by the State of the ten most precious and prized objects of a year's work may break the heart of the excavator ; it will most certainly dishearten him, and place serious temptation in his way.

THE KHYBER PASS

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. E. CROCKER, C.M.G., D.S.O.

IF the romance of the East is to be found in India, then surely the romance of India centres in the Khyber Pass. The fascination of this narrow roadway, for centuries the principal gateway to the plains of India from the north-west, grips the traveller on entering its forbidding portals, a mile or two to the north of Fort Jamrud. The tremendous height of the hills, the stern majesty of their peaks and ridges, and the far-flung spurs which support the intolerable burden of their weight, seem to dwarf the efforts of man, while their age, stretching back to the days when the world was young, mock his earliest records of history.

Through the centuries these old hills have watched endless processions filing along their valleys, armies and traders, the pomp and panoply of war, and the peaceful caravan of the merchant. Their rocky walls have witnessed the tramp of the legions and the weary feet of countless thousands of beasts of burden bearing the commerce of Bokhara, Afghanistan, and Peshawar through the mountain passes. As they went in the old days so they go today, but with this difference: thanks to the Pax Britannica, once across the frontier on their way to Peshawar they are safe from raider and oppression in the form of extortion for safe conduct.

Some such thoughts as these filled our heads as my companion and I, accompanied by a khassadar, one of the local levies recruited by the Political Department, started on our long ride of twenty miles through the Pass one glorious morning of early November. We left Jamrud Fort immediately after an early breakfast, intending to reach Landi Kotal in the evening. Though slow, this was by far the best way of seeing the Pass and the people who dwell and journey therein. Soon after leaving Jamrud we entered the frowning gate of the Pass, where the vast ranges of the Khyber hills rise on either hand, from time immemorial the custodians of the ancient way. The magic of the Pass made its appeal to us as we rode along, taking a lively interest in everything we saw. And there was plenty to see on that wonderful morning—men, camels, and donkeys moving up and down the road, the men singly or in little groups, all armed to the teeth with magazine rifle and well-filled belt of cartridges. No man dares to go abroad unarmed in this wild land, where his very life may depend on his skill and the accuracy of his rifle. Flocks and herds of camels and donkeys laden with firewood and other goods plodded along, their drivers trudging stolidly behind. The camels as a rule kept well to their side of the road, but not so the donkeys. Running free they took up the whole width of the road, tossing their heads and jockeying the camels out of the way to get at some particular patch of herbage which caught their fancy, and in short behaving as if they owned the whole place. At one point on the road we were overtaken, as we toiled slowly up the long hill to the neck of the Pass, by a flock of donkeys carrying great loads. They had no scruple in pushing past us, led by two priceless little beasts whom we at once christened Mutt and Jeff. With colossal impudence they pushed in between us, forcing Polly, my mare, over to the outside of the road.

Up we toiled till we reached the Fort of Shagai, keeping unsleeping watch and ward over the Pass. The road then plunged down again into the valley under the Fort of Ali Musjid, the scene of desperate fighting in by-gone years. Here we stopped for a while close to the little mosque which gives its name to the place, and watered the horses at a stream which ran along the bed of the river. We then had a brew of excellent green tea at one of the little booths nestling under the trees close to the mosque. We sat chatting with a few men there while we drank our tea and exchanged news. They had nothing much to tell us, just the ordinary news of the frontier. A woman carried off—a feud—the offender shot and killed. “We could have shown you his body, sahib,” they said with a grim chuckle, “if you had come a day or two earlier.” The cream of the jest lay, however, in the fact that the raider got confused and carried off the other man’s mother-in-law instead of his wife. Mothers-in-law are a force to be reckoned with even in these parts of the world. Our friends were inclined to agree that the unfortunate man had not had a fair gallop for his money.

As we resumed our way, they told us that we might meet a “qafila,” or caravan, coming in from Kabul, at any moment, and they advised us to go back a short way and then strike up onto the motor road, which hugged the great knees of the spurs, some considerable height above the lower or camel road. We would thus be out of the way if we met the caravan in the narrow “tang,” or ravine just ahead, and, at the same time, we should have a wonderful panorama of the camels and other animals as they filed through the Pass at our feet. This decided us, and we ascended to the higher road.

Turning a corner we had a grand view of the ravine, a tremendous chasm slashed bodily in the living rock, by the force of uncounted centuries of rain and floods. The cliffs rose sheer on either hand, while below us the river-bed wound round the corners of the spurs, which were spanned at frequent intervals by solidly built stone bridges, on which the camel road, scooped with infinite labour out of the wall of the ravine, crossed from side to side. It was a fascinating scene, its simple grandeur made a strong appeal to our senses. We dismounted, and sat on the low parapet to absorb its fascination. As we did so, we saw our old friends Mutt and Jeff leading their companions down the hill past the mosque, and over the first bridge. At the same time, round a far corner, appeared several men and donkeys, the forerunners of the caravan. Close on their heels, the gigantic form of a Maya camel, laden with a quarter of a ton of carpets, loomed huge and amazing. He was closely followed by the rest of the string of some dozen of his companions, and then the whole caravan came into view. Silently, slowly, with a majestic stride, they swung along, making light of their tremendous burdens. “Now,” we said, “the fun will begin,” and, sure enough, it *did*. First of all, the advanced guard of donkeys met nose to nose round a sharp bend. Mutt and Jeff, nothing daunted, swept past the strangers, and made straight for the leading camels, closely followed by the rest of the circus of about fifty or sixty donkeys, mules, and ponies, their bulky loads jutting far out on either side of their saddles. Men shouted and cursed, yelled at the donkeys, cursed the camels and each other, all the while invoking the aid of Allah and the Prophet (on Whom be Peace).

“Oh son of four generations of noseless mothers”—this to a donkey—
“take thy evil carcass away from my camel.”

“Oh thou, whose unmentionable aunts and she-cousins will surely roast in Hell”—this to a camel—“refrain from pushing my donkey off the road.”
“Oh ye sons of pigs”—this to each other—“by black sheitans and countless

generations of burnt mothers, remove thy immoral and obscene animals from the road." Meanwhile, no one *does* anything except beat the donkeys and push them from side to side, often under the nose of the camels. Left to themselves, the animals would soon have sorted themselves out without the least fuss. They are used to it from the day they were born, and trotted along at their mother's heels, and they take it all in the day's work.

From our lofty perch we have an uninterrupted view of this interlude, and all three of us, including the khassadar, are thoroughly enjoying it. At length the donkeys and mules move along, and the caravan resumes its stately march. We have plenty of time, and sit there and watch them. They are worth watching, these magnificent camels. They have gaily coloured headstalls, made of camel-hair rope, and are often ornamented with a pompom of coloured worsted, which has a very stylish effect. They march in long strings, lashed together by their head-ropes, and led by their owners. From time to time we see a baby, trotting by the side of the lady camel. One particularly took our fancy, dancing about, all legs and neck. We naturally christened him Wilfred. We made the further acquaintance of Wilfred when he stopped for the night in the big serai at Landi Kotal some few days later, on his return journey to Kabul. He was not at all friendly, and his manners, I regret to say, were not nice. Between the strings of camels came herds of patient little oxen, plodding along with heavy loads, on top of which a miscellaneous collection of chicken and children found a precarious perch. Then came a flock of little ponies, the strings of bells round their necks chiming merrily as they stepped gaily along the road.

But time was getting on, and we must do the same. We rode on slowly, watching the caravan below with the greatest interest. Emerging from the ravine, we found ourselves in a deep valley. We crossed the river-bed by an imposing iron bridge, and passed the pumping station which supplies the Khyber with water, all ready chlorinated and fit to drink. On our right the Khyber railway ran along an enormous embankment faced with brick. We had heard of the tremendous spates that devastate the Khyber from time to time, and when we were told that the whole of this great embankment had been carried away a few years previously, we could gather some notion of the power and extent of the floods and the difficulties with which the engineers had to contend. It is a marvellous piece of work this railway, and speaks volumes for the skill and perseverance that could triumph over its manifold obstacles. As we turn a corner the walls of rock recede and the valley widens out. We are now almost for the first time able to gain some idea of the grandeur and immensity of the hills through which we are riding—ridge piled on ridge, peak on peak, pointing their fingers to high heaven. Rains and storms through the ages have bitten deeply into their flanks and formed small gullies, every inch of which is cultivated. Villages now appear, some close to the road, others nestling under the shelter of the hills. Stern are they, rugged and strong, like the hardy tribesmen who inhabit them. Surrounded with high mud walls loopholed for musketry, they breathe defiance to their foes. Their solid watch towers are manned at night by armed men, who do not hesitate to fire on all who are rash enough to approach.

As we pass a village at the edge of the road we notice that the men are hard at work building up the walls. Our khassadar, who hails from this part of the Khyber, has an interesting story about this same village. The previous year a man from a village further down the Pass lifted a woman from this village, for which offence he was besieged in his house by the relatives of the woman. Driven to his tower, where he made a last stand, he was eventually

smoked out and killed. In revenge the village of the slayers was destroyed, and they were only then rebuilding it. In these wild lands the theft of a woman is a fruitful source of strife, and almost invariably leads to bloodshed and a family feud. These feuds, by the way, sometimes do a great deal towards preserving the peace, as a man will think twice before he slays his enemy when he knows that a feud, with possibly unpleasant consequences to himself, will probably be the result.

We find it difficult to realize that we are in Tribal Territory and no longer in British India. It has been explained to us that the road itself only is British, but nowhere else, and that we cannot move a yard off the road without the escort of a khassadar. In Tribal Territory the inhabitants are free to shoot each other up as much as they please without interference from us, but woe betide anyone who fires across the roads or railway. Our Political Agents insist on the Peace of the Road being strictly preserved, and every man who offends in this respect is fined Rs. 2,000, the equivalent roughly of 630 dollars. Our khassadar told us with great gusto of a man who was run in for firing across the road at a certain spot. He said it was the wrong place, and volunteered to show the Political Agent where he had fired. On examination it was discovered that he had not only fired across the camel road but the motor road as well, and the railway in addition. That one shot cost him Rs. 6,000, or close on 2,000 dollars, a pretty useful morning's work.

We were now in a wide open valley, dotted with villages, and thickly cultivated. Strings of women, bearing heavy copper water-pots on their heads, moved along in stately file to and from the fountains installed at intervals down the Pass by our engineers, which saves them a journey of anything up to fourteen miles a day. On the surface water is scarce, though inexhaustible springs of beautiful clear water exist at no great depth at several places. They are cheery enough these ladies, and talk and laugh merrily among themselves as they swing gracefully along. As they approach us they modestly cover their faces, though more than one bright eye looks out coyly as we pass. They are very strict in these parts, and no man must look on a woman's face. The men we meet are a cheery and friendly lot, and give us a hearty reply to our salutation of "May you not be tired," to which they either rejoin "And you too, may you not be tired," or "May you not be poor."

We now approached a large village, the home of our khassadar. He begged us to come in and have some food, an invitation which we gladly accepted. Dismounting at his door, we handed the horses over to some men who took them to water, while we followed our host into his house. It consisted of a large walled enclosure, within which were several houses built against the outer walls. Charpoys or string beds were brought out and piled with quilts and cushions, on which we sat. In a short time hard-boiled eggs, chupattis (a thin circular flour cake baked without yeast), and green tea were handed round, and we fell to with delight. This green tea is very popular in the Khyber and comes from China. It looks like coloured hot water, and has a very delicate flavour all its own. It is drunk with sugar but no milk, and is served in little rounded cups without handles.

The sun was now getting low, and we made for Landi Kotal, where we were the guests of a regiment stationed there. Our kit with the servants had been sent on in advance, and when we arrived, just in time for cocktails, we found everything ready for us.

We stayed at Landi Kotal for a few days, riding about the plateau, and visiting the Malikis. The hills recede on all sides, leaving a fertile plateau, which is dotted with villages and thickly cultivated. One morning we rode

down the Pass towards the Frontier as far as we were allowed, and had a magnificent view over Afghanistan. Before us the ground fell steeply through an immense valley down to the Frontier six miles away. Almost at our feet lay the station of Landi Khana, which guards the road from Kabul and the north. For miles we can follow the parallel ribbons of the motor and camel roads down the Pass. In the far distance we have a wonderful vista of the long, snow-clad ranges of Afghanistan, showing up distinctly in the clear light of the morning. As we look, we can see a caravan far below crossing the Frontier, and commencing the ascent to the Pass. Later on we will see them arrive at the big serai where they will pass the night. We now return to camp for lunch and a rest.

One of the most interesting events connected with the Khyber Pass is the arrival of the caravans from Kabul, which, during the winter months, arrive twice a week, bearing hides, fruit and carpets from Afghanistan and the distant lands of Bokhara and Samarkand to the rich markets of Peshawar. The long strings of heavily laden camels, often several miles in length, plodding their weary way through the Pass, are one of the most picturesque sights one can imagine. And what magnificent animals they are, these enormous Maya camels, their legs and neck thickly coated with long shaggy wool, as a protection against the bitter cold of the winter on the wind-swept plains of Bokhara where they are bred.

On entering the serai, the camels are marshalled into place by the khassadars, and are made to kneel down, with much gurgling and grunting, while their loads are removed. They are then taken to water, while the women draw water and prepare the evening meal. They are a friendly, cheery crowd these camel people from Kabul, and quite ready to exchange jokes and pass the time of day with us. Many of them are quite fair, with blue eyes, though naturally much burnt by the sun and weather. Their women are not so strictly secluded as the women of the tribesmen. Some of them are distinctly handsome of the dark gypsy type. Some of the girls are lovely. Men and women wear loose baggy pyjamas and a long shirt, worn outside. The women part their hair in the middle, and plait it in innumerable braids which hang down on each side of their face.

When the caravan has arrived, the great serai, packed to the limit, is a seething mass of camels, ponies, oxen and donkeys, grunting, braying, and lowing, which, added to the shouts of the men and the shrill cries of the women, make up a scene of pandemonium and apparent confusion difficult to describe. The khassadars, with their officers, are everywhere, guiding, directing and admonishing the crowd, and in the midst of this seeming disorder everything works in its appointed sphere to a common end, which may be summed up in the two words, rest and food.

Having obtained a pass from the political Tehsildar, we take our stand just within the gate and watch the caravan arrive. First of all comes a drove of small donkeys, led by two or three men, women behind, children and chickens lashed atop. Though tired, they enter jauntily enough, for they have passed through the perils of Afghanistan, and have crossed the border into safety. Then come the camels, long strings of them, led by a picturesque youth on foot who holds the leading rope of the front camel. They are tied head to tail by a rope from bridle to saddle. We notice that the barbarous Indian custom of tying the head-rope to a stick thrust through the nose is not done here. The caravan is now arriving in an endless stream . . . here a herd of little brown bullocks trots in, laden with big bundles, and ridden by laughing girls, some holding chickens, and some holding children in front of

them. Black-shirted women, footsore and weary, are limping behind, but there is no rest for them till their lords are fed and the *hukka* bubbling. Is there not water to be drawn, and food to be prepared? To work, then, ye weary ones, and see to it that your lords want for naught, lest worse befall ye!

More camels arrive, carrying a savoury burden of hides, and then comes a sight for men and gods. A single gigantic camel, carrying his six hundred pound load of carpets without an effort, stalks majestically within, led by an infant of about five years old, who marches in full of dignity and importance, holding on firmly to the head-rope. "Where is the place for me and my camels?" he demands from the *khassadars* at the gate, who, much amused, show him where to go, with many a facetious remark about his caravan. With stern authority and shrill yelps he makes his camel kneel down, just as his father arrives with the remainder of the string, and they all camp together. They are followed by a ringing of bells as a flock of small ponies trot in. Then come more camels, more ponies, and yet more camels, till finally the rearguard enters the gate, and all are in.

The sun is sinking rapidly behind the hills that mark the Frontier. Animals have been watered and are now busy with their evening feeds. Smoke rises from innumerable small fires, where the women are busily occupied over the evening meal:

"There's a sense of peace and quiet,
And a sound of great content."

Slowly the *serai* settles down for the night. There will be an early start on the morrow, and then once again the great *serai* will stand empty, save for an occasional wayfarer, till the arrival of the next caravan. The guardians lounge at the gates, smoking and chatting about the caravans, women, and the price of food, the everlasting topics of conversation.

Times have changed, and the mighty mail-clad hosts have their counterpart in the modern armies, marching along first-class motor roads. The heavily-laden caravan still plies backwards and forwards as of yore, but passengers are now conveyed in motor-buses. Old methods change, just as the modern rifle has replaced the ancient *jezail*. In the Khyber, as elsewhere, change is eternal and never ceasing. Motor roads and the railway have replaced the old trade route along the river-beds. Unarmoured, khaki-clad armies take the place of the armoured hosts of old, but among the people themselves there is no change. They are still wild, lawless, intolerant of foreign rule as of old, and as fiercely jealous of their ancient rights. Still, even in this remote corner of the world, men are listening to the counsel of Dives, and are beginning to realize that it is easier to make a livelihood by labour and commerce than by fight and foray.

Only the Pass itself knows no change. As it was, so must it ever be, combining within its narrow portals at once the romance and the stern reality and struggle of life

REVIEWS

La Suppression des Capitulations en Perse. By Dr. Ahmad Khan, Matine-Daftary. With Preface by H.E. Husain Khan Ala, Persian Ambassador to France. Paris. 1930. Price 35 frs.

When the Allied Powers, rendered helpless by their lack of unity and by the failure of their ill-conceived post-war policies, found themselves compelled to accept at the hands of the Turks the abolition of the extra-territorial privileges of foreigners, which have long been familiarly known as the "Capitulations," it was clear to most observers that it would not be long before the somewhat similar, but much less extensive, privileges of foreigners in Persia were challenged, on grounds rather of *amour propre* than of practical inconvenience or legal or diplomatic embarrassment.

The announcement that such steps were in contemplation was made by H.I.M. Riza Khan in 1927, and by the end of 1928 extra-territoriality in Persia had ceased to exist. Dr. Ahmad Khan describes in great, perhaps excessive, detail, the origin of extra-territoriality, and recounts, with pardonable pride, the steps taken by his countrymen to provide themselves with a judicial system calculated to enjoy public confidence. It is true, as he remarks, that the abolition of extra-territoriality was welcomed in Persia as the disappearance of an ancient servitude. Yet perhaps the best evidence of the almost complete absence in Persia of serious friction or sources of embarrassment from the extra-territorial status of foreigners is that, as far as can be ascertained, Dr. Ahmad Khan's present work is the only one in existence dealing with the subject so far as concerns Persia, and of the hundred or more books referring to the "Capitulations" in Turkey and elsewhere, only two or three make any reference to the working of extra-territoriality in Persia except purely incidentally.

The body of customary law and treaty rights affecting the status of foreigners in Persia came to be known as the "Capitulations" on the analogy of Turkey, in which country this general term had long been in use. It was a misnomer which doubtless imported prejudice, for it was not intended to mean, and is in no way connected with the current use of the word as synonymous with, "surrender"—viz., the submission of unbelievers to the Moslem Caliph in order to obtain peace, still less the unwilling surrender by Moslem nations to stronger European Powers of privileges for their subjects. The term is derived from the Italian *capitulazione*, meaning nothing more than a convention or an agreement expressing in orderly form the various stipulations agreed on.

The system in Turkey broke down by its own weight and because it was widely regarded by Turks as an obstacle to the exercise of their sovereign rights. The position in Persia was entirely different, and the privileged status formerly enjoyed by foreigners in Persia may be rightly regarded, not as humiliating to Persians or a derogation of the full sovereign rights of Persia, but as very much to the credit of the Persian Government.

Instead of regarding immunities of jurisdiction as exceptions to international law, and hence as affronts to Persian sovereignty, they might have been more properly regarded as evidence of a more enlightened and more liberal interpretation of the law of nations than has yet been granted in Europe, the place of its origin, though not of its exclusive development or application.

Such immunities are of very great antiquity: King Amasis (579-526 B.C.), according to Herodotus, allowed Greek merchants to establish themselves at Naucratis, and permitted them to be judged by their own magistrates according to their own laws and customs. Similar immunities were granted by the Athenians, Romans, and the Visigoths under Theodoric. Justinian allowed Armenians in Constantinople to settle questions of marriage inheritance, etc., according to their own laws, and the Caliph Omar granted to the Greek monks in Palestine about A.D. 636 special exemption from local jurisdiction. Arabs at Canton in China were allowed to be judged and ruled by their own qadis in the ninth century, and the Turks enjoyed extra-territorial rights in Constantinople under the Byzantine Emperors. Cosmas tells us that the Caliph Harun-al-Rashid gave special guarantees and privileges to French merchants in the same century, as also did the Emperors of Byzantium in the tenth century to the Varangians (Warings). Nestor gives the text of this treaty, which is the earliest documentary evidence of the granting of immunity from local jurisdiction to foreigners. The only difference between this document and the "Capitulations" in force a thousand years later is that the earlier privileges were reciprocal; the latter appear, at first sight, to be one-sided.

The practice of conceding to foreign merchants the right to carry with them the jurisdiction of their own laws outside their own territory became quite general with the gradual extension of commerce. It was the rule in Constantinople in the tenth century, and is still the practice in several Eastern countries. "The notion of a territorial law is European and modern"; the idea of personal law is far older, and, it may well be, far more equitable and better suited to the conditions of the modern world.

The notion of a territorial law has for the time being conquered—yet it may well be that future generations, released from the fear of aggression, may find it to their advantage to grant foreigners within their

borders some measure of extra-territoriality. The pendulum has swung far, and will swing further yet; but in this, as in other matters, a reaction is bound to set in.

On one point only does Dr. Ahmad Khan's summary appear open to serious criticism on historical grounds. The extra-territorial rights provided for in the separate Compact annexed to the Treaty of Turkomanchai were not, as he suggests, extorted from a beaten nation at the point of the sword. The provisions of the treaty merely served to confirm and regularize immunities and judicial procedure which had long before been customary in Persia. The evidence for this is to be found in innumerable contemporary narratives of travellers. The wording of the clauses, indeed, indicates that the Russians in making the treaty took no undue advantage, having regard to the fact that the Persians had immediately before the treaty suffered a severe defeat in the field, had been forced to surrender valuable territory and to pay an indemnity of some three million pounds. This said, it is possible to congratulate the author unreservedly on a scholarly and welcome addition to the growing list of books on Persian history by Persians.

A. T. W.

Conflict: Angora to Afghanistan. By Rosita Forbes. With a Foreword by Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G. Pp. 296; 48 half-tone plates; map. Cassell and Company, Ltd. 1931. 15s.

This book is an account of Mrs. McGrath's strenuous journeys through the Middle East during the spring and part of the summer of 1930. Sir Percy Sykes contributes a Foreword, which forms a summary and commentary on the history of a great part of this region during the past sixteen years.

The narrative opens with a short account of the effort to create a modern and homogeneous Turkish State with the handicap imposed by the chauvinistic economic policy of the present Turkish nationalists.

From Anatolia the traveller passes rapidly through Syria and Palestine, providing a somewhat melancholy picture of the difficulties of working the Mandatory system in these two countries without, however, referring sufficiently to the material improvements by which the inhabitants undoubtedly have benefited. Nevertheless, on reading the accounts given by her and also by other observers, the general impression remains that these Mandates as yet have added nothing to the happiness of the native populations.

In Syria, stress is laid on the tragedy of the Druses—this fine and interesting race broken and subdued after a devastating war with the French. In Palestine the plight of the landless and workless Arab

peasant-farmers, and of the local shopkeepers ruined by competition from the Jewish immigrants, is depicted in dark colours.

May the future be brighter than the past.

Passing through Iraq—up to the present the most successful example of a country governed under a Mandate—emphasis is rightly laid on the important position of this new State both as a political buffer and as a link in the air communications between Europe and Asia. Persia is then entered by way of Abadan, which she calls the holy city of oil, likening the tank farms to mosque domes and the factory chimneys to minarets!

From her energetic peregrinations round Persia in heavily laden motor lorries, during the course of which almost every town of importance was visited, many pictures—as clear-cut and vivid as posters—are obtained of the contrasts and conflicts produced by the super-imposition of a new structure upon archaic foundations. Although the ground covered has already been dealt with in many books, much miscellaneous information is pleasantly imparted on the history, scenery, productions, and population. A few lapses are apparent, as for instance on page 79 when Nadir Shah is described as forcibly transporting Bakhtiari tribes-people seventy years ago.

A general summary of the present situation in Persia is given in Chapter XVI. The Pahlevi régime can be credited with much solid progress, while on the debit side of the account stands the general economic policy based on exaggerated nationalism which manifests itself in the construction of a costly uneconomic trans-Persian railway, and in the Shah's declaration during a personal interview that in five or six years' time no foreign officials will be needed in Persia. The statement, which presumably is based on reliable information, that the Persian Government has no intention of renewing the present agreement with Imperial Airways, Limited, whereby the Company's machines are permitted to fly along the south Persian coast, is of great interest to the British.

The latter part of this book from Chapter XVIII. onwards, which describes the tour made through Azerbaijan and Kurdistan, contains information of considerable local historical interest. Details were obtained from various Russian refugees about the resistance offered by the Caucasian peasants during the spring of 1930 to the agricultural collectivization enforced by the Soviet Government. Many of these unfortunate people fled into Persian territory pursued by Soviet military forces and, according to the Persian G.O.C. at Tabriz, on June 4, 1930, a raid into Persian territory was made by a force of 2,500 Soviet troops, during which a number of Persian subjects were killed. No information is available as to whether any apology or compensation were made for this outrage.

With great enterprise, the authoress managed to make "an unauthorized excursion" to the scenes of the struggle which was then going on between the Turks and the Kurds around Mount Ararat. The Government organs of the Turkish Press brought repeated accusations against the Persian Government of helping the Kurds in this rebellion. It is, therefore, regrettable that such ambiguous statements should be made as (on p. 263): "Persian interests lay in co-operating with the Kurds"; again, "the rebels and patriots were able to draw on Tabriz for supplies of money, rifles, and ammunition." That many Persian Kurds participated in the rebellion is well known, and no doubt other Persian subjects helped in various ways; but the important point is whether the Persian authorities, directly or indirectly, took part in the affair. This has been strongly denied from Persian Government sources.

In the interests of geographical accuracy it must be pointed out that the statement contained in the following sentence (on p. 260) is quite incorrect: "From Urmeya I turned north again along the shores of the lake of the same name which is the size of Palestine." The area of Lake Urumia is given as about 1,750 square miles, while that of the Mandated territory in Palestine as about 10,000 square miles.

The return journey to Iraq was made with a small caravan along the line of the new road which is being constructed simultaneously by the Governments of Iraq and Persia across the main Kurdish range. As is pointed out, the linking up of North-Western Persia with Northern Iraq should bring important political and economic benefits to both countries. Due credit is given to the splendid work accomplished by the Assyrian levies in policing this troublous frontier region, and the anxiety of the Christian minorities as to their fate under an autonomous Iraq is also mentioned.

The book is provided with numerous good photographs, but it is a pity that the map illustrating these interesting travels was not included in the volume instead of on the paper cover. Part of the title, "Angora to Afghanistan," is, perhaps, a trifle misleading, since the traveller never set foot on Afghan soil.

D. B.-B.

Alarms and Excursions in Arabia. By Bertram Thomas. With a Preface by Sir Arnold T. Wilson. Pp. 298. Illustrations. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1931. 15s.

The author, a member of the Royal Central Asian Society, who, it will be remembered, contributed an interesting Paper to the JOURNAL in 1928 on the subject of the Musandam Promontory of Oman and the strange Shihuh tribe which inhabits it, is among those of the war generation who, happily, resent the parrot-cry—all too prevalent today—that the British race is stale and decadent, and seem determined to give the lie to it. The fortune of war took Bertram Thomas, as a

young infantry subaltern, to Iraq (or Mesopotamia as it then was), where, in the course of the campaign, he was selected for employment as a District Political Officer in the civil administration which had to be organized behind the fighting line to deal with the Arab inhabitants of the gradually expanding "Occupied Territories." In this rôle he served with much credit, and later on, after following for a time the fortunes of Mr. St. John Philby in Transjordan, he accepted the post of Financial Adviser and Wazier to H.H. the Sultan of Muscat. During the six years which he has spent in that appointment he has made admirable use of the opportunities afforded him in the exercise of his official functions to carry out a number of "Excursions" to the more accessible parts of the hinterland, and has also, during short periods of hard-earned leave, undertaken two important explorations in Southern Arabia, in preparation, one may say, for the great adventure which he always had at the back of his mind—the crossing of the Great Arabian Desert from south to north. This, as we all now know, he has just triumphantly accomplished, having, in fact, been engaged in it when his present volume went to press; but he will soon be here to give us his account of that fine achievement in person, and the present review is not concerned with it.

The strictly geographical and other scientific results of his journeys above referred to he has already described, during his last visit to this country, to the learned societies and specialists concerned. In the volume under review he caters for the general reader, and presents in the form of a number of racy narratives the more human and lively aspects of his experiences, always interesting and often thrilling, among the Arabs of Iraq and Oman.

His "Alarms and Excursions" are divided into five sections, yclept "Adventures," the first two relating to the period of his service in Iraq and constituting the "Alarms," and his expeditions in Oman the "Excursions." The first "Alarm" is concerned with a very troublesome problem by which the Indian Expeditionary Force was confronted during the early days of the War—the Marsh Arabs of Lower Mesopotamia—and more particularly with our "strained relations" with one of their principal Shaikhs, Badr ar Rumayidh, a much-married but tough old diehard who for a long time flourished in aggressive outlawry and put considerable strain on our declared policy of treating the Arab inhabitants of the country as a "friendly population." Had the Force been adequately equipped with aircraft at that early stage, Shaikh Badr and others of his kidney would have presented no serious problem; but in the absence of them, it was not practicable to take effective action except by means of costly and inconvenient side-shows: for these men of the marshes, like their satellites the mosquitoes, could emerge at will from their marshy haunts and bite with impunity, vanishing into a wilder-

ness of reeds at the first sign of any punitive activity on our part. Mr. Thomas gives us a graphic account of the Shaikh Badr episode, and the picture which he draws of the old warrior's final act of surrender, at long last, is a very dramatic and almost pathetic one. One is the more glad to know, twelve years later, that this venerable lover, still well-served, let us hope, by his score or more of sons, has been spared to enjoy, in the piping times of peace, the tranquil autumn of a somewhat boisterous middle age.

In the chapters which follow, after touching briefly on his daily life in Baghdad during a short period of service in the Revenue Secretariat—a sedentary post not much to his taste—he tells us of the alacrity with which he took advantage of the opportunity afforded him of returning to Shatrah, the headquarters of the Muntafik tribal federation on the Shatt-el-Hai, where he had previously established happy relations with the shaikhs and tribesmen of the district, and where he had found an additional attraction in the proximity of the site of the ancient Sumerian outpost of Lagash. This particular juncture, however, offered no prospect of archaeological research, for the political horizon was clouding rapidly and the tribes were reported busy arming themselves against an upheaval of which the warning tremors were already perceptible. But Captain Thomas's return had an anodyne effect, and thanks to the courage and skill with which he played his lone hand, and especially to his clever handling of the paramount Shaikh, the tribes of the Gharraf never actually committed themselves, and their District Officer, like Casabianca, was able to remain at his post until the last minute and leave with dignity when he reluctantly obeyed the summons to come away. It is a thrilling tale, and affords a fine example of the gallant way these practically isolated young Political Officers shouldered their heavy and anxious responsibilities at a most critical juncture, when they carried their lives in their hands from day to day and had little to fall back on but their own personality and the determination to keep their end up.

The scenes comprising the "Excursions"—the second half of the book—are laid in a very different quarter of Arabia, the Sultanate of Oman, where our author had meanwhile been installed as Wazier and Financial Adviser. In that satisfactory position of authority, at one time in company with the Sultan, at another by himself, he visited several districts between Muscat and Masandam, and crossed the Promontory from Sohar to Sharjah, hoping on that occasion to make the acquaintance of the still important centre and former Wahabi stronghold, Beraimi. This, however, was denied him owing to the disturbed state of inter-tribal politics at the time. Then there follows, under the title of "War Drums in Musandam," the account of a lively episode in which H.M. Survey Ship *Ormonde*, engaged in making

a revised marine survey of that treacherous bit of coast, had occasion to send a triangulation party to the summit of a well-known peak on the Promontory, situated in the habitat of the primitive Shihuh tribe, but owing to the truculent attitude of the local Shaikh and his following they were unable to carry out their work. Friendly remonstrance and the fact that the survey had the Sultan's authority proving of no avail, H.M. ship was obliged to abandon her intention for the moment and make shift with a less satisfactory triangulation point; but the stubborn obstruction and contumely of the Shaikh could not be allowed to pass unpunished, and the British Government agreed to lend support to the authority of the Sultan, represented on the spot by his Wazier, Mr. Thomas. Accordingly, a few days later, the Shaikh's tower having been demolished by shell fire after the customary warning to the villagers, the offender surrendered to H.M. ship and was deported to Muscat for a spell of durance vile.

The last section of the volume, perhaps of less interest to the general reader but the most important from the geographical point of view, treats of the southern hinterland of the Sultan of Muscat's territory, bordering the Indian Ocean. In pursuit of his latent ambition, adumbrated above, to invade the Empty Quarter, Mr. Thomas was anxious, as a preliminary experiment, to touch its fringe, and, if possible, tap its secrets. His first essay to do this from a base at Khor Jeramah, near Sur, was unfortunately frustrated by the fortuitous occurrence of an unprovoked tribal murder into which Mr. Thomas had to start an official investigation. On his second attempt, however, three months later and with six weeks' leave at his disposal, he found his lucky star more in the ascendant, and succeeded in carrying through an important journey of 600 miles from Suwaih, just south of Ras el Had, to Dhofar; the whole of it, after he left the Beni Bu Ali Shaikh's headquarters, being entirely new ground not traversed before by any European.

His sympathetic outlook on the life around him, the versatility of his mental equipment, and his tireless determination to investigate and to understand, make Mr. Thomas an ideal traveller, and when we add to those valuable qualities the literary gift of an easy and attractive style, it goes without saying that the account which he has given us of his experiences makes delightful reading. And more than that: his pages not only furnish us with a vivid, and to my knowledge accurate, picture of the daily life of the tribes and communities among which his recent lot has been cast, with their customs and their culture, but attract our interest, incidentally, to problems of much more than local significance. Among such is the intriguing theory which he poses for us that the Shihuh tribesman of the Musandam Promontory may, not impossibly, be identical with the Shuhite of the Book of Job, the

region in question providing, as he says, "a remarkably close tribal setting" to the Old Testament story of the Patriarch and his three comforters.

Or again, the description which he gives us of the local conditions of domestic slavery which he encountered and which, I fear, have not materially changed in the last thirty years. While not, of course, attempting to justify the institution, he points out that "the domestic slavery of Arabia is not the slavery which makes the blood of the twentieth-century humanitarian run cold"; and I know from my own experience that in the region of which he writes, where the scanty rainfall not infrequently fails completely, it is often a choice of slavery or starvation, and it is by no means rare for famine-stricken individuals and even families to migrate to a more favoured district and sell themselves into bondage. We seem to have a rather parallel phenomenon in our own civilization where a starving individual will sometimes commit a crime with the express object of being sent to prison and getting at any rate a sufficiency of food and perhaps, if he is musical, an occasional concert!

But it is not possible to touch upon the many subjects of interest with which Mr. Thomas's fascinating pages are packed; and it is to be noted that he is always at pains to provide in footnotes lucid explanations of expressions or references which the general reader might not otherwise understand.

I regret to conclude this review on a note of criticism, but one cannot fail to remark the inadequacy of the exiguous maps figuring in pages 31 and 259 of the book. These are barely decipherable, even with a hand-magnifier, and must be quite useless to the reader not possessing a considerable preliminary knowledge of the geography of the region. This is a defect which, it is to be hoped, will be remedied should there be any reprint of the volume, and which, I feel sure, would never have arisen had not the author been out of communication when it was passing through the press.

P. Z. C.

History of Palestine. By Angelo Rappoport, Ph.D. Pp. 368. Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1931. 12s. 6d. net.

It is difficult to believe that in the vast library of books about Palestine there is no book which gives the complete history of the country from the beginning of civilization to the present day. Yet it is claimed that Dr. Rappoport's book is the first to embrace that subject. Whether or not he has predecessors, he has carried out his task remarkably well. He has summarized the results of archaeological research and the records of ancient and mediæval history with lucidity and vivacity, and produced a story of the most historical country of the world which is both scholarly and readable. There is no original research, but a discriminating use of existing material.

Palestine "has rightly been likened to a bridge, with the sea on one side and the desert on the other, connecting Asia with Africa. On account of its

geographical position it has been the scene of many invasions and contending armies during several millenniums. . . . Situated as it was between the great empires of the ancient world, the country was not only the highroad of commerce, but also the meeting-place of civilization."

It is the story of this meeting and passing of civilization which Dr. Rappoport expounds; and in 350 pages he gives an account of the history of over 3,500 years. Occasionally a particular incident is narrated at length in a way which is out of proportion to the general scheme, as when one of the Tel el Amarna letters is given in full, or when the story of Deborah's victory over Sisera is set out in three pages. And occasionally the picture is slightly confused because of the double treatment of one incident. Thus, on p. 251 he speaks of Abdul Melik "erecting the magnificent stone mosque known as the Mosque of Omar," while a few pages later he writes more accurately that the Caliph built the famous Dome of the Rock, and then he gives a description of the building from an Arab author. The uninitiated reader would not grasp that the "Mosque of Omar" and the Dome are one and the same place.

Dr. Rappoport claims to have written the book in a spirit of profound impartiality. But he goes on to say: "It is our deliberate opinion that a national revival of the Jews in their ancestral home without the basis of religion has no *raison d'être*." The author may well be right in that opinion, but it is a point of view and should not have entered in the narrative of events.

In his final chapter, which deals with the mandatory régime of Palestine, 1917-1930, the author gives a fair, though inevitably brief, account of the development since the war. But one or two matters might be corrected in a later edition. Lord Allenby's campaign is made to appear as if it were the beginning of the operations in Palestine, and the proclamation of the Allied Powers to the Arab peoples about redemption and self-determination is wrongly dated 1917 instead of 1918. In the table of Principal Events, 1918 is given as the date of Palestine becoming a mandatory country, when it should be 1920; and Sir Herbert Samuel's period as High Commissioner is given as 1922-1925, while in fact it was 1920-1925. The conclusion with regard to the civilization of Palestine is interesting. "Palestine has never had a civilization of its own, nor could it ever have it. . . . All that one could expect in such a land was the development of a mixed civilization bearing traces of the various influences exercised by the world empires which held sway over the country for a time. . . . It is once more a foreign civilization which is being developed on the sacred soil of Palestine. . . . And yet, just as the exodus from Egypt was the prelude to Sinai, and the conquest of the Promised Land was a prelude to the Prophets and Christianity, so Zionism may prove to have been the prelude to a really Palestinian civilization."

N. B.

Asia's Teeming Millions, and its Problems for the West. By Étienne Dennery, *Professeur de l'Institut des Hautes Études Internationales, Paris*. Translated from the French by John Peile, M.A., with a Foreword by Harold Cox. Pp. 248; photographic illustrations, 5 maps, and bibliography. Jonathan Cape. 1931. 10s. 6d. net.

The title of this book, written by a French economist from personal experience of the countries concerned, sufficiently indicates its scope. Monsieur Dennery devotes a section each to the peculiar economic problems of Japan, China, and India, and in a final chapter outlines some of the possible effects upon the world at large of Asia's apparently ever-increasing population.

Writing of Japan and the possibilities of limiting the increase in population

by artificial means, the author notes that "procreation is a religious and national duty." This statement, which can be applied equally to the other countries in question, typifies one of the great underlying ideas in Eastern religious thought. It cannot be too often emphasized that religion is a much more important factor in the secular life of Orientals than it is with the peoples of the West; and M. Dennery is perfectly correct in thinking that any attempt to limit the size of families by such means would be foredoomed to failure.

Within the last fifty years the population of Japan has nearly doubled itself. Ricefield acreage, too, has been greatly extended, yet, owing to the improved standard of living, brought about to some extent by contact with the West, demand far exceeds production. It appears possible, however, to remedy this by the development of Hokkaido, an island which, although forming part of Japan proper, is at present almost uncultivated. But the problem is not wholly one of feeding an increasing population, as the author points out. "Will the troubles due to Japan's over-population grow daily more serious, or is it only a crisis, doubtless dangerous, but only of a temporary character—a legacy of her sudden economic revolution, fifty years overdue, and which will diminish as that recedes into the realms of the past?"

"The possibility that it will increase to the danger of the whole state has much to support it," he writes, "but Western influence, whose adoption was the cause of the trouble, may, by becoming definitely prevalent, provide a cure. Western skill may develop the wealth of the Empire, increase, in the towns, the output of manual worker and machine, in the country, bring more fields under cultivation, and stock the hillsides with flocks and herds—men—in short, eliminate under-development as a cause of over-population."

Turning to China, we find that the problem assumes a somewhat different aspect. "Whilst the waves of Japanese masses are borne back upon themselves in their narrow islands, those of boundless China go swarming forth beyond seas and oceans. Scarcely more than 600,000 Japanese live outside their own Empire, whilst at least 8,000,000 Chinese live far from the Republic. All the lands in the Pacific and Indian Oceans still open to them are gradually becoming Chinese. If we want to know the countries to which the Chinese wends his way, we have only to ascertain those which are not yet closed to him."

It is significant also to note that in Japan the Government endeavours by means of subsidies and propaganda to encourage emigration, but the peasants will not leave their homes. From China, on the other hand, hundreds of thousands have emigrated to distant countries during the past few years without any assistance or help from the State. The political situation in China has of course been partly the cause of this. The Chinese emigrant today is an important factor, for, as the author points out, "it may be that the real wealth of China lies overseas."

"Perhaps, too, the China of tomorrow is also being created overseas. Freed from the utter lawlessness of China, living in countries that have escaped the horrors of civil wars, the Chinese is taking his first lessons in Western economic methods. He will bring not only gold back to his countrymen, but the means of acquiring it as well; his experience will be even more valuable to his compatriots than his fortune. The diversity of the trades to which he has turned his hand overseas will prove to have been a long lesson, during which he was ever acquiring new power and a science that has proved its value. Chinese emigration, indeed, is no longer a phase in the lives of the helpless—a flight to distant lands. It has become a deliberate effort to pass

beyond the barriers of old China, the venture of the energetic in new countries."

M. Dennery commences his survey of Indian emigration with a pertinent truth. As he rightly notes, Indian thought ignores the economic side of the question, and the outcry in the vernacular Press is raised on the grounds of right—"Right to imperial, national, and racial equality." It must not be forgotten, however, that whatever be our attitude towards the settlement of Japanese and Chinese in our territories, we cannot apply the same standard to the peoples of India, who are, after all, subjects of our own Empire. This is not the place in which to discuss the rights and wrongs of the problems concerning Indian immigration in South and East Africa. There is, of course, much to be said on both sides, and M. Dennery gives all the facts necessary for an impartial consideration of the question. It may be noted, however, that emigration of Indians to Africa has, in the past, been a not unimportant factor in relieving the economic congestion of Southern India, caused by the peculiar land system in that part of the continent.

In his final chapter the author writes: "Is there a real danger for Western nations and the future peace of the world in these hapless masses of Asia, cramped in the narrow confines of their tiny ricefields or on their little strips of land, swarming on the great highways or in city alleys, devastated in one place by famines, in others by robbery or wars, kept within their native lands by the bar of foreign countries?"

"Pent within the narrow limits of their homes, will these masses ever be able to break down the barriers that surround them and pour forth into other countries? Truth to tell, this yellow peril, as viewed by the people at large, is not an actual danger. Appalling visions of a sudden eruption of Asiatic peoples on to the white man's country have haunted the minds of the West since the days of Attila and Genghis Khan, but they seem today unlikely to be realized. Shiftings of whole populations are rare occurrences in history, and even then have not come from distant lands. Asia is now the chief refuge for the Asiatics."

But lest the problem should seem to be solved too easily he goes on to say that "The ideal of Asiatic brotherhood is slowly progressing. Thanks to lessons learnt from the West, a struggle against their teachers becomes a prospect more and more likely to be realized. Perhaps anarchy in Asia will not always insure Europe and America against the hatreds which they have aroused. What force then will be able to restrain the masses of the East and prevent them from seeking outside their own Continent the resources which they must possess if they are to live?"

This is a book of absorbing interest and of great importance to all who are interested—and who is not?—in the political and economic problems of Asia. It is unusually restrained and free from bias, and is, above all, eminently readable. The book is well documented, and the five maps on which various economic data are set forth are most useful. The translation has been excellently done.

C. J. MORRIS.

Indian Industry. By M. Cecile Matheson. Part 3. Pp. xiv + 227. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5".
Milford. 3s.

This useful little book is the result of a decision of the National Christian Council of India to make a survey of industrial conditions in India. The Council was fortunate enough to obtain the services of Miss Matheson, a lady of great experience in industrial investigation and in welfare work, in Great Britain. She was assisted during her two cold weather visits by one of the

best known of Indian Y.W.C.A. workers, Miss Wingate, and by an Indian male welfare worker. The result is a valuable report, free from prejudice and full of insight, without that dogmatism which is often found in books about India, generally in inverse ratio to the length of the author's visit to that country. Except for a vivid and charming account of Miss Matheson's visits to tea gardens, it cannot be denied that the book makes somewhat depressing reading. In no other country is the saying "*Homo homini lupus*" more true than it is in India, and in no department of Indian life is it so applicable as it is in industrial life. Bribery and corruption are everywhere prevalent. The author suggests the poor consolation that the Indian labourer arrives poor in the great cities, and expects oppression, and on the whole perhaps gets less of it than he does in his village home. This may well be doubted; the perquisites and extortions of the village tyrants are stabilized, while in industrial life everything is uncertain and variable. As the author indicates, corruption extends even to the province of medical relief. Nor are the workers themselves free from blame. The non-success of co-operative societies among industrial workers is due chiefly to the dishonesty of the workers themselves, and to their failure to act squarely by the societies. The inefficiency of the worker is such that the author calculates that from three to five Indians are required to do the work of one Englishman in the cotton and iron industries; but it is largely due to slacking and a system of "ca' canny." The author is perhaps a greater believer in the advantages which have arisen out of Trade Unionism in Great Britain than many of her readers will be, but her remarks on the future of Trade Unionism in India are lukewarm and doubtful. Hanging over all Indian workers is the burden of indebtedness which is at least as bad in factories as it is in many agricultural villages. The author perhaps has too much confidence in Trade Board legislation from its results in England. In India there is always the danger of a corrupt inferior bureaucracy. The author stresses the necessity for more welfare work as a means of uplifting Indian industrial workers from their present sordid surroundings. She admits that her account of possible training reads as if it were proposed to hand over welfare work in India entirely to the management of Europeans. The National Christian Council, very naturally from its own point of view, hopes to carry out the work by Christian agency. Herein lies one of the great difficulties. When Mr. Gandhi is warning Christian missionaries against interference, and when every effort of Europeans is liable to be suspected and distorted, what is the likelihood of the Christian Churches in India, with financial resources and numbers of workers very limited, being able to effect the desired regeneration of industrial conditions? The intention is, however, excellent, and this little survey of the condition of Indian factory hands will be of use to all interested in welfare work.

India on the Brink. By "A British-India Merchant." 7½ x 5. Pp. xviii + 122. London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd. 3s.

The publishers claim that "the object of this book is to arouse the British public, before it is too late, to realize that Great Britain is coming face to face with the greatest crisis in its history, and that on the right solution of this problem of supreme gravity depends the fate of the Empire."

The author, in his preface, lays stress on the fact that we have arrived at a parting of the ways, that we must make the definite decision to go either by the right-hand path or the left.

"Let there be no misunderstanding; if the problem be solved rightly, a progressive, prosperous and contented India will attain in due course full

partnership in the British Empire: but if the wrong solution be attempted, India will revert to a land of chaos, the decline of the Empire will have definitely commenced, and ere long 'Ichabod' will be its epitaph" (p. v).

He comments on the apparent apathy of the British public as a whole, giving the reason that "the majority of the British people have but the haziest knowledge of India—its peoples, its history, and even its geography. They take India for granted as part of the British Empire, but little do they realize how important and vital a part." He lays stress on this point, remarking that "though the proceedings at the Round Table Conference aroused a passing interest, there is little indication that the supreme gravity of the issue has been grasped by the great majority of those in this country *with whom as voters the final decision yet may rest*" (reviewer's italics).

In endeavouring to decide on what is the right path to follow, the author considers it "necessary to visualize in perspective something of India's past history—its present state, and, as far as possible, its future course." He states that he has dwelt at greater length than otherwise he would have done on periods of disturbance that have occurred during the British régime in India when they tend to show that the unrest of today is history repeating itself, and that in the past, as in the present, the seed of that poisonous plant—false rumour—was sown by a comparative handful of irreconcilable extremists on the fertile soil of a people 90 per cent. of whom can neither read nor write, and was manured by a revolutionary Press which for years has abused its freedom from restraint in a manner which no other country would have tolerated. He adds that in the past these periods of unrest have yielded to *firm though just and sympathetic treatment* (reviewer's italics): if like treatment be applied at the present time, India should be cured ere long of her present malady.

Throughout twenty-one short chapters the author examines the factors affecting the situation, quoting extensively from authorities such as the Indian Statutory Commission's Report, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, Sir Bampfylde Fuller, The Oxford History of India, and the writings of the Abbé Dubois.

He lays considerable stress on the evils engendered by the subversive reports of the Indian National Congress Bulletin, and the baseless allegations by certain Americans, giving numerous quotations from such writings in illustration of his argument.

In the twenty-second chapter the author sums up the situation, and attempts to find a solution to the problem.

"Recent events (he writes) have proved that the extreme forbearance displayed by the Government of India, when revolutionary resolutions were passed by the Indian National Congress at Lahore on December 31, 1929, was mistaken. A spark that then might have been promptly extinguished was allowed to smoulder until fanned into a flame by gusts of popular passion."

He quotes Sir Bampfylde Fuller: "Our influence in India rests not so much upon our strength as upon prevailing ideas of our strength, and if anything occurs to weaken these ideas, the people prepare themselves for a change of rulers. . . . The traditions of a thousand years are not easily forgotten—during this period no dynasty has maintained itself much beyond the limit of a couple of centuries. . . ."

"For this reason a policy of concession, of compromise, is exceedingly dangerous. *We must do justice*, but because it is justice and *not* because we are afraid of the consequences.

"*The idea of give and take* which influences so materially the course of

English politics is *foreign to Indian notions of government*. It does not conciliate our opponents, it merely strengthens their hold upon the imagination of the people."

The author remarks that the "resolutions passed by the Congress at Lahore on December 31, 1929, expressed threats which Government at the time ignored. Three months later these threats were translated into action; Government by its altruistically tolerant attitude was running a grave risk."

On page 113 he lays down a suggested declaration, such as might be made by the British Government to define the policy of Great Britain, and "to state in unmistakable language its final limits of concession; specifically stating the conditions under which these limits can be reached."

The closing paragraphs, possibly, give a clue to his solution of the problem: "There *never* must be capitulation to the apostles of lawlessness; such a course inevitably would at one stroke destroy the noble structure raised by the genius, the patient effort, and the infinite courage of Britain's most illustrious Empire Builders—would relegate 60,000,000 of 'Untouchables' to a state of slavery, and would thrust back into anarchy this great sub-continent."

"The *keys* entrusted to us are still in our possession, and we must see to it that they are safe in our keeping."

"Our one and only course is to strive continuously to bring into harmony the clashing interests of 'a hundred Indias,' so that each, assured of equal justice and protection, will march forward with us in loyal co-operation, and thus hasten the day when, as an equal partner, a contented, powerful and united All-India Federation will form one of the great pillars of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

If there is any criticism to be made on this book, it might be that the author has omitted to give chapter and verse of his quotations from various authorities, and contents himself with stating only the name of the work from which he has drawn his extracts. This is especially noticeable in his quotations from the Indian Statutory Commission's Report, from which he borrows extensively. The facts are laid out clearly and succinctly, and his summing-up is logical and well expressed.

The truth of his arguments cannot be denied.

With Mystics and Magicians in Tibet. By Alexandra David-Neel.

Pp. 320. Photographic illustrations. John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, 1931. 15s. net.

The author of this book, a French lady, first became interested in Tibet when, as a young student, she studied Sanskrit and Tibetan literature under Edouard Foucaux at the Collège de France. As a result of some preliminary journeys culminating in a visit to Lhasa, which she has described in a previous book, "My Journey to Lhasa," she conceived the desire to investigate matters concerned with Tibetan mysticism and psychic phenomena, and the present book has been written as a result of no less than fourteen years' residence in the country.

Nearly half the book is devoted to a description of wanderings in Sikkim and along the adjacent Tibetan border; journeys of no special interest in country perfectly well known. In describing Tibetan

lamaseries Mme. David-Neel is liable to give those who have not visited the country a somewhat wrong impression, for she constantly writes of them as Colleges and Universities, and of certain types of lamas as "a kind of LL.D. and Ph.D." This, of course, is utterly absurd, but to the uninitiated is liable to conjure up pictures akin to those of stately processions entering Sheldonian or Senate House. Much of this early part of the book is marred by frequent misstatements. The author notes, for instance, that the Jonsong Pass is the highest in the world, and that its height is 24,000 feet—no less than 1,000 feet higher than the North Col of Mount Everest. In actual fact the height of this Pass is 20,200 feet above sea level. Again, when writing of the Tibetan language she states that one Dawasandup, a schoolmaster in Sikkim who was her interpreter for a time, is the author of the only English-Tibetan dictionary in existence. This is hardly fair to Sir Charles Bell, whose grammars and dictionary are the student's chief aids to learning the language. In addition to these, however, Sarat Candra Das published a very complete dictionary in 1902, and there is a work in French by the Catholic missionaries in Tibet, which was published in Hong-kong in 1899.

The remaining chapters are devoted to a study of mysticism and spiritual training as practised by lamas in Tibet, and of these the most convincing is that dealing with what the author describes as "Psychic Sports." One set of these, known to the Tibetans as *Lung-gom*, "includes a large number of practices which combine mental concentration with various breathing gymnastics, and aims at different results either spiritual or physical"; but there is an underlying desire in all *Lung-gom* exercises to acquire uncommon nimbleness and the power to make long journeys with amazing rapidity. The author's introduction to the practice came at an unexpected moment. She noticed a man advancing towards her over the Tibetan plain at a somewhat unusual pace, and upon calling the attention of one of her servants she received the reply, "It looks like a lama *lung-gom-pa*." "The man," she writes, "continued to advance towards us, and his curious speed became more and more evident." She wished to speak to the lama and to observe him at close quarters, but her servants warned her to let him pass unnoticed. "By that time," she continues, "he had nearly reached us; I could clearly see his perfectly calm impassive face and wide-open eyes with their gaze fixed on some invisible far-distant object situated somewhere high up in space. The man did not run. He seemed to lift himself from the ground, proceeding by leaps. It looked as if he had been endowed with the elasticity of a ball and rebounded each time his feet touched the ground. . . . My servants dismounted and bowed their heads to the ground as the lama passed before us, but he went his way apparently unaware of our presence."

Another most interesting practice is that known as *tumo*, or the art of warming oneself without fire, even when sitting naked in the snow. The word *tumo* signifies heat, but is not used in Tibetan to express ordinary heat or warmth, having some further esoteric meaning. "It is a technical term of mystic terminology, and the effects of that mysterious heat are not confined to warming the anchorites who can produce it. Tibetan adepts of the secret lore distinguish various kinds of *tumo*: exoteric *tumo*, which arises spontaneously in the course of peculiar raptures and gradually folds the mystic in the 'soft, warm mantle of the gods'; esoteric *tumo*, that keeps the hermits comfortable on the snowy hills; mystic *tumo*, which can only claim a distant and quite figurative connection with the term 'warmth,' for it is the experience of 'paradisic bliss' in this world."

Mme. Neel gives details of the various stages through which the ascetic must pass before he can attain the full force of *tumo*, and it appears that the practice is based on the theory that if the mind can be brought under absolute control the mere thought of *tumo* is sufficient to banish all physical discomfort connected with cold, and the body gradually becomes suffused with radiant heat. This is said to produce a peculiar kind of ecstasy which can be experienced in no other way. The author states that members of the Mount Everest Expeditions had occasional glimpses of one of these naked anchorites, but the present writer is able to state from his own experience that this is definitely not the case.

Full descriptions follow of the lives led by anchorites in *ritöd(s)* or hermitages, but it is difficult to understand the mentality of a man who can spend his life meditating in complete darkness, without receiving any visitors or speaking to anyone.

In her final chapter Mme. David-Neel describes her investigations into psychic phenomena and, to be quite frank, many of the details given seem hardly credible. She was anxious to study the question of *tulpas*, "magic formations generated by a powerful concentration of thought." "Must we credit these strange accounts of rebellious 'materializations,'" she asks, "phantoms which have become real beings, or must we reject them all as mere fantastic tales and wild products of imagination?" She contents herself with describing a personal experience, but it is extremely doubtful if any useful scientific purpose is served by accounts of this sort. "In order to avoid being influenced by the forms of the lamaist deities, which I saw daily around me in paintings and images," she writes, "I chose for my experiment a most insignificant character: a monk, short and fat, of an innocent and jolly type.

"I shut myself in *tsams* and proceeded to perform the prescribed concentration of thought and other rites. After a few months the phantom monk was formed. His form grew gradually *fixed* and life-like looking. He became a kind of guest, living in my apartment.

I then broke my seclusion and started for a tour, with my servants and tents.

"The monk included himself in the party. Though I lived in the open, riding on horseback for miles each day, the illusion persisted. I saw the fat *trapa*; now and then it was not necessary for me to think of him to make him appear. The phantom performed various actions of the kind that are natural to travellers and that had not been commanded. For instance, he walked, stopped, and looked around him. The illusion was mostly visual, but sometimes I felt as if a robe was lightly rubbing against me, and once a hand seemed to touch my shoulder.

"The features which I had imagined, when building my phantom, gradually underwent a change. The fat, chubby-cheeked fellow grew leaner; his face assumed a vaguely mocking, sly, malignant look. He became more troublesome and bold. In brief, he escaped my control.

"*Once a herdsman who brought me a present of butter saw the tulpa in my tent and took it for a live lama. . . . I decided to dissolve the phantom. I succeeded, but only after six months of hard struggle. My mind-creature was tenacious of life.*"

The italics are mine, and it is only necessary to add that if the writer of the above-quoted paragraphs can really believe that it is possible to see the creation of some other person's mind in the form of living flesh and blood, then we have no other course but to accept all her statements with extreme caution.

It is not easy to review fairly a book like this, for when an author spends no less than fourteen consecutive years in patient investigation in a country like Tibet, where even the best possible conditions entail considerable hardship and discomfort, one cannot doubt her sincerity. Mme. David-Neel professes herself a disciple of Descartes and of Claude Bernard, but she cannot be said to have practised to the full the philosophic scepticism of the former, which, according to the latter, should be the constant ally of the scientific observer. She has attempted that all but impossible task—to interest both the expert and the general reader. She does not succeed in either, for the first will find much of the writing in this book involved, and the latter will be irritated by the numerous misstatements. It is much to be regretted that she did not add to what was obviously a long and detailed linguistic and philosophic training some study in practical anthropology, for her opportunities for investigation were probably unique and unlikely to recur. As it is, she does not distinguish between what she observes, what she is told by others, and what she believes; but with all its faults this remains an extremely interesting book, and one that should not be neglected either by the student of mysticism or of Tibetan ethnology. Mme. David-Neel states that she hopes to publish a further

work on these subjects, and it is to be hoped that she will write primarily for the reader with some scientific training, for it is not really possible to please the two classes of reader. The book has neither index nor maps; the former would be useful, and the latter indispensable to anyone not acquainted with the geography of Tibet.

C. J. MORRIS.

The Road to the Grey Pamir. By Annie Louise Strong. Pp. 289. With illustrations. Little, Brown and Company. 1931.

Grey indeed the Pamirs seem in this narrative of a woman's journey alone, from Osh, the capital of Southern Kirghizia, formerly Ferghana, to Pamirski Post, the Russian military frontier station, with scorching heat and freezing cold, runaway horses, filthy Yurts, and Kirghiz, undergoing the initial stage of being civilized by various Soviet Committees delegated to the High Pastures, completing the picture.

As might be imagined, the account is not lacking in adventure, but the chief interest lies in the glimpse one gains of the actual conditions of life in the carefully guarded frontier region of Russian Central Asia. The author, who is American, has made a special study of the economic situation in the Soviet republics. In her book "Red Star in Samarkand" (see the review in the *JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY*, Vol. XVII.) she has already published the result of her investigations in the ancient cities of the new republics. She now turns her attention to the changes developing through Bolshevik methods of propaganda and organization among the nomad population on the "Roof of the World."

It is indeed amazing, as the writer herself remarks, to think of all these efforts at modernization going on within such a short distance of the boundary, where on the Chinese side one suddenly comes to medieval Sin Kiang and the secluded valleys of untouched solitudes, where the Kirghiz still live according to ancient custom and receive the stranger in their midst with the frank friendliness unknown on the beaten tracks.

The writer describes some quaint scenes in Sary-tash, a Soviet of the High Pastures, where she stopped for a few days on her way to Pamirski Post. In the summer encampment of shabby Yurts she found installed a People's Court, a School for Illiterates, a Women's Organizer, a Medical Station and a State Trading Company. In the People's Court she listened to a case being tried of an under-age marriage, combined with the payment of a "kalym" or bride-purchase, this being now forbidden, the proceedings of which she describes with some humour.

The Women's Organizer for the valley confided to her that she was finding her job of agitating among the Kirghiz sisterhood of the south uphill work, as the frightened creatures ran away whenever they saw her coming along. To her disgust not a single girl could be persuaded to go to the schools.

The doctor and the trader were more popular, crowds coming chiefly for vaccination—little sickness of any other kind being found in the valley—and eagerly acquiring the iron pots and cotton goods which for propaganda's sake were being sold cheaper than in the bazaar in Osh.

During the first part of the journey Miss Strong was able to join a group of members of a geological expedition, starting out on behalf of the Supreme Council of National Economy to investigate the possibilities of exploiting certain deposits of gold and other precious minerals, which had recently been discovered. During the second half of the way, she accompanied a detachment

of Red soldiers. She had no servant with her, nor any other escort, but travelled riding her own pony and carrying her own belongings. The hardships of the road were augmented by the suffering caused by injuries resulting from a fall from her horse. The description of Murghabi, as the frontier station is locally called, shows it to be still one of the dreariest spots in the world.

Giving up her plan of going on to Horog, the writer retraced her steps to Ferghana, this time in the company of a Kirghiz communist and a caravan-man from Kashgar. Both proved to be unreliable travelling companions, the latter even trying to get away with her pony. Near Sary-tash she fortunately fell in with a group of students from the Economic Institute of the Central Asian University, with whom she returned to Osh.

The account of the writer's various adventures and experiences is full of interest. It incidentally shows with what determination a woman can face hardships. The statement concerning the discomfort caused by the high altitude and the soldiers' comment that "to go to the Pamirs on foot—that indeed was very bad for a man," brings to my mind the memory of another woman, a Roumanian, whom I met in the early season of 1930—the first caravan had just come over from Ladakh—crossing the Karakoram Pass on foot with her husband, between them carrying their own packs of food and bedding across the most desolate, uninhabited, highest tracts of country in the world. What would the Red soldiers have said!

There are several illustrations in the book, showing the writer's various travelling companions.

J. V. H.

Through the Caucasus to the Volga. By Dr. Fridtjof Nansen.

Translated from the Norwegian by G. C. Wheeler. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 255.

Illustrations. George Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

This is Dr. Nansen's last book; although perhaps not so pretentious as others from his pen—in the Preface he says: "It is not possible in a short sketch such as this to give in any way complete impressions of the lands and the many peoples the journey took us through, especially when it was made so quickly"—it, nevertheless, lacks nothing in respect of the brilliance of its descriptions and the interest of its matter. The great secret of Dr. Nansen's writing is that he combines the interest of the scientist with that of the ordinary man. In the work under review there is much to interest the geologist, the anthropologist and the historian; on the other hand, the ordinary reader is thrilled by the descriptions of the imposing Caucasian scenery and of the romantic tribes which dwell in that little known part of the world.

In reading the book one is conscious of a feeling of loss, that never again can we look forward to having our imaginations stirred by his vivid descriptions of his travels. One is also struck by the many-sided character of the man. He was brave, as his achievements as an explorer show; he was no mean scientist; he was a good diplomat and an able negotiator, as is proved by the successful manner in which he carried out the various delicate missions entrusted to him by the League of Nations. His relief work in Russia during the famine period of 1921-22 proves him to have been a great organizer, and, finally, he was intensely human—in fact, his descriptive writings reveal the eye of an artist.

In July, 1925, Dr. Nansen visited Armenia at the head of an international commission, appointed by the League of Nations, to enquire how it would be possible to settle the Armenian refugees who had fled from Turkish Armenia

in order to escape from the atrocities of Turkish rule. Having completed his enquiries, he proceeded to Tiflis in order to discuss with the Government of the Federation of Caucasian Soviet Socialist Republics matters in connection with the raising of a loan for the purpose of settling the refugees on the land in Soviet Armenia. The loan, however, did not materialize because the authorities in Tiflis, owing to a mixture of ignorance and conceit, failed to grasp the fact that foreign bankers would not consider the guarantee of the Central Government in Moscow as sufficient security for the loan. His official mission thus coming to an end, he decided to see something of the Caucasus and Russia on his way back to Norway.

The first chapter is devoted to a description of Tiflis and of the exuberant hospitality of the author's host, the Armenian, Narriman Ter Kasarian, representative of the Trans-Caucasian Federation, who had accompanied the Commission during its investigations in Armenia. Not only is Tiflis celebrated for its natural beauty, but for that of its women. A Frenchman writing over 250 years ago said: "To see them and not to love them I hold to be impossible." Dr. Nansen's imagination is stirred by the romantic past of the Georgian people, and by the many wars they waged for their independence. He mentions their national heroes and heroines, among them King Heraklius II., who, although over eighty years old, recaptured Tiflis from the Persians in 1795; and Queen Tamara, who brought Christianity to the savage mountain tribes, and whose praises are still sung by the Georgian people:

. . . and the mountains bowed before her,
Tamar came to Svan-land wearing her crown.

Tamar's eyes were like precious stones.
Over her silk kirtle she wore a coat of mail.
Tamar had a belt of gold;
Tamar wore her royal sword at her side.

The epic poetry of old Georgia is really beautiful; it sings of the sufferings of this wonderful land, but through it runs a note of hope and confidence in a glorious and independent future. Here are two further specimens quoted by Dr. Nansen:

Thou art not dead, home of my fathers,
thou dost but sleep, awaiting the morrow;
then shalt thou deck them with the victor's wreath
who for thy sake have kept their watch among the dead.

(From the Georgian poet Akaki Zereteli.)

And once again the old wound throbs,
O land of mine that once was so richly gifted,
it is to me as if thy past lay buried
in this stream whose weeping strikes my ear.

It seems that destiny has condemned the Georgian people to suffer eternally. After a bitter struggle for their independence against the Russian Czars, they have now fallen under the even worse tyranny of the Soviets. It is to be hoped that one of the features of the new régime in Russia, which rises out of the ashes of Bolshevism, will be the independence, or at least self-government, of Georgia.

In Chapter II. there follows an excellent description of the mighty Caucasus range, reaching from the Caspian to the Black Sea, 1,100 kilometres long, with an average breadth of 120 kilometres. The highest peak is Djin Padishah (King of the Spirits), 5,629 metres high. There is a local legend that the great bird Simurg has its nest on the top of Djin Padishah, and has one

eye on the past and the other on the future. When it rises in the air the ground shakes from the beating of its wings, the storms howl, the sea grows rough, and all the sleeping powers of the deep wake to life.

From the River Rion, the Phasis of the Greeks, which rises in the Caucasus, Jason fetched the Golden Fleece and the Sun King's daughter. The author gives an interesting quotation from Shabo, who long ago remarked "the streams (in the Caucasus) were rich in gold which is washed out by the Barbarians by means of hides and skins with the hair on, and in this way has arisen the tale of the Golden Fleece."

Dr. Nansen had formerly made the acquaintance of Samursky, President of the Daghestan Republic, and whilst still in Tiflis he received a pressing invitation from the latter to visit Daghestan on his way home. He accordingly set out from Tiflis at 4 a.m. on July 6, 1925, by motor-car along the great military road through the Caucasus which was completed by the Russians in 1861.

Chapter III. is devoted to a description of the two principal mountain tribes living in the districts through which the road passed—the Khevsurs and the Ossetes. The former are medieval in their ways: the author tells us "they wear helmets, chain-armour, bambraces and greaves of steel, shields and swords, just like the Knights of the Crusade." Murder must be avenged by the murdered man's kindred, or can be atoned by an agreed fine in cattle. For murdering a man the fine is eighty cows, for a woman sixty cows, whereas for wife murder the question of blood revenge does not arise and the fine is only five cows. This system of getting rid of a wife might well be substituted for the complicated and expensive system of divorce at present existing in England, and, furthermore, it would have the advantage of stimulating our depressed agricultural industry. Their method of taking a wife, so the author tells us, is almost as curious as that of getting rid of her. The bridegroom takes his wife from a neighbouring village by armed force to his father's house. Here they spend three nights together, after which she goes back to her village for a time before regular married life begins. If after the three days' trial the bride does not please her husband, he can send her back to her village, and she is free to marry another.

In Chapter IV. the author continues his journey along the White Aragva River to the station at Kasbek, where he obtained his first glimpse of the mighty peak of that name, 5,043 metres high. According to legend, it was here that Zeus chained Prometheus for having stolen fire from heaven and given it to mankind. The first man to climb the peak was an Englishman called Freshfield, who, together with some companions, reached the top in 1868.

From the station of Kasbek the author followed the Terek River as far as the Darial Gap, on the other side of which lies the plain leading to Vladikavkaz (the ruler of the Caucasus). Here he took leave of Narriman Ter Kasarian, who had accompanied him on all his travels since he landed at Batoum three weeks previously. From Vladikavkaz he proceeded by train, which included a sleeping-car, to Petrovsk, rechristened "Makhach Kala" by the Bolsheviks, arriving there at 2 a.m. on Tuesday, July 7, 1925.

Chapter V. is taken up by a description of Daghestan and its people. The total area of Daghestan is about 54,000 square kilometres, with a population (in 1926) of 788,000 souls of twelve different races, speaking thirty-two different languages. The religion is Islam, which the Soviets do not dare persecute in the Caucasus as they do Christianity in Russia. Economic conditions in Daghestan are very bad; little or nothing was done by the

Imperial Government to open up the country, nor have the Soviets improved matters.

In Makhach Kala Dr. Nansen was the guest of Comrade Samursky, President of the Daghestan Republic. He spent the greater part of his time visiting the town museum, which was full of relics of Shamyl and his ally Hadji Murad, who for twenty-five years led their people in a relentless war against the Russians. Their activities are described in Chapters VI. and VII.

Dr. Nansen leaves no doubt in the minds of his readers that his sympathies were all on the side of Shamyl. The following is a typical commentary on the history of those times: "But what shall one say of the Russian Czar and his people, who by no right whatever forced their way into their valleys, killed them right and left, plundered their villages and seized their whole land?" In 1801 the Czar had assumed the Crown of Georgia, and by 1820 General Yermolov, who had been appointed to the command of the Russian forces in the Caucasus, was able to report that the conquest of Daghestan was almost complete as well. In fact, as the author tells us, "there only remained an inner western strip of Daghestan . . . it was still to cost thirty-nine years' bitter fighting with streams of blood before Daghestan should be overcome." Yermolov's harsh treatment of the Caucasian Mohammedans gave rise to a fanatical anti-Russian religious movement which brought the tribes together in a united resistance.

For six years Kasi Mullah and his lieutenant Shamyl Mullah carried on guerilla warfare against the Russians with varying success, since the latter had guns in which the former were entirely deficient. In October, 1832, Kasi Mullah made a last stand in his native village of Gimri, where he and all his followers were killed except Shamyl, who, despite the fact that he had a broken shoulder and rib and a bayonet wound through his lung, managed to make good his escape. In death the body of Kasi Mullah took up the attitude of a Moslem at prayer, with his left hand about his beard and his right hand lifted towards the sky. This, together with the miraculous escape of Shamyl, was interpreted by their followers as a divine omen of their saintliness. In 1834 Shamyl became leader of the Murids. Muridism preached the absolute equality of mankind, and that, according to the Koran, no people could be subject to another. It further preached a reconciliation between the two great sects of Islam, the Shiites and the Sunnites.

The author tells us that "Shamyl was one of the most remarkable figures of the century." Physically good-looking and athletic, he had the dramatic sense necessary to lead these primitive and superstitious peoples. At the same time he was bitterly cruel. He had his own mother beaten in public because she pleaded for mercy on behalf of his enemies. As an autocrat he led the Murid movement against the Russians for twenty-two years, during which time the honours of war were very fairly divided. In September, 1856, Shamyl finally surrendered to the Russian General Prince Bariatinsky. He was presented to the Czar, who received him with great honour, and he was given a pension and a house at Kaluga. He died in 1871.

The history of the Murid movement might have been quite different had the Turks not displayed a political stupidity beyond anything which might even be expected of them. During the Crimean War they might have caused enormous embarrassment to the Russians had they made common cause with the Murids. On the contrary, they opposed the cause of Muridism because they themselves wished to be masters of the Caucasus. One wonders what their British Allies were doing to allow such a golden opportunity to be lost.

The subsequent history of Daghestan—after the period of Czarist rule—is

extremely complicated. Such famous persons as General Bicherakov, Nouri Pasha (brother of Enver Pasha), General Dunsterville and the Iman Gochinsky all took a hand in shaping it. Finally a so-called autonomous Soviet Republic was set up in 1920.

Chapter VIII. is entitled "Excursions in Daghestan." It contains descriptions of such miscellaneous subjects as a cotton-mill, a canned-fruit factory, a swarm of locusts (with a discussion as to how to deal with it), an oil field, the herring-fishing industry, agriculture as applied to large estates confiscated by the Bolsheviks, a glass-making factory, and a local wedding at which the Caucasian dance the "Lesghinka" was danced, now rendered famous in every cabaret in Europe.

At the end of the chapter Dr. Nansen discusses the economic future of Daghestan. His enthusiastic idealism carries him away from the world of realities. He sees the paradise which a strenuous people might make of a land richly endowed by nature, but he forgets the hell which Soviet tyranny and mismanagement have created in its place. He talks of the wonderful openings for European capital, whereas the latter demands security as a primary condition, the very thing which is lacking under the Soviet régime.

Chapter IX. opens with a description of Dr. Nansen's trip across the Caspian from Petrovsk to Astrakhan. He comments on the shallowness of the water and the large number of barges containing dried "vobla," or salt-water roach, caught in the Caspian, which is the staple food of the peasants living round the Volga delta. The latter provides wonderful duck shooting, but is very malarial.

"In the first centuries of our era there existed the town of Itil, founded by the Khazars, to which came the traders from Byzantium, Baghdad, Armenia and Persia. After the Jews were turned out of Constantinople, they settled in Itil and developed the trade of the Khazars, whose dynasty embraced the Jewish faith." Itil became Astrakhan, which appears to have had a romantic past, although to the ordinary person its name merely conjures up visions of an expensive fur coat and that delicious brand of caviare, with the big grey grains, which is the best in the world. Dr. Nansen describes the different kinds of sturgeon and the caviare they produce; the "gourmet" will be much interested to know all about this great delicacy.

The beginning of Chapter X. is also "fishy." The scientific description of the various kinds of Volga fish is most interesting without being too technical.

On the evening of July 13, Dr. Nansen left Astrakhan and started his journey up the Volga, the greatest waterway in Europe, which, with its tributaries, waters an area greater than Germany, France and Great Britain, put together. Before the war this area was Europe's granary. The rest of the chapter is taken up with a brief history of the Volga peoples and a description of the country through which the mighty river flows. The chapter ends with a short but moving description of the great famine of 1921-22 in which three million people perished. The author is too modest to mention the great part which he played in relieving the distress.

As stated at the beginning of this review, Dr. Nansen's book is a description of his travels only. It is obvious that in a book with a limited scope he could not deal with the political and economic problems with which the places he visited were seething. We, who are interested, get so little real truth about Russia that the opinion of an observer, such as Dr. Nansen, as to the conditions and future prospects in that unhappy land would have been invaluable. He received the utmost hospitality from his Bolshevik hosts, he saw everything from the most advantageous angle, and he duly admired.

Perhaps his true feelings are summed up on the last page of the book. After describing the past vicissitudes and sufferings of the Volga people—from which, by the way, he excludes their present sufferings under the Soviet régime—he says: “But in this tough, patient people’s depths there still lie capabilities and forces as yet unused. In their wonderful music one feels as though from the echo of past sufferings, of great melancholy of the steppes, hope rises up for a day that is to dawn.”

EDWARD WALKER.

Unveiled: The Autobiography of a Turkish Woman. By Selma Ekrem. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 277. Illustrations. London: Bles. 16s.

An autobiography of the author, the daughter of a distinguished Secretary of Abdul Hamid, the Sultan who was deposed by the Young Turks during the “Bloodless Revolution” in Turkey. Selma Ekrem was an attractive child. The book reveals her in her setting—the old Turkish home on the hill above the Bosphorus, still living in Moslem semi-seclusion.

Yet, through the father’s high position as Governor of Jerusalem, Selma’s travels began in her earliest years.

In her chapters of succeeding events: the Great War, the Gallipoli adventure, the rise of Mustapha Kemal, his heroic struggle against the Greeks in the Smyrna war and his still more heroic venture at Angora to establish a Turkish modern government, one follows the growth of a small girl’s transformation into a fiery young patriot.

If one misses in it all the deeper insight of a Halidé Edib with her analysis of Mustapha Kemal’s development from the heroic idolized Ghazi into the nascent statesman who had not despised the counsels of a woman in his creation of a new state—yet we see a reflection of a youthful happy child in a patriarchal home, loved and petted by all. This was the Turkish home of the harem and the selamlık. But its restrictions for women did not fall as a shadow upon Selma’s happy-hearted childhood until her sister was “hooded” under the shroud of the black “tcharchaf.” Terror and revolt are the underlying keynotes of Selma’s further chapters on this subject of terror. No small rôle played in this was her distaste for Arabic lessons from the Hodja in learning the Koran. For those observers who have never grasped the full meaning of Mustapha Kemal’s edicts against the fez and the tcharchaf these chapters will prove of interest.

That emancipation can lie in a *hat* Selma’s experiences prove. The growing dread of angry Moslem comment at her little girls’ hats in the public streets put fear into the mother’s heart; and youthful Beraet was put under the black tcharchaf. Poor little Selma! How indignant! “Do you want your daughter to go to Hell?” is the Hodja’s infuriated argument with the mother. The fear of womanhood under Islamic custom and law prepared the young rebel for the coming emancipation of women under the Ghazi’s régime. Those of us who have seen these changes, and lived through them, can realize the courage of Mustapha Kemal.

“Within Old Family Walls” is a chapter reminiscent of the Turkey of Abdul Hamid without those walls; but of a patriarchal kindly life of various generations living within under one roof and one headship. Selma recounts the sacrifice of the grandfather’s mother in sending her two boys away to France to be educated at St. Cyr. “Le Beau Djelal,” as the gay St. Cyrien was known, became Aide-de-Camp under Sultan Assiz, and then General in the army of Abdul Hamid. Exile alternated with court splendor, and then—retirement to the great house perched on the hill over the Bosphorus, of which these pages tell so much.

The Great War, the defeat of Turkey, the Army of Occupation pass before us. While Governor of Mitylene, at that time, the island fell under Greek rule, and Ekrem Bey became a prisoner of war. The family fortunes were, however, retrieved by Venizelos' freeing the civil officials. A Russian boat brought them safely through mined waters back to Stamboul.

These appointments to Governorships appear to be one of the "perquisites" falling to discharged Secretaries of Abdul Hamid. The rather tragic danger contained in the tale of the "crumpled" letter—so incriminating for Ekrem Bey in Abdul Hamid's eyes—and the romance of his daughter Naime form the introduction and explanation of Ekrem's first governorship in Jerusalem.

Evidently the duty of the Turkish Governor—then, and until the Great War—had been to strive to keep the peace between the different Christian sects in Jerusalem. Much discretion and diplomacy had to be exercised in accepting or refusing invitations from rival patriarchs, and rather Gargantuan feats, tempered with good-nature, must be credited to the Governor, who always travelled with full complement of wife and children, their faithful attendants and soldier escort.

During the humiliations of the Occupation of Stamboul and the ferment of hopes, fears, and desires that greeted—secretly at first, and exultantly later—the glorious proclamation of the Angora Government, Selma Ekrem found her consolation and growing pride in her love for the American Girls' College, which, with its teachers from a foreign land of freedom, became her great inspiration.

It is this college which had turned out so many of the women who played a rôle among the first prominent workers in the new Republic—as doctors, nurses, teachers and journalists.

Here the opening of the world of sport and freedom of movement, by means of athletics, to a young woman aching almost with the active urge pent up within her in the cloistered life of the women of Islam became a revelation to Selma Ekrem.

"The delight of a rough game of basket-ball put out of my mind the sorrow and humiliation which came upon me when I went home. In these days of oppression the College was the one place where I felt free. There the clutches of the Allies did not reach, and there I could wear my hat in peace and dream of better days."

These dreams of a free America led later to her great adventure, described in "My American Venture." The gold proverbially said to be strewn on the streets of New York eluded this plucky, young and attractive seeker of ideals. Sympathy she found, and rather unexpected promotion to the rôle of lecturer on Turkey—that hazy unknown country of mystery and massacre. Some of Selma Ekrem's observations on the curious unsentimental relations of matter-of-fact youth with their elders are amusing reading. "Are you really a Turk?" greets her time after time. "I who had dreaded to be recognized as a Turk in Turkey found it hard now to pass as a Turk in America. No one believed that I was a Turk. I was not the type."

The book is, in parts, attractive reading. One feels sympathy with a young, inquiring, impetuous mind that has lived through stirring times which occurred over her head in childhood. These were, fortunately, tempered by the love of happy parents, two sisters and a brother. A number of older aunts, uncles, grandparents and a host of retainers helped to make her childhood—as far as extraneous political events allowed—happy. We may hear more some day from Selma Ekrem's pen.

E. F. R.

Glimpses of High Politics. The Autobiography of N. V. Tcharykow, Serf-owner, Ambassador, Exile. Pp. 330. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Illustrated. Allen and Unwin. 1931. 16s.

This is an interesting book, and the writer narrates in excellent English his long and active life, impressing upon us the lesson that the condition of the serfs in his youth led to the Bolshevik domination of his old age.

M. Tcharykow was sent as a boy to the Edinburgh High School for four years, boarding with the family of a Professor, and this experience probably helped to open his eyes to the contrast between Russia, with its absolutist monarchy and powerful bureaucracy, and the liberty of Great Britain.

His father had great estates near Samara on the Volga, and all cultivation was done by the serfs; the household servants were slaves, often being part of the dowry of a bride, but M. Tcharykow points out that those on the land always believed that the soil they cultivated should be theirs.

In 1861 Alexander II., the Liberator, freed the serfs, and they were allowed to buy land on an instalment system. This, however, did not become their individual property, but belonged to the village community, an arrangement more satisfactory to the idle than to the industrious and thrifty, and the peasants exchanged their former masters for the rule of the bureaucracy and the police.

In 1875 our author, together with his friend M. Isvolsky, entered the Russian Foreign Office, and thus began a diplomatic career that ended in the Embassy of Constantinople.

When the war between Russia and Turkey broke out he joined the army and was wounded in the campaign that resulted in the taking of Plevna and the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish rule. He explains how it was that the victorious Russians did not take Constantinople, and believes that the prestige lost to the Government by its failure to do so could have been retrieved had Alexander II. granted the promised constitution. The assassination of the Liberator stopped a measure that might have altered the course of Russian history, and his two successors continued the absolutist rule that was to lead to the Revolution.

Russia, finding her energies in Europe circumscribed, now turned her attention to Central Asia, and perhaps the most interesting part of the book is where M. Tcharykow gives an account of this penetration. It began with General Skobeleff's conquest of the raiding Teke Turkomans at Geok Tepe and the annexation of their territory with a capital at Askhabad. Later our author accompanied General Komaroff and relates how that remarkable man conquered Merv, a stronghold of Turkoman freebooters, by dint of tact and practically without bloodshed.

These experiences, and an expedition towards Herat, resulted in the post of Political Agent in Bokhara being given to M. Tcharykow. He had a real understanding of Oriental mentality, and in time persuaded the old Amir and his successor to abolish slavery, to close the infamous underground prison, and to allow the Central Asian Railway to pass through the Khanate.

This great undertaking, built by General Annenkoff from Krasnovodsk on the Caspian, passing Merv, Bokhara, and Samarkand, to link up with the Moscow, Orenburg, and Tashkent line, brought, as the writer says, "peace and plenty" wherever it went.

After some fruitful years in Bokhara M. Tcharykow had posts in the Embassies of Constantinople, Sofia, Belgrade, an interesting time as Minister-Resident at the Papal Court, and was finally Ambassador at Constantinople.

He had retired and was with his family at Sebastopol during the mutiny

of the sailors of the Black Sea fleet, when he and his son were dragged from their home at 2 a.m. to be shot. For some unknown reason both were allowed to return unharmed, and M. Tcharykow spent the rest of his life at Constantinople, where he had many friends, and where he did his best to help the flood of Russian refugees seeking shelter there from the Bolshevik menace.

ELLA C. SYKES.

Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. By Muhammad Nazim. Pp. xv+271.

8½"×5½". Cambridge University Press. 15s.

An authoritative history of Mahmud of Ghazni was decidedly needed, not only because of his importance in the records of Asia, but on account of the confused and inconsistent versions of his numerous incursions into India. A large portion of such original authorities as have survived have remained untranslated; while those used by previous writers, and especially by Elliott and Raverty, have often been misunderstood or presented in a corrupt form. Dr. Nazim has gone back as far as possible to the old manuscripts, and he is thus able to correct many errors and suggest new identifications. He corrects his predecessors with a certain amount of asperity, and might perhaps have remembered that many of his own statements, which he makes with confidence, are based on inferences and deductions. His corrections of the recent volume of the Cambridge History are valuable, and, it must be stated, apparently well founded. He treats V. A. Smith with greater respect, even to the extent of giving him a title, which, however richly earned, he never received, but corrects him on some important points. Dr. Nazim is particularly to be commended for describing the numerous conquests and campaigns of Mahmud geographically rather than chronologically, the order of events being sufficiently correlated by a careful summary in an appendix.

The account of Mahmud's capture and destruction of the temple of Somnāth is especially valuable, since it was probably the most striking individual feat ever performed by the Muhammadan invaders of India. The date, about which there has been so much confusion even in the Cambridge History, is fixed with precision, and, what was even more doubtful, the route taken by Mahmud has been laid down with probable accuracy. Whether Dr. Nazim was successful, as he believes, in identifying for the first time the actual site of the temple is more open to question. As all who have visited the site must recognize, the line of the sea coast has altered considerably during the centuries, and there were other iconoclasts, such as Aurangzeb, after Mahmud. The reasons given for the undertaking of the raid—namely, the fame of the temple, the stories of its treasure, and the boasts of its impregnability—were doubtless sufficient inducements, as Dr. Nazim thinks, for Mahmud to undertake it. We doubt, however, whether he is not unnecessarily ruthless in rejecting totally the local tradition, still strongly held, that the representations of the Muhammadans engaged in trade upon the coast had some influence on his decision.

Dr. Nazim rightly claims that Mahmud was a great soldier and a great administrator. He states that in thirty-three years of warfare he was never defeated. This is only true if some unsuccessful sieges are omitted; but, after all, the great Duke of Wellington, though never defeated in the field, was occasionally foiled by fortresses. Whether Dr. Nazim is on equally sound ground in asserting that he was a "truly great and admirable character" is more disputable. Mahmud's treatment of the Hindus in general, and of Muhammadan schismatics, like the Carmathians, was not, Dr. Nazim asserts, due to fanaticism, because it was partly due to a political motive; but this

hardly lessens the cruelty involved, and the reader may remember Dr. Smith's view that Mahmud was a "zealous Muhammadan of the ferocious type" and "little deserving of admiration." His real title to fame, however, is the fact that he set the fashion for Muhammadan invasion of India, and thus materially affected the history of the world. The extent and permanence of his fame in India is proved by the anxiety to recover the gates taken by him from Somnāth. Much and rightly though Lord Ellenborough has been blamed for his grandiloquence about that recovery, it must be remembered that the idea was not his, and was widely held. It was doubtless unfortunate that the gates actually recovered proved to be of local Ghazni manufacture.

Finally, Dr. Nazim may be congratulated for his fine continuation of the literary tradition of the Muhammadan historical writers to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of the period.

Clive. By R. J. Minney. Pp. 288, illustrated. 9½" x 6¼". London: Jarrolds. 1931. 16s. net.

Mr. Minney has written a new *Life of Clive*—an ambitious undertaking, for the ground over which he travels is already well worn. He has, however, taken a path of his own, putting his story into dramatic shape and telling it dramatically. His narrative, rather lost in the lavish and florid scene-painting that overlays it, is substantially accurate as far as the main facts go. The result is a work that is certainly striking and vigorous, but lacking in authority and restraint. Its appeal is to the general reader, not to the student.

To Clive's great qualities and the splendid services that he rendered to his country Mr. Minney pays the fine tribute that history recognizes as their due. But on those points which were fiercely contested in Clive's lifetime, and afterwards in history, his loyalty to his hero leads him astray. The general reader, with Macaulay's *Essay* at the back of his mind, will be surprised and probably indignant when he finds Clive's deception of the treacherous Hindoo Omichund described as an inevitable manoeuvre, which it is difficult to condemn with sincerity or conviction (p. 132). He will be right, for the modern view of this regretted episode is very different. Mr. Roberts, its best exponent, holds that "Clive's action is really indefensible."* Mr. Minney brings forward no valid reason for holding that this just and sensible conclusion is wrong. No one disputes the gravity of the danger that caused Clive to act as he did and palliates his action. It is true that he saw no wrong in what he did, but that is no defence.

Another of these points is Clive's acceptance of a great sum of money (£234,000) from the newly installed Nawāb, Mir Jāfar, immediately after the successful revolution of which Clive was the mainspring. Here Mr. Minney seems to speak with two voices, for he describes the gift as unquestionably plunder, but plunder sanctioned by custom and the Directors of the Company, and therefore, one must assume, free from reproach. Macaulay, who had to consider much the same reasoning, found that he could not acquit Clive of having done "what, if not in itself evil, was yet of evil example." He is plainly right, for, in the period of misgovernment that followed soon after Clive's departure from India, the acceptance of similar presents by the Company's servants was one of the worst features of that disgraceful time. More-

* P. E. Roberts, "History of British India," 1927 edition, p. 139.

over, the Nawáb's treasury was emptied by these great donations,—for Clive's was not the only one—and he entered on his administration saddled by a burden of debt from which he never recovered.

Mr. Minney does not question the propriety of Clive's acceptance from Mir Jáfár, two years later, of the grant of his famous *jágir*. This assigned to him for life the quit-rent (nearly £30,000 yearly) that the Company paid to the Nawáb for the lands that they held to the south of Calcutta. Mr. Minney, who here has Macaulay to back him, is probably right. But it has to be remembered that this immense additional grant was, and is, subject to criticism which is not wholly undeserved. The fact that it was fiercely attacked in Clive's lifetime is not at all surprising. The failure to recognize that in these parts of his public conduct Clive is open to censure is the weak point in Mr. Minney's work.

Clive was a great soldier—the greatest of his time in England—but he is hardly qualified to rank with Napoleon (p. 238). Plassey was a rout rather than a battle, and the strategic movements that Clive planned and executed, admirable as they were, were not on the Napoleonic scale. Nor can it fairly be claimed that his administrative ability was remarkable (p. 165). The "double government" that he established in Bengal in 1765 was his most important administrative achievement, and it broke down altogether within his lifetime. Mr. Minney does well to notice his correspondence and contact with Warren Hastings, whose claims to advancement Clive generously supported in England in 1768 and 1770, for Hastings' friends at the India House were Clive's enemies. The two men were never intimate friends, but each respected the other. Hastings was seven, not ten, years younger than Clive. The remarks that Hastings hanged Nuncomar, and that Chief Justice Impey tried and hanged him in order to help Hastings (pp. 121 and 187), would not have been written if their writer had studied the history of that celebrated trial. The book is disfigured by other slips—misprints and the like. The worst of these is the repeated use of the single word "Mir" as the designation of Mir Jáfár.

Notwithstanding its imperfections, Mr. Minney's book is readable and attractive. He tells a great story with vigour and vivacity, and the portrait that he paints of his great central figure is lifelike and impressive.

A. L. P. TUCKER.

Burton: *Arabian Nights Adventurer*. By Fairfax Downey. 8½" x 5½". Pp. 300. Illustrations. London: Scribner. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Downey has written an eminently readable Life of Sir Richard Burton. It is on the whole a very fair biography of a difficult subject. Burton's character was wild, he was essentially a vagabond, resentful of injuries real or imaginary, and intolerant of any obstacle or criticism.

The author has softened the harsher side of Burton, but has brought out clearly his many feats of endurance, and has given a good and detailed account of his travels.

A very interesting account is told of how his grandfather longed for a descendant with red hair and blue eyes. Curiously enough, although we always imagine Burton as a dark-haired, swarthy-complexioned man, he was born with red hair and blue eyes. His grandfather had made a will leaving his money to Burton's uncle, but the old man was determined that Burton should have it, and he was actually on his way to change his will when he fell dead at the doorstep of his solicitor. It is interesting to imagine what Burton

would have become had he been a rich man; there is little doubt that his genius would have pushed him to eminence in some line or another.

Mr. Downey gives us a very vivid description of Burton's adventures in India, when he dressed himself up as a Persian merchant and called himself Mirza Abdullah. This was a real training for the famous pilgrimage to Mecca, which first brought Burton into fame, though the actual journey was neither so dangerous nor so unique as has always been imagined, because several Europeans had actually been there before Burton.

It is impossible to describe, in the course of a short review, all Burton's travels and adventures in many lands; about each of these he produced a book, but, unfortunately, he wrote too fast, and took but little trouble in their composition. He wrote in blunt, disconnected sentences, and his chapters were ill-constructed. His books were full of information and learning, but not on the whole very readable; his humour was ponderous, and his criticism personal and savage.

The greatest good fortune that happened to Burton was that he married a most courageous lady, who was passionately devoted to him. The list that she prepared of seventeen regulations for her own guidance as a wife might well serve as a basis for the happiness of any woman.

History will, however, probably accord Burton his strongest claim to fame as being due to his translation of the "Arabian Nights." In this he was in his element, and his great knowledge of Eastern lore and manners was given full scope. The book brought him a profit of £12,000 to solace his old age when all his other schemes for making money had failed.

H. S.

Britmis. By Major Phelps Hodges. Pp. 364. 2 maps and 16 illustrations. 8" x 5½". Jonathan Cape. 12s. 6d. net. 1931.

Britmis (the official abbreviation for the British Military Mission in Siberia) is the story of Major Phelps Hodges' adventures whilst serving with the White Russian Army in 1919. After a period as an artillery instructor he was detailed to act as liaison officer with the Orenburg Cossacks. He then became involved in a retreat which led him into the steppes north of Lake Balkhash, whence, after crossing the Kirghiz Steppe in company with a few companions, he finally reached Peking via the Gobi Desert.

The first few chapters of this book deal, in a rather incoherent way, with the events in Russia which led to the formation of Britmis, and Phelps Hodges' efforts to get himself attached to the Force. He writes; "I soon discovered that a number of temporary officers who would be demobilized on their return to England were being retained, while Regulars were being sent home. After all, the army was my profession, and the experience to be gained while serving with the Mission would be of far more importance to me in my career than to a T.G. (*sic*), who would soon be out of the army altogether."

The book continues in this vein, and is for the most part a dull chronicle of the petty inconveniences of travel in a difficult country. Major Hodges was travelling on duty, and naturally had no time to make a detailed study of his surroundings. Even so the great spaces of Central Asia must have made some impression upon him, and it is a pity he tells us nothing of the many beautiful and interesting things it must have been his privilege to see. As it is the book is much too long and badly needs pulling together.

C. J. MORRIS.

With Cyclists round the World. By Adi B. Hakim, Jal P. Bapasola, Rustom J. Bhungara. Bombay, 1931.

This book gives an interesting account of the adventures of three young Parsis, who rode round the world on bicycles. Starting from Bombay, their hardships began on leaving Quetta for the 600 miles of desert which lay between them and inhabited Persia. There was fortunately little risk of losing their way, owing to the railway which was constructed during the Great War; but, even so, the unutterable desolation, the bad track and the lack of water supplies made the test a severe one. Indeed, stones, sand and the guarded railway stations, where the garrisons have to be always on the alert for Afghan raiding parties, were particularly noticed by the cyclists.

Upon crossing into Persia, they found Duzdab, the terminus of the railway, "an important little town of 2,000 inhabitants," among whom there were several Indian traders. Special help was needed to cross the Lut to Fahrah, since the waterless stretches are dangerously wide and, as I know by experience, the water is very salt. However, motors now run across this waste to Kermah, thereby uniting Eastern Persia to India. There is also the telegraph line, recently handed over to Persia with its line guards and, thanks to them, our travellers safely reached Kerman, where they were welcomed by their co-religionists.

They were now able to travel without difficulty to Yazd, the chief centre of the Zoroastrian community in Persia, and so to Shiraz, making various inaccurate statements as they proceeded, which was perhaps inevitable under the circumstances.

From Shiraz they pedalled northwards to Tehran, where Shah Riza, then the powerful Minister of War, supplied them with a document that excused the payment of the frequent tolls, which afford officials the chance of "squeezing" unfortunate travellers.

From Tehran they made for Baghdad, and, as it was midsummer, the onward journey constituted a problem. They wisely did not attempt the direct desert route between Ramadi and Damascus, a distance of 500 miles; but, even so, the Euphrates route proved to be sufficiently dangerous. The climax of their journey was experienced in the Syrian desert, where they lost their way in one of the terrific sandstorms, and were finally succoured by a party of the Foreign Legion when they were in a state of collapse from exhaustion, hunger, and thirst. From Syria they travelled to Jerusalem, and from Gaza, as in Baluchistan, followed a railway line across the desert, to Egypt and so Westward Ho! to Europe and America.

We may certainly congratulate these Parsi cyclists on their courage and grit, which never failed them, while their comments are at times amusing. They owed much to the kindness with which they were treated almost everywhere, nor have they failed to acknowledge it.

P. M. SYKES.

India's Religion of Grace and Christianity, Compared and Contrasted.

By Professor Rudolf Otto. Translated by Dr. F. H. Foster. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5.

Pp. 144. Illustrations. London: S.C.M. Press. 6s.

The Bhakti teaching of Brahminism, arising from the Upanishads, which has been called the Salvation Religion of India, has long been the object of earnest and sympathetic study of those who would understand the soul of Hindu India and the real religion of Brahmin thinkers. The yearning for salvation, for "release," has always been more marked in Eastern than in Western mentalities, and was of course the essence of Gautama's teaching

when he had himself attained "enlightenment" and could say with Cromwell, "I know not if I am now 'in Grace,' but I know I was once."

Brahmin thought has always centred round the hidden God, the great Spirit that is behind the Universe, and in dealing with the lesser Gods of popular Hinduism, considers such as the conceptions and persona of the Deity as conceivable by very limited minds. The conception of the Upanishads, which came, many years before the Christian era, as a flash, to the deeper theological minds of India, that Brahman, God Almighty, the World-Soul, was everything, Joy, Consciousness, Reality, is the beginning of the Bhakti teaching. Atman, the spark of life and soul in every living thing, is but a particle from the World. Atman, the soul of all, with which again reunion is possible, covers the whole gamut of Brahmin thought.

The beauty and grace of this conception as developed in India through the ages has made some of the Christian missionaries in India draw very close to Brahmin thought. But it is because it has sometimes been suggested that not only should Christianity draw much nearer to Vedic and Upanishad writing, but that they for India should be considered as taking the place of the Old Testament in a world-Christian Scripture, that Professor Otto has written his book. There has further been an idea that Christian and Brahmin might join in the Lord's Prayer. Professor Otto, while yielding more than full tribute to the beauty, the mysticity and the spirituality of the Bhakti religion, at once calls for a definite stop.

The conceptions of *Isvara*, and of the New Testament Jehovah, are very different. "*Isvara* thrones in eternity, deep beneath rushes the stream of the world, and humanity in *samsara*, in ever repeated cycles of woeful birth and rebirth. In this world the wandering soul strolls, separated from *Isvara* by its fall and lost in the confusion of the world. Now and again a soul is lifted to *Isvara*, but this world rushes and runs on from one æon to another. Never does it become the abode of the glory or honour of God. It remains ever what it is, a *lila*, a sport of the Deity . . . never arriving at a fulness of worth, never glorified and made an abode of the Kingdom."

The two conceptions are essentially different despite all the beauty of thought in Bhaktism. Dr. Foster's translation of Professor Otto's book has the extreme merit to the lay reader of putting the higher theological conceptions in very clear and simple language.

G. MACM.

Buddhism in India, Ceylon, China and Japan : A Reading Guide. By C. H. Hamilton. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. viii+107. University of Chicago Press.

This is one of that type of industrious compilations which emanate most frequently from Germany, and of recent years, from the United States. It has been put together by a Professor in an American Missionary College, and is evidently meant to help prospective missionaries to some knowledge of what they seek to convert the people from in Buddhist lands—a perfectly laudable intention. It gives brief outlines of the beliefs prevalent in such Buddhist lands as Ceylon, China and Japan, and also India, so far as its scant Buddhist population goes, and a list of the books in English, and a few in French and German, worth reading upon the points mentioned in the outlines. And certainly anyone who fully followed the course of reading in Buddhism here sketched out for him would acquire a very fair book knowledge of the great religion of the East. Yet the list of really valuable books upon Buddhism is very far from complete, for preference is very evidently given to those from the

pens of Christian missionaries of one sect or another, while much more important works from neutral or appreciative sources are left unnoted.

For instance, L. A. Waddell is described as "an authority on Tibetan Buddhism," although he gathered all the materials for his books on Tibetan Buddhism merely during a residence in Sikkim; while the books (in French) of Mme. Alexandra David-Neel which are obviously of incomparably greater value, for they are by one acquainted in a manner quite unique with the language and religious literature of Tibet, are not even named. Again, the profoundly penetrating studies in Tantrism of "Arthur Avalon" receive no mention in the indication of what should be read on that subject, while the merely superficial allusions to the same in Sir Charles Eliot's book on Hinduism and Buddhism, and a missionary, J. N. Farquhar's book on Indian religious literature, and the article in the E.R.E. on "Buddhist Literature," are the sole references given upon this much misrepresented phase of Indian religious practice.

There are one or two rather odd statements scattered throughout the book, such as this on p. 43: "Evidently Mahinda brought the Buddhist teachings in his memory to Ceylon . . . and [these] constitute our Pali texts as we have them today." They have mighty memories for literature in the East, but hardly anything so colossal as this. And why mislead the prospective missionary to Ceylon by telling him that the ordination of Buddhist Bhikkhus takes place only once a year, and at only two monasteries in the up-country town of Kandy? Also there was no need to repeat on p. 76, for the confusion of trusting readers, De Groot's terrific "howler" that in China, the second stage of ordination into the Sangha by which a candidate becomes a Bhikkhu is equivalent to becoming an *arhat* in Hinayana Buddhism.

Despite these and similar aberrations and a few misspellings, this is a guide to Buddhist reading not without value so far as it goes; and it is only fair to add that its compiler in his foreword expressly disclaims finality for his outlines or exhaustiveness for his references. But the non-missionary interested in Buddhism will do well to look a little further afield for information on that religion than in the paths here indicated, sympathy conducting one so much deeper into the heart of a religion than does mere criticism or lien aloofness.

J. F. M.

La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'Antiquité. By Albert Kammerer. With Introduction by M. G. Hanotaux, de l'Académie Française. Royal Geographical Society of Egypt. Published under the auspices of his Majesty King Fouad I. Vol. I, Parts I, II, and III, "The Countries of the Erythrean Sea to the end of the Middle Ages." Parts I. and II, liv+192 pages, with 37 plates; Part III., 260 pages, 75 plates. Cairo. 1929.

These pretentious volumes, measuring $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11''$, weigh no less than $10\frac{3}{4}$ lbs., and even if sent separately are too heavy for despatch by book post. Such a work might before the Deluge have been considered as light reading, and might have found a place in the public libraries of Brobdingnag, but we cannot hope that it will find readers whose expectation of life does not exceed the span anticipated by the Psalmist, and whose library, like their physical strength, is subject to normal limitations. The cost of postage by parcel post is upwards of 7s. 6d., according to the country of destination. The volumes are bound in the flimsiest of paper covers and so insecurely stitched with the thinnest of cotton that even with the most reverent handling they would fall to pieces within a few weeks. To bind them in cloth would cost a private

owner about 10s. for each volume, or 20s. in all, though it could have been done at the press for about 1s. per volume. The illustrations and maps are attached to a flimsy guard, and would very easily become detached even after the book is bound. The actual cost of the book on the library shelves is thus about double the published price. The total letterpress consists of about 260,000 words, and could easily have been printed in the same type in two handy volumes of crown octavo of approximately 380 pages each, with maps and illustrations in a separate portfolio or volume of the same size. It might then have been of use to students and of interest to the instructed public.

The work, a further instalment of which is promised in 1932, is a monument to the industry of the author, and brings together, though, as explained above, not in a convenient form, a great amount of material of value to scholars. It is designed to be encyclopædic in its scope, but in this respect falls far short of completeness. It contains, for example, no reference to Count Landberg's expedition of 1898-99 to the southern coast of Arabia, nor to the important work of Dr. Maximilian Bittner on material brought home by Dr. Müller's Arabian expedition of 1902. We miss any reference to authors of first-class importance, such as Hamza of Isfahan, Mas'udi (ed. B. Meynard); there is no reference to Gabriel Ferrand's "*Relations de Voyages*," and other authorities such as Nöldeke are inadequately cited. Various writers in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* are given far less weight than they merit, and the *Encyclopædia* itself is nowhere referred to. Persian incursions into Arabia in early times are scarcely touched on. The Achaemenian Empire is not even mentioned in the index. Yet Oman was for centuries under Persian control, and the conquest of Yemen in the fifth century A.D. by Nushirwan is one of the most important events of the period. There are also very few references to the leading authorities on the trade between China and the Red Sea, and the work of Hadi Hasan on "*Persian Navigation*," which has hitherto received far less attention at the hands of scholars than it deserves, though published in 1898, is not referred to. Nor can we trace amongst the plates the important map of the world according to Qazwini. In the chapter on Oman there is no reference to Jayakar's valuable papers in the *J.R.A.S.*

In a word, these two volumes are a mine of information and may be of service to scholars, but the author has attempted too much, and the history alike of Abyssinia and Arabia from ancient times to the present remains to be written. In the meantime, for general utility these two volumes do not compare favourably with Messrs. Cary and Warmington's work, "*The Ancient Explorers*," 1930, which is a model of compression as well as of lucid exposition.

A. T. WILSON.

Zanzibar: Its History and its People. By W. H. Ingrams. Pp. 527, with plates, text figures and maps. London: H. F. and G. Witherby. 1931. 25s.

Mr. Ingrams, who before being transferred to Mauritius had spent eight years (1919-27) in the service of the Zanzibar Government, is, as proved by several earlier publications, a recognized authority on the past and present of this Sultanate. The book under review represents a mine of valuable information, and is a very able and timely supplement of the none too numerous works on one of the most attractive British Protectorates, one moreover which was for centuries the principal emporium of East Africa.

The author deals with the history, anthropology and ethnology of Zanzibar

in a way that makes instructive and pleasant reading, in spite of the extensive material he had to compress in a single volume. The historical part covers the early history of the East African coast, deals with the native tribes and dynasties of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and gives a good summary of the Zanzibari-Omani Empire up to the present time. The outstanding personality of Said bin Sultan (1791-1856), who extended the Arabian sovereignty from Oman to the distant countries of East Africa, who inaugurated the period lasting to this day of closest and most loyal co-operation with Great Britain, is out of consideration of space briefly but, on the whole, duly appreciated. Yet the bibliography with reference to this ruler could have been more extensive in the interest of those who like to follow up closely the achievements of that remarkable man. Here it might be mentioned that Seyyid Ali bin Hamoud did not abdicate (p. 176), but that the reign of this unfortunate man ended in his deposition by the Power which had placed him on the throne.

Ingrams does well-deserved justice to the British representatives, who, like Hamerton, Kirk, Rodd, Matthews and, lately, Hollis, have cemented and improved the relations and have done so much to develop the resources and reform the conditions of life in the country.

The anthropological and ethnological parts of the book are of special value to students of these domains of learning, as in no previous publication have they been so well and fully compiled. Ingrams mentions (p. 49) an "Egyptian idol" as having been found at Mogadisho, and he expresses doubt as to its present whereabouts. It is known, however, that this piece—a clay figure about 12½ cm. high—was presented at the close of last or the beginning of this century to the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin and that it is supposed to be of Indian origin. The Swahili language is fully and well dealt with. But it might not have been amiss also to refer briefly to the Oman-Zanzibar dialect of Arabic, which is an idiom peculiar to these two countries.

On page 85 reference is made to "the first crossing of the African continent by a European. This was achieved by a Genoese, called Leone Vivaldi, who crossed from West, reaching Mogadisho about the end of the eleventh century." This statement seems to need verification. We know (d'Avezac, "L'Expédition Gênoise des Frères Vivald." Paris, 1859) that the two brothers Hugolin and Gui sailed from Genoa in 1291 for the west coast of Africa, and were retained with their companions at the Senegal River by the natives, never to return. Antoine Usodimare found more than 170 years later the last scion of those adventurers. The son of one of the Vivaldis, Ser Leonis, went in search of his father to East Africa, and is reported to have arrived by way of Egypt about 1320 in Magdasor, but was not allowed by the ruler of that place to continue inland ("Le Navigazione Atlantiche, a cura di Rinaldo Caddeo." Edizione "Alpes." Milano, 1928).

The book is well produced with plates, text figures and two maps. In every respect it does credit to the author, the publisher, and to the Zanzibar Government, who subsidised the work; it will rank as one of the best works on Zanzibar ever written.

R. S.-R.

I a Perse au Contact de l'Occident. Étude historique et sociale. By Ali Akbar Siassi. Leroux, Paris. 1931. 50 francs.

This is a valuable essay of some 250 pages on modern Persia by a professor at the University of Tehran, who is also attached to the French Legation in Persia. His general attitude is strongly pro-French (his travels do not appear to have extended to Syria since the war). His description of Persia's

contacts with the West include the scantiest references to current relations with Turkey and Iraq, and his attitude towards Great Britain is neither judicial nor historically accurate, probably owing to his lack of acquaintance with published works in the English language. Had he studied on the one hand the series of British Parliamentary Papers dealing with Persia (still obtainable from P. S. King and Sons, of Great Smith Street, London, S.W. 1), or on the other the works of E. G. Browne on British policy in Persia, his narrative would have gained in interest. He has, too, ignored all Russian sources.

It is nevertheless a valuable contemporary commentary on current events, and one which deserves study by all who seek to understand the mainsprings of current thought in intellectual circles in Tehran.

His first concern is that the Europeanization of Persia should proceed apace: he realizes its dangers, and he regrets the concomitant loss of much that is good, but he is convinced (p. 238) that the advantages are ten times greater than any possible disadvantages. He regrets especially the increase in personal wants and the unsatisfied desires that contact with the West awakes in a society which was formerly comparatively free from this modern disease. He criticizes the handicap that Islam has placed upon his country, especially in respect of the status of women. He welcomes the declining status of the clergy, and is confident that the future of Persia under present conditions is more hopeful than it has been for a century or more. The menace of Soviet Russia scarcely comes within his purview, and is beyond the scope of this review, but it deserves more consideration than Dr. Ali Akbar Siassi has yet vouchsafed to us in his published work.

A. T. W.

The Red Men of Nigeria. An account of a lengthy residence among the Fulani or "Red Men" and other pagan tribes of Central Nigeria, with a description of their head-hunting, pastoral, and other customs, habits, and religion. By Captain J. R. Wilson-Haffenden, with preface by Bronislaw Malinowski, Professor of Anthropology at the University of London. One volume. Pp. lxxx + 308, illustrations, maps. London: Service and Co., Ltd. 1930. 21s.

In his preface Professor Malinowski points out how necessary and useful it is for Government officials responsible for the administration of native races to have a thorough knowledge of these peoples' customs and habits, and notes with satisfaction the policy of the Colonial Office in this direction.

Captain J. R. Wilson-Haffenden has spent much time with the Fulani and the Kwotto during which he made the best of his opportunities for carefully studying their customs. His observations which he unites in this volume are particularly valuable, as the writer has had a good training in ethnology and especially in the functional side of it, so that he is able to sift his material and bring out more particularly those customs that have a direct bearing on the social life of the people. In the first sixty pages he tells us of his movements in the country and his

experiences before he came into contact with the Fulani and the Kwotto people. Of the Fulani he gives some interesting information, comparing the customs of the sedentary town-people with those of the wandering nomads, especially in regard to social customs, cattle, marriage, and festivals. His observations are particularly interesting, since our knowledge of the Fulani is as yet slight, and we hope that some day he may tell us more on this subject. With the Kwotto people he deals more fully, going into the question of their origin, their taboos and totems, witchcraft and magic, religious rites of propitiation and expiation, head-hunting and trial by ordeal, followed by a fuller and most interesting account of their social and domestic life, and giving us a complete life-story of a Kwotto. The book is well illustrated and should be read by all students of social anthropology.

HANNS VISCHER.

The Tarim Basin and Takla-Makan Desert. Pamphlets: Die Lobwüste u. das Lobnor Problem. Tarim Becken u. Takla-Makan Wüste. Die Zentral Asien Expedition, 1927-28. By Emil Trinkler.

By the death of Professor Emil Trinkler, reported in *The Times* of April 22 last, the ranks of German scientists have lost a geologist of repute, who at an early age had already made his mark in distant fields of travel, notably in Afghanistan, where, coming from Russian Turkestan and entering the country at Herat, he spent some months in 1924 mostly at Kabul, during which time he was commissioned by the Ameer to prospect for coal in the foothills of the Hindu Kush to the north of the capital.

In the course of his tour he also visited northern India, and realized on the spot, and bore testimony to, the manifold advantages accruing to the country as the outcome of sane, practical, and sympathetic administration by the Anglo-Indian Government. Herr Trinkler is an example of the type of traveller whose powers of observation have been quickened by patient antecedent study of the countries to be visited, of their peoples, institutions, customs, languages, etc., and who succeeds in bringing away much accurate information of such lands precisely because he has systematically qualified himself for the task beforehand.

His work on Afghanistan covers much ground and is characterized throughout by German thoroughness and scientific acumen. Herr Trinkler's work some three years later in Chinese Turkestan—which is the immediate subject of this review—cannot be correctly appraised until the scientific results achieved by his expedition have been given to the world in due form and translated into English. The former task may now fall to the lot of the well-known geologist, Dr. de Terra, of Berlin, and the member of the expedition immediately responsible for

the geological studies made in the Karakoram and Kunlun mountain ranges.

Leaving Leh in May, 1927, the expedition, almost at once crippled in its transport by loss of horses through their straying, and of yaks through their exhaustion from lack of pasturage or overwork—both common incidents of Asiatic travel—found its way through Ladakh and the Western Tibet highlands to the Chinese border at Suget-Karaul, whence with fresh transport the party proceeded northwards, crossing the main range of the Kunlun by the Sanju Pass and descending thence into the basin of the Yarkand River.

During the following seven months, October to May, Herr Trinkler and his companion, Dr. Bosshard, of Zürich, devoted themselves to exploration in the Takla-Makan Desert, while Dr. de Terra visited the foothills and higher regions of the Kunlun in order to obtain geological data in regard to their formation and composition. Coming together again at Kashgar in July, 1928, it was decided, owing to the unfavourable attitude of the Chinese authorities, to abandon further work in the Tarim Basin, the return being made by the Karakoram route to Leh and Srinagar, while Herr Bosshard left in December to take the collections to Germany by the overland route through Russian Turkestan.

Chinese opposition to the export of the various objects of archaeological and historical interest collected by European scientific expeditions may be regarded not alone as a sign of jealousy of the foreigner, but, happily, as evidence of a growing national enlightenment and of a dawning appreciation of the cultural values attaching to relics of past ages. This public sentiment may, in proportion as conditions in the faction-ridden Republic become more settled, be embodied in legislation designed to prevent exploitation, and framed much on the lines of the Bill now before the House of Commons (and shortly, as an agreed measure, to become an Act), under which, among other provisions, the export in whole or in part of an ancient monument, whether an occupied house or not, is prohibited—a form of export from which, be it observed, we British have suffered of late years.

The spiritual development and intellectual emancipation noticeable in better-educated sections of the populations of backward countries in this much-shrunken and closely interlocked present-day world is apt to take place with startling rapidity, and one cannot but sympathize with manifestations of it.

Possibly, in this instance, the solution of the difficulty will be found in the adoption of a *modus vivendi* on the basis of an agreed division of collections made by a foreign expedition under the official sanction of the local authorities.

Dr. Trinkler describes the well-known features of the Tarim Basin,

and passes in review the data and views of previous travellers, which, as he points out, do not always correspond in all particulars.

The former, as enumerated by him, are: the position of the basin shut in between two great parallel mountain ranges on north and south; the deeply eroded valleys of the Kunlun; the alluvial fans irrigated by the canals taken off and fed from the river stream traversing the fan in each case; the agglomerations of detritus along the foothills brought down from the glaciers; the belt of cultivation at the foot of the range on the line of the ancient east and west highway connecting oases, by which caravan communication between China and Europe was maintained in the first centuries of the Christian era; and, lastly, he dwells on the erosive action of the glacier waters, which, in the summer season, when the rivers are in flood owing to the melting of the snow, carry down on to the Takla-Makan Desert large quantities of sand and mud, and where in course of time the sand so deposited is by the action of the wind piled up into dunes, while the mud is lifted up and, in the form of dust, carried back and redeposited (the prevailing wind across the desert being a north-easterly one) on the northern slopes of the Kunlun range, where, as loess, it gradually becomes banked up to a height of several thousand feet. The writer may here remark that the first view of the great loess formations to be met with in some parts of China proper is a startlingly impressive sight—a baffling one, too, should it not be known to the presumably non-scientific traveller that loess is an æolian deposit, a fact first established by Baron Richthofen (1833-1905).

In treating of the Tarim Basin and the Takla-Makan Desert it is the geological problem which seems to engross the attention of Herr Trinkler and claim his interest, and one can only regret that the illuminating work, "The Structure of Asia," by Professor J. W. Gregory, had not then been published.

The perusal of the former's papers leaves the impression on the mind that a life of singular promise has been cut off.

E. St. C. P.

Japan's Population Problem: The Coming Crisis. By W. R. Crocker. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 240. Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

"Japan consumes more seaweed than meat" is an arresting statement in Mr. W. R. Crocker's important book "The Japanese Population Problem." This statement is illustrative of the fact that many phases of Japanese life other than population are covered by this book, and "Japan Today" would perhaps be a more suitable title.

The definite conclusion one must come to after reading this book is that Japan's economic fabric is built on an unsound foundation. If the U.S.A. were suddenly to cease taking Japan's silk, and China her manufactured cottons, Japan would be in parlous plight. The returns she gets on agriculture are miserably inadequate, and life is only made possible for the farming population by sericulture, which has grown up as a secondary employment

for the poorly remunerated farmer. The hard and concentrated work that the farmer has put into the soil has only resulted in Diminishing Returns, and it is difficult to foresee how this may be combated in the future.

Japan is faced with the practical certainty of an increase in her population of 15 to 20 millions in the next generation, and this, allowing for reduced families, emigration, birth control, and all the other forces which may come into being.

Mr. Crocker has written a book which at first sight one would say was not meant for the general reader, but I have no hesitation in recommending it to any student of international affairs. Mr. Crocker's figures are well chosen and illuminating. The facts that England is twice as dependent on imported food as France, that Malaya has a foreign trade *per capita* nearly 70 per cent. greater than the United Kingdom, are amongst the many unexpected pieces of information available to the reader.

Mr. Crocker has given us some plain speaking about the position of China, which is refreshing when the situation is so often obscured by sentimental idealism.

"'Unequal treaties' were imposed because no competent state existed. The same fact—lack of governance—is still behind the turmoil of today." How true, though perhaps unpalatable, to the Chinese anti-foreign agitator.

To me Mr. Crocker's chapter on Manchuria was the most interesting in the book. Here we have Japan with some £200 millions of money invested, and far more important than the actual money, the coal and iron deposits at Fusan, Pensi Hu and Anshan. I do not think Japan will ever make serious objection to Chinese railway development in Manchuria; in fact, Mr. Matsuoka, then Vice-President of the South Manchurian Railway, told me as much in the course of an unofficial conversation in 1927, but she will insist on order and good government in her South Manchurian railway zone, and who shall say that she is not right, in spite of the fact that many backward peoples believe that good government is no substitute for self-government?

I fear that I disagree with Mr. Crocker's conclusion that the major issue of Japan's policy in Manchuria is the matter of immigration. I have not the figures of Japanese immigration into Manchuria, but I do know from personal experience that the number of Japanese immigrants is small. One of the results of the tranquillizing effect of the South Manchurian Railway zone has been a vast influx of Chinese, but where are the vast hordes of Japanese? They are certainly not visible in Manchuria. To oust Japan from Manchuria would be a war to the death, as Mr. Crocker says, but has he considered the fact that China may use the boycott weapon in her endeavour to oust Japan from Manchuria? Supposing a boycott was started throughout China until Japan removed herself from Manchuria? Here is a problem of first-class importance which must be present in the minds of many Japanese statesmen.

The worst of our troubles never happen, and it is to be hoped that Japan will find herself able to surmount the difficulties which lie in her path. With Mr. Crocker, I have not a great deal of faith in emigration as a solution of her coming troubles with excess population. I cannot see the Japanese working on the countless acres of Manchuria alongside the Chinese. Their standards are too far apart. Further industrialization may help, but, as Mr. Crocker so truly points out, most countries are gradually establishing their own industries, and as these industries become more important so will these countries' imports of manufactured goods decrease.

The most melancholy fact which emerges from Mr. Crocker's book is the steady, nay rapid, decline of the trade of the United Kingdom in the Far East.

A final word of recommendation to the reader: he will obtain a great deal of information and instruction, and quite a lot of entertainment, by reading Mr. Crocker's very able book.

H. ST. CLAIR SMALLWOOD.

A History of Chinese Art. By George Soulie de Morant. Translated by Gerald C. Wheeler. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 296. Illustrations. London, Bombay and Sydney: G. C. Harrap and Co., Ltd. 25s. net.

This is a pleasant volume to read and to look at, for it is well illustrated. There are eighty plates of illustrations in colotype, and a good many Chinese woodcuts and rubbings, which though anatomically correct, do not, in their copy-book lines, give the realistic picture to which our European methods have accustomed us.

Monsieur Soulie de Morant, who was for a number of years in the French Consular Service in China, has set out to describe Chinese art in chronological and historical order, and in doing this he has read into the different authentically-dated specimens a style which he thinks links them to the period during which each was made. The whole of the book is founded on the lines in which he refers to French art. "Style would seem to be linked with the events of its time. . . . Thus the Louis XV. spirit well expresses that elegant and polished ideal which was realized by the upper classes, and at the same time for the people was the true expression of happiness, until the moment came when the abuses of taxation became a burden, and brought about the revolt of Rousseau and the friends of simplicity. The Louis XVI. spirit, as a result, strips itself of all ornaments and adopts simple and straight lines, without, however, putting an end to the excesses of taxation which are leading up to the Revolution. After this storm of bestiality and savagery the fear-stricken people sees its safety in the strong hand of a powerful leader, like the Prætorians of Old Rome; and this ideal expresses itself in the neo-Roman style of the First Empire, itself to disappear likewise through excessive conscription and taxation.

"Thus a persistent dream expresses itself each time as something new, until those that have ministered to it have destroyed it by their abuses. The ideal and the style are then rejected with horror; there must be a different expression."

It is by following this method that the author shows the way to a better understanding of the ideas underlying Chinese art. There is, however, little that will be fresh to the serious student, for M. de Morant does not delve deeply and there is no new light, nor does there seem to be any improvement on the methods of Dr. S. W. Bushell in his "Chinese Art," and M. Paleologue in his "L'Art Chinois," where exact illustrations and descriptions are made of objects selected from museum galleries, with information upon their origin and historical association.

There is a vast amount of Chinese literature on this subject, most of it inaccessible to Europeans, and in trying to get hold of the wonders of Oriental art the lover of it may well find great difficulty. But to take this history of M. de Morant's and read the interesting tale it unfolds, with appropriate illustrations to show the points he makes, will be for the budding dilettante an informative treat, and one that will yield a useful general view of this fascinating subject.

A closer study of detail would have led the author to add data of value. Thus, for instance, in dealing with the Chu Yung Kuan on p. 196, he describes

the bas-reliefs as being decorative "with something of the conventional aspect of Buddhist figures which represent the four kings of the Devas." His readers will be left unaware that this very historical archway in the Nank'ou Pass, built in A.D. 1340, has inscriptions in six languages, one of which is in the defunct Bashpa script composed by a Tibetan Lama in A.D. 1260. Nor does he mention that the deeply-carved massive blocks of marble, of Buddhist symbols, Naga kings and Dhritarashtra, the great guardian King of the East, which compose the archway, can be studied in detail in the splendid album published by Prince Roland Bonaparte in Paris.

Probably a deeper dipping into history would have altered the character of this book from its style of "he who runs may read" to one of more serious value.

Sculpture, ceramics, bronze, pictures and the other decorative arts are lightly handled in a way that should appeal to a wide public. It might seem ungracious to say that if this book had not been written it would never have been missed. At the same time a perusal of it will whet the appetite for more and lead the student on to regions where writers such as those already quoted will be able to furnish more solid fare. A word of praise can safely be given to Mr. Wheeler, the translator.

G. D. G.

Tourmente sur l'Afghanistan. By Andrée Viollis. 8" x 5½". Pp. 240.

Illustrations. Paris: Librairie Valois. 1930. 15 frs.

This book, upon the happenings in Kabul during the closing days of the reign of the Tajik bandit, Bachcha Sakkao, and the subsequent accession to the throne of the present king, Nadir Shah, makes very interesting reading.

The authoress is undoubtedly handicapped in giving a strictly authentic account of affairs, partly owing to her stay in Kabul being limited to a matter of fifteen days, and partly on account of her having to take refuge in the French Legation, which itself came in for a good deal of very unpleasant attention, due, no doubt, to its close proximity to the Arg.

The narrative is a little difficult to follow at times, for the writer combines her accounts of the sieges and conflicts with descriptions of the various tribes and interviews with certain people in Kabul. Much of the information given is undoubtedly correct, but there are a number of minor mistakes which, in the special circumstances, one can excuse.

Madame Viollis deserves every admiration for her pluck in venturing on such a dangerous undertaking, as it certainly was at that time.

The flight in a Russian aeroplane from Tashkent to Termez, and then across the Hindu Kush to Kabul, was in itself, to say the least of it, thrilling. Owing to bad weather a forced landing had to be made at Samarkand on the first stage of the journey, and on the second lap the travellers ran into a rather fierce sandstorm which delayed them at Termez for a few days.

It is worth mentioning the reference made by Madame Viollis to the Central Asian Air Service, which runs from Semipalatinsk in Siberia to Kabul, and from the coast of Persia to the boundaries of China. On this route are made many flights of unaccountable danger; and whilst no fatal accidents are on record so far, the dangerous aspect of these journeys can be gathered when it is realized that the pilots are not expected to do the more hazardous flights, such as that to Kabul, more than five times in a year.

The authoress explains the terrible state of chaos which reigned in the capital during her stay there, which, however, did not finally cease until the

government of the country was placed in the capable hands of Nadir Shah, after his famous brother, General Shah Wali Khan, had recaptured Kabul from the rebels.

It is interesting to observe that when Habibullah (or Bachcha Sakkao) realized that he was defeated he retired to the Arg, taking with him the families of the three brothers, Nadir Khan, Shah Wali Khan, and Hoosham Mahommed Khan. This caused Shah Wali Khan to hesitate before attacking, but he finally decided that the life of his country depended upon it, with the result that the place was bombarded and subsequently captured. Fortunately the families of Shah Wali Khan and his brothers were restored to them without suffering serious injury.

The authoress goes on to point out that at the beginning of Bachcha Sakkao's reign he governed wisely and firmly, the army was well-disciplined and augmented, Amanullah's relations were treated with consideration, and it was not until he felt that the end was coming that he tried to keep order by public executions and secret assassinations.

The book rather gives one the impression that France, first and foremost, is the truest friend of the present King and Government of Afghanistan, and the writer goes on to say that the King shows great admiration for, and attachment to, the French; he is proposing to open the schools, build roads, railways, etc., with the aid of foreign Powers and foreign capital. She suggests that France could provide them with experts of all kinds, and give advice on finance.

Her reference to the country being rich in minerals, gold, ruby, oil, etc., is certainly correct, and I most certainly agree with her that Afghanistan should recover with astonishing rapidity; in fact, from the information in my possession at the present time, it is truly amazing what strides have been made, even since this book was published, under the steady and sensible government of the present King, who, Madame Viollis emphasizes, is the greatest and most important man in all Islam, and that France has indeed a very precious friend in him.

There is a small sketch-map and a number of interesting photographs, the last three being of a rather grisly nature.

This is certainly a book which should be read by everyone interested in Afghanistan, as the reviewer believes most sincerely that it is a country which is destined to play a very important part in the future of Asia owing to its extraordinary geographical position, and its geographical similarity as Switzerland is to Europe.

R. M. S. MORRISON.

The following books have been received for review:

"An Elementary Marathi Grammar," by C. N. Seddon. 7½"×5". vii+62 pp. (London: H. Milford. 1931. 3s.)

"An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam," by R. Levy, M.A. Vol. I. 9"×5¼". viii+410 pp. (London: Williams and Norgate. 1931. 1 gn.)

"Les Arabes et l'Islam en face des Nouvelles Croisades et Palestine et Sionisme," by Eugene Jung. 9"×5¼". 78 pp. (Paris. 1931.)

"Asia's Teeming Millions and its Problems for the West," by Etienne Dennery. 8"×5¼". 248 pp. Maps. Illustrations. (London: Cape. 1931. 10s. 6d.)

"Britmis: A Great Adventure of the War," by Major Phelps Hodges. 8"×5¼". 364 pp. Maps. Illustrations. (London: Cape. 1931. 12s. 6d.)

- "Buddhism in India, Ceylon, China and Japan," by C. H. Hamilton. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". viii+107 pp. (U.S.A.: University of Chicago Press. 1931. 4s. 6d.)
- "Burton, Arabian Nights Adventurer," by Fairfax Downey. 8" \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". xiii+300 pp. Illustrations. (London: Scribner. 1931. 10s. 6d.)
- "Cattle Car Express," by Emil Lengyel. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". 228 pp. (U.S.A.: Ralph Beaver Strassburger Foundations. 1931.)
- "Natural History of Central Asia. Vol. IV.: The Permian of Mongolia," by A. W. Grabau. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". xliii+665 pp. Illustrations. Maps. (New York: Natural History Museum. 1931. £2 2s.)
- "Clive," by R. J. Minney. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". 288 pp. Illustrations. (London: Jarrolds. 1931. 16s.)
- "The Crusades: The Flame of Islam," by Harold Lamb. 9" \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 413 pp. Illustrations. Maps. (London: Thornton Butterworth. 1931. 16s.)
- "Himalayan Art," by J. C. French. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". xiv+117 pp. Plates. Map. (London: Milford. 1931. 25s.)
- "A History of Chinese Art, from Ancient Times to the Present Day," by G. S. De Morant. (Translated by Wheeler.) 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 296 pp. Illustrations. (London: Harrap. 1931. 25s.)
- "History of Palestine," by A. S. Rappoport. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 368 pp. Frontispiece. Map. (London: Allen and Unwin. 1931. 12s. 6d.)
- "History of the Al bu Said Dynasty," by Rudolph Said-Ruete. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 6". 23 pp. (London. 1931. Pamphlet.)
- "India in Bondage," by J. T. Sunderland. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". xxiii+531 pp. Illustrations. (New York: Copeland. 1929.)
- "India on the Brink," by a British India Merchant. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5". xviii+122 pp. Sketch Map. (London: King and Son. 1931. 8s.)
- "The Indian Civil Service, 1601-1930," by L. S. S. O'Malley, C.I.E. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". xiv+310 pp. (London: Murray. 1931. 12s.)
- "Indien Kämpft," by Walter Bosshard. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". x+290 pp. Illustrations. Map. (Stuttgart: Strecker and Schroder.)
- "In the Arabian Desert," by Alois Musil. 9" \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". xiv+339 pp. Illustrations. Map. (London: Cape. 1931. 18s.)
- "The Japanese Population Problem: The Coming Crisis," by W. R. Crocker. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 240 pp. (London: Allen and Unwin. 1931. 10s. 6d.)
- "Mount Everest and its Tibetan Names," by Sir Sidney Burrard, K.C.S.I. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". 18 pp. Sketch Maps. (Survey of India. 1931. 10d.)
- "The Road to the Grey Pamir," by A. L. Strong. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 289 pp. Illustrations. Sketch Map. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1931. \$3.00.)
- "Tourmente sur l'Afghanistan," by Andrée Viollis. 8" \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". 240 pp. Illustrations. (Paris: Librairie Valois. 1931. 3s.)
- "Travels in India, Ceylon and Borneo," by Captain Basil Hall. 9" \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 272 pp. Illustrations. (Broadway Travellers. 1931. 10s. 6d.)
- "The Travels of an Alchemist," by Li Chih Ch'ang. Translated by Arthur Waley. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". xi+166 pp. Map. (London: Routledge. 1931. 10s. 6d.)
- "Unveiled," by Selma Ekrem. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 277 pp. Illustrations. (London: Bles. 1931. 16s.)
- "With Mystics and Magicians in Tibet," by Alexandra David-Neel. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". xiv+320 pp. Illustrations. (London: The Bodley Head. 1931. 15s.)
- "Zanzibar: Its History and its People," by W. H. Ingrams. 9" \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 527 pp. Illustrations. Maps. (London: Witherby. 1931. 25s.)

The Prussian State Library is anxious to buy a complete set of CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNALS, Vols. VII.-XVI. (1920-29). Will anyone wishing to sell please communicate with R. Said-Ruete, Esq., 36, Cheniston Gardens, W. 8.

The following articles on Asiatic subjects have appeared in the quarterlies:

May:

National Review: "Echoes of Cawnpore," by Sir Louis Stuart, C.I.E.
"India," by the Right Hon. Lord Lloyd, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Quarterly Review: "The Mandates System: Its First Decade," by Sir Alexander Wood Renton, K.C.M.G. "Mahatma Gandhi," by E. M. E. Blyth.

Fortnightly Review: "Our Palestine Liabilities," by Owen Tweedy.

English Review: "The Hindu-Muslim Problems and the Indian Reforms," by Sir William Barton, K.C.S.I. "The Indian Crisis," by Sir Mark Hunter.

Blackwood's Magazine: "Recollections of Nepal," by Lieut. Colonel R. L. Kennion. "The Only Way with Congress," by a Thirty-five Years' Resident in India.

Round Table: "India: Constitution or Chaos." "China: A Brighter Outlook." "The Unrest on the Frontier."

L'Illustration: "Exposition Coloniale."

June:

Nineteenth Century and After: "The Tragedy of India," by Sir Reginald Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. "Manchuria: A Triangle," by Harley F. Macnair (Chicago).

Fortnightly Review: "A Constitution for a Continent," by Sir John Marriott. "Chinese Characteristics," by O. M. Green.

Round Table: "Economic Safeguards in India." "China." "India after the Conference."

OBITUARY

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR RALEIGH EGERTON, K.C.B., K.C.I.E.

THE Royal Central Asian Society has lost one of its most prominent members by the death of Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton, who succumbed last month to the long and painful illness from which he suffered during the last year, and which he had fought with characteristic pluck and stubbornness.

He will be greatly missed by his fellow-members, for he had done much to further the interests of this Society during his three years' tenure of the office of Honorary Secretary; but perhaps the Officers' Families, whom he helped so much by his able administration of their Fund, will miss him still more. He worked for them up to the end, and rejoiced in placing his great experience at the disposal of those who had lost their own helpmates in the war, which he survived.

Sir Raleigh's was an outstanding personality, for he stood alone in many respects. His alert mind and retentive memory made him a wonderful companion; he seemed to have culled experiences of the past as well as of his own generation, and he had the gift of expression.

Coming of a family which was imbued with traditions of service for the Empire, he was commissioned in 1879 and soon joined the Guides Cavalry, where he found full scope for his natural bent towards horse mastership and tactics and for learning the idiosyncrasies of the Indian. Further experiences as A.D.C. to the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab and several staff appointments interspersed with regimental duty and varied with active service fitted him well for the command of the Guides, followed by that of the Ferizepore Brigade some three years before the Great War.

He accompanied the Lahore Division to France, and played an important part in the performances of the Indian Corps until the transfer of its two Divisions to Mesopotamia in the beginning of 1916.

He had already gained a reputation as a reliable and up-to-date commander, but his great opportunity came during the desperate fighting and hardships of the attempt to relieve Kut. He was then fifty-seven years of age, but he set an inspiring example of endurance and cheerfulness during the trials to which so many younger men succumbed.

He was perhaps seen at his best during the great fight at Bait-Isa, when the Turks launched a determined counter-attack against our troops as they struggled through the floods on the right bank of the Tigris. They penetrated past both flanks of his brigade headquarters, and Egerton was told he must retire. "I'm hanged if I retire before a

damned Turk!" was his rejoinder, and telling his Brigade-Major to do likewise he filled his pockets with hand grenades and proceeded phlegmatically along the lost trench bombing its inmates. His men saw him, turned, and recaptured the position, littering it with enemy dead. It was a fine act, and it came at a time when things were not going well. The story spread through the force, and all chuckled at the picture, which cheered and stimulated many a drooping spirit.

Opportunity and promotion now followed quickly. As a Divisional and then as a Corps Commander he continued to show his quality during the struggles for the passage of the Tigris above Kut, and in the final defeat and pursuit of the Turkish Army.

His knowledge of the Oriental was invaluable in the consolidation and settlement of the country. He returned home after the Armistice and retired in 1920 as a Lieutenant-General, since when he has found scope for his energy in this Society, with the Officers' Families' Fund, and on the Committee of the United Service Club, where his genial and active presence will be much missed. His first wife, Bridget Askew-Robertson, died shortly after marriage, and is buried at Marden. In 1903 he married the daughter of Sir G. R. Prescott, and leaves one son, David, following his father in the Guides, and one daughter.

E. C.

DR. EMIL TRINKLER.

Among German explorers of the younger generation none seemed more certain of a long and brilliant career than Dr. Emil Trinkler, whose tragic death the other day, due to a motor accident, was a blow to all who knew him.

Dr. Trinkler had all the gifts an explorer needs. He was still young, only thirty-five; he had a robust frame, splendid health, a winning manner, and all the grit needful for standing hardship and overcoming difficulties.

Mentally he was as well equipped as physically for the explorer's life. As a youth this career had been his dream, and he began early to fit himself for it by serious study. History, geography in its various branches, Oriental languages, the works of previous travellers were all laid under contribution; so that when his first chance of Asiatic travel came and he was sent in 1923-24 by a trading firm to Afghanistan he already showed of what metal he was made. On his return, in addition to a popular description of his experiences, *Quer durch Afghanistan nach Indien* (*Across Afghanistan to India*), he published a valuable account of the physical geography of the country, the only recent work of its kind on the subject.

To explore Central Asia was always Dr. Trinkler's ambition. The romance of the desert with its buried treasures of bygone civilizations

had fired his imagination. To follow in the steps of explorers like Sven Hedin, Aurel Stein and Von Le Coq was his dream. Its fulfilment was the expedition of 1927-28, led and organized by himself, when with his companions, de Terra and Bosshard, he explored the Takla-Makan desert.

The results of this journey, on which he lectured before the Royal Central Asian Society and the Royal Geographical Society, were warmly appreciated by the various geographical societies in Germany, and he was hailed everywhere as a worthy successor of those older explorers.

Free from self-advertisement and sensationalism, Dr. Trinkler's books reflect the character of the man. His record of this expedition, *Im Land der Stürme* (*In the Land of Storms*), is a straightforward description of his journey, never wearisome, but giving just such details as would be useful to other travellers—vivid pictures by word and brush of the scenery, accounts of the daily life in camp and on the march, mishaps and disappointments lightly touched upon, and pervading the whole the delight and joy he felt at being free to roam over these vast spaces, for the desert had cast its spell over him as it has done over others who have grown intimate with it.

The scientific results of this expedition are to appear in two volumes at the end of the year. These and the buried treasures he brought to light, now in the Bremen Museum, are a fitting monument to one who in his unassuming character, in the thoroughness of his work and the scope of his achievements in the short span of life allotted to him, deserves to rank with those Asiatic explorers to whom longer life has brought vaster opportunities.

C. MABEL RICKMERS.

NOTES

EXTRACTION OF DEAD SEA SALTS.

PROGRESS REPORT OF PALESTINE POTASH, LTD.

THE following report of Mr. M. A. Novomeysky, the Managing Director, has been issued to the shareholders of Palestine Potash, Ltd.:

The scheme for extraction of potash, bromine, and other salts from the waters of the Dead Sea applied by the company is based on chemical facts established by experiments carried out first in laboratories and subsequently on a small scale on the shores of the Dead Sea for a number of years since 1921. These experiments proved that the effect of the natural rapid evaporation of the Dead Sea water, which represents a concentrated solution of five different salts (*i.e.*, common salt, potassium, magnesium, and calcium chlorides and magnesium bromide), is always to precipitate these salts in the same, strictly defined order—namely, common salt, then crude potassium salt (carnallite), and finally magnesium salt—while the greater part of the bromine contents of the water remains in the final liquor.

The technical scheme worked out by this method for the production of potash and other salts provides for the following items of plant: (1) Large, open, shallow pans erected on the land bordering the sea, in which the water from the sea is rapidly evaporated through exposure to the influence of hot sun rays and winds; (2) pumps for pumping the water from the sea into the various pans; (3) plant for collecting or harvesting the precipitated salts and transporting them to the refinery; (4) pumps and pipe-lines for fresh-water supply from the Jordan for the needs of the refinery, cooling the engines, and general purposes of the undertaking; (5) potash factory or refinery for working up the crude potash salts into the final product for marketing; (6) bromine plant for extracting the bromine concentrated in the final brine and preparing it for marketing; (7) power station for driving the various pumps and apparatus in the factory and outside. To these main items of plant must be added workshops, dwellings for workmen and staff, canteens, etc.

The main part of orders for machinery and apparatus was placed in England in January, 1930, immediately following the execution of the concession agreement by the Governments of Palestine and Trans-Jordan on January 1, 1930, while the excavation work and construction of the evaporating pans and the erection of houses were simultaneously begun at the Dead Sea. On April 1 the pumping operations of the water from the Dead Sea into the pans started with the completion of the pumping station and installation of one large pump, these operations being considerably increased two months later by the installation of two more pumps. With the arrival of engines, pipes, and other machinery at the Dead Sea the erection of other items of plant—*i.e.*, fresh-water supply, power house, workshops, etc.—was started and the greater part completed by the end of July. By that time a pan area of about 120 acres was filled with rapidly evaporating sea water and the precipitation of large quantities of common salt forming layers of a few inches thick in the pans was already in progress. The soil forming the floor of the pans has proved satisfactory from the point of view of impermeability.

Soon after the greater part of the common salt had separated out, the precipitation of crude potash salt (carnallite) began, and by the end of August a few thousand tons formed loose layers in the lower evaporating pans designed for this purpose. The collection and harvesting of this salt into piles was in progress at the beginning of October and proceeded up to the end of December. A certain amount of common salt of good quality was also collected into piles. The operation of the first working season was thus completed, having fully confirmed the results obtained by the experimental work of the preceding years and proved the possibility of manufacturing the potash from the waters of the Dead Sea by applying the sun's rays as fuel for evaporating and precipitating the chemical salts. Both quality and quantity of the crude potash salts produced, as well as the cost of production, fulfilled the company's expectations. The orders for the refining machinery and apparatus for working up the crude potash salts were executed by the end of the year.

In view of the satisfactory results of the first year's operations, the Board decided to increase the plant, so as to create a unit capable of producing up to the limits of the existing means of transportation from the Dead Sea to one of the Palestine seaports, Jaffa or Haifa. It was estimated that for the erection of additional pans, ditches, roads, etc., about three months would be required, so that the pumping operations of the second season (1931) and the filling of the pans might be started by the middle of March. The refinery will be ready in the course of 1931 in time for treating the crude salts produced in 1930 and 1931, so that by the end of the latter year the products of the undertaking—potash, as well as bromine and some common salt—may be on sale on the markets. The world prices of the commodities to be produced by the company have remained comparatively steady, notwithstanding the great world depression and fall in prices of the main industrial products.

Should the coming season's operations of the increased plant prove as satisfactory as those of the previous one under review, the question of a further increase of production and the construction of new means of communication with the Mediterranean port, Haifa, will have to be considered. It is believed that a narrow-gauge railway from the Dead Sea to Beisan, the junction of the existing railway, Haifa-Damascus, will best serve the purpose. A reconnaissance survey of the line and estimate have been prepared by the company's engineers.

There was no difficulty in finding sufficient skilled and unskilled local labour from the Jewish and Arab communities of Palestine and Trans Jordan. Over 350 workmen were employed by this company at the end of the year. The relations between the two races in the workmen's camp remained all the time friendly and no incidents occurred. Housing accommodation and full board for the workmen and staff at the Dead Sea are being provided by the company at a fixed charge.

With the collaboration of the Health Department of the Palestine Government, measures were taken to make the works and camp at the Dead Sea free of malaria. As a result of the construction of dams which prevent the water from the Jordan from reaching the camp, the cleansing of swamps and springs in the vicinity, and constantly keeping the matter under observation, the works have now become not only free of malaria, but of mosquitoes generally. Not a single case of malaria has occurred in the year under review, and the health conditions generally have been very satisfactory all the year round. The supply of good drinking water and food, bathing in the sea,

and fresh-water bathing accommodation for the workmen and staff have made life at the Dead Sea altogether possible, and during the greater part of the year even comfortable, notwithstanding the great heat in the summer months. The camp is under the permanent supervision of a doctor living on the spot and the General Health Organization of Palestine. (*Near East and India*, April 30, 1931.)

UNIFYING BRITISH CONTROL IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

SIR HENRY DOBBS' LETTER TO THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH," OF JUNE 4, 1931.

"The recent debate in the House of Lords upon Lord Trenchard's suggestion that there should be unification of control and policy in the Middle East ended disappointingly.

"The upshot of Lord Passfield's reply was that the British Government would retain in their hands the whole control of policy, but that the diversity of interests in the various countries concerned affected so many Government Departments that there would in any case have to be constant consultation between them all, and so there would be no real advantage in putting one Department nominally in charge of relations with all these countries.

COUNTRIES AND THEIR GOVERNMENT.

"What are the countries concerned and the methods by which policy towards them is controlled? They are these:

"*Syria*, under a French mandate, relations with which are conducted by the Foreign Office through Paris.

"*Palestine*, under a British mandate, which will apparently be indefinitely prolonged, administered by the Colonial Office.

"*Transjordan*, also under a mandate embodied in a treaty with the ruling Amir, advised by the Colonial Office.

"*Irak*, which is expected to enter the League of Nations next year as an independent kingdom, when the High Commissioner now under the Colonial Office will be replaced by an Ambassador under the Foreign Office.

"*Nejd and the Hejaz*, the main block of Arabia, under King Ibn Saud, with whom the Foreign Office maintains relations through a British Minister.

"*Independent Principalities* and chiefships fringing the Persian Gulf in the sphere of the Indian Foreign Department.

"*Aden*, which is partly a British possession and partly protected territory, controlled for internal administrative purposes by the Government of Bombay, while the Colonial Office directs its political relations with the tribes of the Protectorate and with the rest of Arabia.

"*Yemen*, bordering the Red Sea to the north of Aden, under the rule of the Imam Yahya, the great rival of Ibn Saud, who is usually approached by the Political Resident in Aden under the orders of the Colonial Office.

DREAM OF ARABIA REDIVIVA.

"In all these countries Arabic is the principal language, Islam the principal religion; and in all of them the younger generation of politicians sees visions of a future vast Arabia Rediviva, holding the nerve centres of the main routes of the world by sea, land, and air, and extracting wealth from the commerce which must pour along them.

"Nor are the ideas of the young Arabs as to the geographical importance of their countries illusory. The whole trade of Asia with Europe outside Russia,

and most of its trade with America, now traverses the Red Sea ; all air routes to Asia and Australia except the Russian converge in Irak ; pipe-lines are about to be laid between the Irak oilfields and the Mediterranean to debouch at Tripoli, in Syria, and Haifa, in Palestine ; railways will accompany the pipe-lines, and will inevitably be pushed forward across Persia to India.

"The ancient primacy of these lands as the conduits of commerce, taken from them for a time by the discovery of the Cape route, is about to be fully restored. The security of their communications is of vital interest to the British Empire.

WHAT MUST BE OUR AIM ?

"In all these countries except Syria British influence has been for generations paramount, and has been greatly increased by the results of the war. It is for us to see that this influence is not diminished by any muddled plan of our relations with them, any vagueness or confusion of aim, any diplomatic clumsiness which, in their newborn thirst for independence, they will fiercely resent, and, above all, by any want of sympathy for their dreams of greatness.

"Those dreams are perhaps destined to come true ; the Arabic-speaking races, after years of quiescence, are again dynamic ; and any nation which ignores their importance will suffer, as did the Roman and Persian Empires from their contempt for the rising power of Mohammed.

"Here, then, I venture to take issue with Lord Passfield. The sketch which I have given of our present arrangements shows the India Office and the Colonial Office intruding like alien bodies into the network of Foreign Office control. Confusion, delay, and divided aims result.

SPIRIT OF IMAGINATIVE GENEROSITY.

"Now the important point is that our policy towards this great Arab question shall be informed by a uniform spirit of imaginative generosity, which shall inspire not only the controllers at the centre of things, but also their agents on the spot, and shall prevent those small misguided impulses and sentiments which often at the very beginning of critical events deflect Imperial views from their right course.

"The angle of vision, the mental atmosphere of the Foreign, Colonial and India Offices and of those under them differ enormously, and there can be little doubt that, for the purpose of appreciating the delicacy and grandeur of the Arab problem, the Foreign Office is much superior to the other two, and superior to any possible new department which might be formed, as has been suggested, to deal with the Middle East.

"In so important a matter official prescription and susceptibilities should be ruthlessly overridden ; and the Foreign Office should be prepared to overcome its traditional distaste for administrative responsibility for the purpose of including Palestine, Transjordan, the Persian Gulf, and Aden in a wise and unified control of the whole Arab question."

Further correspondence on this subject is invited from members.

AN ORIENTAL MUSEUM FOR LONDON.

A MEETING was held at India House, Aldwych, on Wednesday, May 6, under the auspices of the India Society, to discuss the advisability of establishing a Central Museum of Oriental Art in London.

The Chair was taken by Sir Francis Younghusband, and the discussion opened by Dr. Hill, Director of the British Museum. Sir Atul Chatterjee,

High Commissioner for India, Mr. Eric Maclagan, Mr. Laurence Binyon, Sir Leslie Wilson, Mr. Rushbrook Williams, Mr. Yusuf Ali, Lord Crawford, Mr. Hobson, Professor Myers, Mr. Keeling, and Sir Denison Ross were among those who took part in the discussion. The matter was left in the hands of Sir Francis Younghusband, Mr. Hill, and Mr. Maclagan, who, in consultation with other interested bodies, were empowered to form a Committee to promote the establishment of this Museum.

LONDON SCHOOL OF HYGIENE AND TROPICAL MEDICINE

(UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)

THE next series of eight Lectures and Demonstrations on Tropical Hygiene, which are intended for men and women outside the medical profession proceeding to the tropics, will be given by Lieut. Colonel G. E. F. Stammers, O.B.E., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.H., from July 6 to 10 next.

These courses of instruction, in addition to providing simple rules for guidance in regard to preparation for life in the tropics and personal hygiene, will also embrace a short account of some of the more common diseases, with advice in regard to measures of protection against such diseases and some guidance in simple methods of self-treatment.

The Synopsis and other particulars can be obtained from the Secretary, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Keppel Street, Gower Street, W.C. 1.

Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

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ACROSS THE RUB'AL KHALI

By BERTRAM THOMAS, O.B.E.

A MEETING of the Royal Central Asian Society was held at the Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C., on Wednesday, May 20, 1931, for the purpose of hearing a lecture by Mr. Bertram Thomas on his recent crossing of the Rub'al Khali. So large was the attendance that it was impossible for all to get into the lecture-hall.

Admiral Sir HERBERT RICHMOND, in taking the chair, said: I have to express Lord Lloyd's deep regret that he has been unable to preside this afternoon: nothing but the most urgent business would have prevented his attendance. Lord Lloyd wishes me tell you that Mr. Bertram Thomas has been elected, and has accepted nomination, to the Council of the Royal Central Asian Society. (Applause.)

Mr. BERTRAM THOMAS then delivered the following lecture:

I WENT to Muscat six years ago as Wazir to the Sultan, with cherished plans of exploring South-East Arabia and, if possible, of crossing the Rub'al Khali. Except for Oman proper and the Central Province of Dhufar, the whole of Central South Arabia was unexplored. One of the reasons for such neglect has doubtless been that it is a very arid part of the country, another that its inhabitants are perhaps the most barbarous of the inhabitants of Arabia. They have never come under the authority of a ruling chief such as the Sultan of Muscat or any other of the chiefs of the coastal provinces. The country is in an anarchic condition. The people consist of nomad tribes, armed with rifles, ever at war with one another. They are fanatical in the practice of an exclusive religion, they hold life cheap, and are extremely jealous of the secrets of their water-holes and their poor pastures. In short, they do not invite intrusion. Another obstacle to penetration is the official attitude of opposition to any sort of exploration. The last traveller who seriously thought of penetrating this part of Arabia was Burton, who, eighty years ago, with the blessing of the Royal Geographical Society, laid plans for crossing this desert. When he asked the East India Company's permission it was withheld, and if I had asked for Government permission I should have been forbidden. So I preferred to relieve Government of any responsibility in the matter.

I have accomplished three camel journeys in this southern part of Arabia. My first, in 1927-28, lay through the south-eastern borderlands from Suwaih to Dhufar. In the winter of 1929-30 I made a

journey due north from Dhufar, a matter of 200 miles, to the edge of the sands and out again, after having reached Mugshin. I already had more ambitious plans, but had not the opportunity of fulfilling them. That second journey was the subject of a paper read to the Royal Geographical Society by Sir Arnold Wilson. Both those journeys were undertaken partly to fill up the blank map of South Arabia, that Burton had termed "the opprobrium to modern adventure," and partly as reconnaissances for the bigger journey across the sands. An enterprising American millionaire had, I believe, conceived the idea of hiring an airship to fly over these sands, and two years ago I was tentatively approached with a view to being a member of such an expedition. I was not sorry when those plans fell through, because the information gathered on my previous journeys led me to conclude that no positive scientific results could come from merely flying over the sea of sands. The geographical problem to solve was the structure of this part of Arabia. We did not know the system of drainage, the physical features, or geological formations. We knew nothing of the fauna, for nobody had been in a position to collect its mammals and reptiles, birds and insects. Another of the principal objects of such a journey would be to discover what races inhabited the central south, and to ascertain the distribution of the tribes. None of these objects could be accomplished by flying over this type of country; not a single name could be added to the map, nor a single fact of anthropological, zoological, or geological importance established. The only way of discovering the nature of the drainage system would be to move over the country slowly with instruments. In any case, scientific information such as I have mentioned could be collected only by one who had already acquired a fairly intimate knowledge of the language and the people.

On October 6, 1930, I disappeared from Muscat, as I had done two or three times before. Only the Heir Apparent, in the absence of his father the Sultan, shared my secret. It was necessary thus to move, because if the insular Arabs get any idea that people want to spy out their land they object, quite naturally: more, they forcibly forbid it. A small boat took me out of Muscat Harbour that midnight. At dawn a passing oil-tanker, *British Grenadier*, homeward bound, picked me up. By private arrangement she would drop me on the central south coast of Arabia. There I hoped for a camel party. To this end I had arranged with an influential member of my last expedition to be at Dhufar early in October to meet me. He could not undertake to take me across the sands in one caravan because the country is much too arid, though it may be that one could be passed from tribe to tribe, were these present and if they could be induced to co-operate. My 650-mile camel journey through the southern borderlands three years earlier had indeed been accomplished in that way.

When I landed in Dhufar I found no one there to meet me. Dhufar is rather an interesting part of Arabia. It is the Central Province of South Arabia, and is not improbably the Ophir of the Old Testament from which Solomon got his gold and frankincense. There are archaeological remains of old cities, but nothing comparable in extent or nature to the Babylonian mounds of Iraq. Here the characteristic feature is a column—a monolith—the capital, shaft and base all in one. Its square corbelled cap rather suggests that it supported arched masonry. Whether it did or not, I cannot say. The orientation of the graves in the burial grounds round about is for the most part post-Islam, but it seems probable that the building material, the column in particular, has been taken by builders from some earlier pre-Islamic building. Theodore Bent, the only other European to have penetrated the Qara Mountains, records this particular type of column in Abyssinia at a place called Aksum, and he has advanced the opinion that the builders of these ancient cities in Abyssinia must have been the builders of Dhufar too. There is thus an archaeological link between South Arabia and North-East Africa.

As the hoped-for camel party had not arrived for me, I sent a couple of Badus out into the sands for the purpose of trying to bring in another. There were many obstacles. Chief amongst them, the countryside was up. War was in the air. The great Sa'ar tribe of the Hadhramaut, the tribe at feud with the Rashid tribe who were my friends, had lately declared war; the two tribes were, in fact, hereditary enemies. The Sa'ar, a very powerful tribe, were raiding the plain which lay between Dhufar and the sands, so that my promised caravan had not dared to come in. Thus I was obliged to turn aside. The delay enabled me to continue my exploration of the mountains at the back of Dhufar, mountains (Upper Cretaceous to Eocene) rising to about 3,000 feet. The climate in this Central Province of Dhufar is unique in Arabia. The mountains are thickly afforested with trees and look rather like English woodland, though of course the vegetation is semi-tropical, including sycamores, wild figs and so on. Here, and here only in Arabia, is encountered this luxuriant vegetation which owes its existence to the south-west monsoon, three months' summer rainfall. Here is a land worthy of the ancient name Arabia Felix. It is a naturalist's paradise, and single-handed I was able to collect over 400 specimens of mammals, reptiles and insects from these Qara Mountains. I got five hyena and a wolf and four foxes; a coney and a badger; ten different snakes, including a cobra 5 feet 4 inches long—the biggest kind of snake found in Arabia; an African puff adder and a new species of colubrid; of the butterflies, three different species of *charaxes* not previously known to exist in Arabia, and one new to science; two new species of lizard, and a mantis believed to be of a new genus. The

preliminary analysis of the entire list has been prepared by the various departments of the South Kensington Natural History Museum, and will be published in the *Royal Geographical Journal* for September. A discovery of scientific interest is that these have African rather than Oriental affinities.

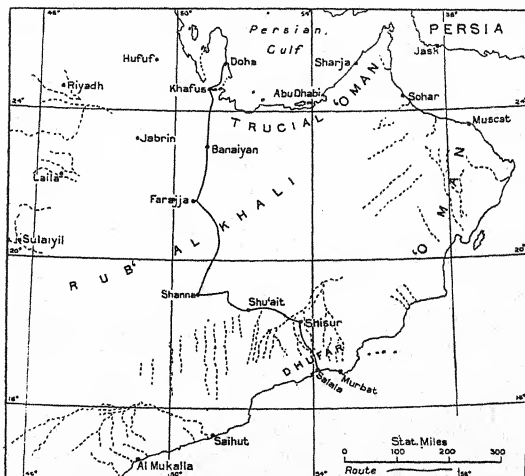
On the plain of Dhufar stand abundant coconut groves in place of the date groves usually met with on other coasts of Arabia. Beyond the Qara Mountains, just north of the divide, lie the frankincense groves at a height of about 2,350 feet. Frankincense, as you know, is the gum of the tree of that name. It was used by the Egyptians—probably imported from this part of the world—in the mummification of Pharaohs and sacred animals. It was burnt before the tabernacle of the Israelites in the days of Moses, and the hill of frankincense is mentioned in the Song of Solomon. It is used also as a form of magic. The roofs of the Qara Mountains are thick and spacious grasslands, not unlike parts of England, the grass being perennial. After the rains wild oats grow to the height of a man's waist; altogether it is a perfectly delightful country. Large herds of cows form the natives' chief means of livelihood, also the fruits of the frankincense groves.

In the frankincense country I had already made an interesting archaeological discovery which I found later to have a fairly wide local distribution. It consisted of a series of trilith monuments, each composed of boulders about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high set up in triliths, three stones lying one against the other, a fourth stone sometimes being superimposed. They stand in series of five, seven, nine, eleven or fifteen triliths all laid out in one line and having no particular orientation, though they usually follow the axis of the wadi. Close by there are sacrificial piles, used possibly for animal sacrifice. They are undoubtedly pre-Islamic, and may be survivals of the ancient Sabæan Trinity—Sun-god, Moon-god and Venus. Not all the monuments are inscribed; those that are—and they are very few—I copied. The inscriptions, as yet undeciphered, seem to have been hammered on to the stone by means of some flint instrument.*

The present inhabitants of South Arabia are, however, to one who has lived in other parts of Arabia, the most interesting feature of the country. They raise an interesting anthropological problem. I have before observed, and experience on my last journey confirms me in my views, that these South Arabians are racially distinct from the Semitic type of North Arabia—i.e., the long-headed man with hawk-like features. Judging from these types of South Arabia—and there are more than one—the conclusion is irresistible that the people of the south and those of the north are not kindred races. Several non-Arabic languages survive,

* I have published details in "Among some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, January-June, 1929.

as well as other cultural and physical difficulties. Ibn Battuta 600 years ago recorded his belief that the inhabitants of the Dhufar mountains were kindred with Soudanic tribes. But even the purely Arabic-speaking tribes of the south were considered by Glaser, Burton and General Maitland, on the evidence of their experience and senses, to be racially distinct. Their chief characteristics are that they are short men, of very dark pigment, spiral head hair, and generally unable to grow more than a slight beard; have thick, though not negroid, lips. They have unusual breadth of head for such dark men, and are all



brachycephalic as distinct from the dolichocephalic northern Arab. I made forty-five head measurements with callipers of the tribes I met with in South Arabia, and I hope that Sir Arthur Keith, who has honoured us with his presence this afternoon, will one day be able to tell us more about the racial affinities of the people from the scientific point of view.

I have recorded four languages, Mahri, Shahari, Bautahari, Harsusi—the last two not, I think, hitherto recorded. Mahri and Shahari have already been recorded by a philological expedition sent for the express purpose from Vienna about thirty years ago. I do not yet know

whether the corresponding material I have recorded will differ from that collected by this expedition. The area I covered is some miles to the east of their operations. From a study of the photographs and head measurements of two groups of South Arabians, Shahari and Yafi—a tribe of the hinterland of Aden—it will be seen that they are clearly distinct from the North Arabians and from one another.

These non-Arabic-speaking tribes of the central south have curious customs. As regards circumcision, universally practised, the boy is circumcised on reaching puberty at the age of fifteen; the girl is circumcised on the day of her birth. Such customs are opposite to those observed in other parts of Arabia—Oman, for instance, where male circumcision takes place during childhood and circumcision of girls at the age of eight or nine. Adult male circumcision is probably a link with North-East Africa. The mummies from Thebes and elsewhere on examination have, in the case of adult males, been found to be circumcised, while Egyptian boys were not circumcised. Then there is a hair custom in South Arabia where you have what may be called a modification of the Horus lock. The hair is allowed to grow, in the case of the boy, down the centre of the head, rather giving a centurion's helmet effect. At circumcision this lock is removed. The girls and the women have their faces painted, red, green and black paint being used. In the case of the female child the hair is shaved in parts after the manner of a Pekinese dog, and narrow plaits fall behind. Again, the hair custom is joined up with sexual life, for when she is betrothed, which usually takes place at the age of thirteen or fourteen, the hair is allowed to grow. Within a month after marriage has taken place, a central parting nearly an inch wide is cut down the middle of the head; the whole scalp skin is removed, sometimes with fatal results, and the hair, in any case, never grows there again.

There is not time to give you a catalogue of other curious customs and animistic cults peculiar to these people. That and a summary of measurements will be published in the June-December *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*.

After I had been waiting in this Central Province of Dhufar for two months, I received the good news that a camel party had arrived from the southern sands. The man who brought the caravan was Shaikh Salih bin Kalut, one of the three shaikhly brothers of the Rashid tribe. If it had not been for that man I could not even have embarked upon my journey. He came to me from the southern sands of Dakaka. These sands, in fact, were the key to the problem of my crossing this year. It was made possible as the result of the rains of last year falling there, which in turn meant that the tribes of the desert had all gravitated to the pastures of these southern sands. Thus it was that I was able to get camels brought in, and find other camels waiting there

to carry me on my journey. After having bound Shaikh Salih to secrecy, I told him what my plans were ; that I wished to cross from sea to sea. He said it was quite impossible. As a member of the Rashid tribe he could take me as far as and into the Rashid habitat, which was the southern marches of these sands, a matter of 200 miles from the coast. Beyond that he could not take me anywhere. I was rather discomfited by this news, but I realized that this man could not take me into the habitat of another tribe, and it was really a matter of luck whether, even if successfully running the Sa'ar gauntlet, I could find somebody of the other tribe, the Murra, and persuade him to take me on. Shaikh Salih promised to give me his assistance, and in that faith I embarked.

We crossed the Qara Mountains, 3,000 ft., and so into the steppe sloping imperceptibly down to the water-hole of Shisur, and beyond to the edge of the sands, about six days' march to the north, a region I had explored and mapped the previous winter. Our track followed the wadi bed, Dauka, wherein the pastures were good. The whole of the steppe to the eastward consists of a series of wadi beds occupied by various tribes, the names of which I have recorded in a map to be published in the September *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*. The life in the steppe is nomadic, but the people do far better than those who live in the sands. The steppe always supports some sort of life. The people are driven back in the summer from the plains against the mountains, where there is perennial water, and during the summer the steppe tribes take refuge on the slopes of the mountains, where they can find water. There they breed camels, and in the winter they go out again into the steppe to graze. Following rains there, they hazard taking flocks of sheep with them ; but ordinarily, in the hot, dry summer, that would be impossible. In the wadi courses the steppe man lives under acacias, for he has no tents ; in the mountains he occupies caves.

I had been to Shisur the year before on my previous journey when I trekked north-eastwards along the edge of the sands and explored as far—roughly—as the twentieth line of latitude. The height here is about 960 feet. This year I was going to turn west towards Dakaka, which would allow me to explore the southern sands. It was important to do this because the aneroid readings would show whether the slope of Arabia is upwards towards the west, an important factor in determining the structure ; and also I was enabled to collect fossils along the lofty southern edge of the sands.

These sand hills are the loftiest in Arabia, in places between 600 and 700 feet high, though the average is lower. They are very soft and yielding in substance. Certainly no motor-car could cross these southern sands. From time to time my people had to dismount and scoop a way with their hands along a slope for the camels to climb to the top. At one point where the southern sands meet the steppe, the Badus pointed

out to me a great number of tracks deeply graven in the steppe, which they called the road to Ubar. These tracks led only to the edge of the sands. My companions said they had been told by their fathers that Ubar was a city buried in these sands. It is known that the sands are encroaching southwards. There is an old tradition—and I believe that the classical geographers mention it—of caravan routes from the frankincense country to Petra in Sinai and to Gerrha, an ancient caravan centre on the Persian Gulf. I think it is not unreasonable to assume that there was here in these sands an ancient city. There can be little doubt that the climate of Arabia has changed, just as has that of Europe. Arabia had no Ice Age, but when the northern latitudes of Europe were under ice, this part of Arabia must have had a very considerable rainfall. The wadi troughs beyond the mountain, by three of which I had at various times penetrated or emerged, and the limestone fossils (Middle Eocene) picked up a hundred miles to the northwards are evidence of a late pluvial period.

Another feature of the southern sands is that from time to time you meet wide patches of what appear at first sight to be residues of dried-up lakes. The specimens I brought home have been identified as gypsum. The actual cause of the formation of these gypsum patches has yet to be determined.

It was in this mountainous sand country that I met the phenomenon of Singing Sands. We were marching along one day when suddenly I heard a booming noise. I had read in Curzon's "Tales of Travel" and in other books of singing sands, but I had not been led to expect that we should meet them, so that when I heard the noise I looked up, expecting to see an aeroplane. The cause of the phenomenon is, I believe, wind blowing over the rear of a sand slope. It sets the surface of the sands moving and thus causes the bellowing. The volume of the sound was very much greater than such a cause would lead you to expect.

It was at Khor Dhahiya that I changed my camels. I had started off with forty camels, and it was necessary along this route to travel with no less than that number. On grounds of economy I would have preferred twelve, which sufficed for my journey in 1928 along the southern borderlands. On this occasion the Badus pointed out that the Sa'ar tribe, their enemies, would show them no mercy, and that they themselves would show no mercy to the Sa'ar if we met them and others weaker than ourselves. Fortunately no such event occurred, though we had many alarms. The Sa'ar tribe sometimes raids with a party of 200 or 300, so that it most certainly would have been unwise to hazard that first stage of my journey with anything less than forty meh. When I reached Khor Dhahiya, within the southern limit of the sands of Dakaka, I was delighted to meet my southern caravan. Salih, the Shaikh and most influential member of my party, had gone ahead

from the Qara Mountains in order to arrange for it to be there. I was able to reduce numbers as I went along because the menace from raiders was in the south, and once we turned northwards into the sands proper towards the habitat of the main Rashid tribe that menace diminished. The second relay of camels I was able to reduce to twenty. One of the necessary points in the organization of a crossing of this kind is the matter of rations. Ordinarily these Arabs of the sands live exclusively on camel's milk, varied very occasionally by camel's meat. When one of our camels was going to die of exhaustion it was killed and eaten. That is what happens to all camels when they get old. Ordinarily if one is travelling as I was, and wishing to make quick marches over the desert, it would be impossible to use camels in milk. They are not suited to forced marches, as they quickly lose condition, so I had to take camels not in milk (except two for myself) and arrange to carry hard rations for my people. This involved organization. I took rice, flour, dates, butter. The scheme was for my original party, who started off from Dhufar, to draw and carry their own individual rations, with ten pack camels carrying bulk rations for the journeys ahead. I divided out rations in the same way when starting off on my second relay, carrying in bulk only the third relay's rations. Thus there was a progressive reduction of pack camels as we went on.

We spent nine days at Shanna. The second caravan merely took me from Khor Dhahiya to Shanna, a matter of possibly scarcely more than seventy miles. We were merely marking time at Shanna while I sent Shaikh Salih ahead to arrange a camel party which would take me across the desert. That party actually consisted of thirteen men. Shanna was the strategical point north of Dakaka; there was pasture in abundance, and we could afford to dally, so I spent eight or nine days collecting geological specimens and hunting for South Kensington Museum: further, our camels could thus get in good fettle, and time avail for a careful choice of men and beasts to attempt the dash across the desert with me. Two of these men had crossed in this longitude of the sands before. They were members of the Murra tribe; the other ten men were Rashidis who had been across the desert from other points than this one. I called Shanna a strategic point because there was plenty of pasture; to the north we should be in hunger-stricken country, and on a journey of this kind pasture is even more important than water; much more important certainly in winter time, when a camel can go for quite long periods without water. In summer a camel has to be watered every other day. From Shisur to Dakaka we were nine days without water, the camels carrying full loads. At the end of those nine days they were completely done up and could not have gone on. That was the position in which I found myself last year, when I was obliged to turn back because my camels had lost condition and the

Badawin were unwilling to take them into the sands. They said it would be suicide. On this occasion Dakaka had received rain the previous year, and thither the herds had therefore gravitated. But we could not afford to delay after leaving Shanna. The only vegetation north of Shanna is a saline shrub called *hadh* (*Salsola* sp.). Camels cannot live on it when carrying loads or getting infrequent watering. We were in the position of having to make forced marches, but our camels were in prime condition and everybody was fit. Incidentally, of course, nobody could afford to drop out. It would have been tragic if we had lost a camel or two, and I don't like to think of what would have happened if the guide had fallen ill. It was essential, once we left Shanna, to move quickly. I estimated that I had a margin of about nine days' rations, but that was all.

After leaving Dakaka the first sands reached are not very formidable. In the south they are mountainous dunes, but here the sands of Suwahib consist of parallel ridges with gentle bellying sand between, a type that corresponds to the Dahana, I understand. Very arid country it was, and obliged us to spend eight or nine hours in the saddle each day. It would have been unreasonable, if not impossible, to halt in the middle of the day for luncheon. The best course for me was to keep on good terms with my Badus, and the only time they want to halt is for prayer or when they come upon vegetation for their camels. I carried with me a flask of camel's milk, filled up each morning. Though only two camels were in milk, all were cow camels, for in Arabia the cow and not the bull is generally ridden, as the cow is held to have gentler movements.

We came upon a small encampment of Murra at Gusman. The Murra tribe occupies the oases of Jabrin and Jafurah. They are thus not a tribe of South Arabia, but belong to the north, and faced with my objective it was very necessary to get one of their number to guide and protect amongst themselves. Here I was fortunate in securing a rather famous *rabia* amongst them, Hamad the Murri. The life of the sand Arabs consists of moving from pasture to pasture. On finding a favoured spot they eat up whatever verdure is there and so pass on to the next in unending cycle. Water in these central sands is comparatively plentiful. One of the illusions that we suffered from was that there was no water at all in these central sands. Westwards of my route there is, I believe, no water. To the eastwards is water in plenty, but water so brackish as to be almost, and in parts absolutely, undrinkable; in fact, in some places even the camels cannot drink it. These people are thus really parasites of the camel, and drive their camels from pasture to pasture as far as possible, relying on water which camels will drink, but which they themselves cannot drink. I brought back specimens from all the water holes that we drank from.

They show a very high salt content. The water was in places the colour of beer, but tasted strongly of salt and sulphuretted hydrogen. It had the effect on me of Epsom salts, and I only drank it when I had to. The Badus seem to drink it with no complaint of ill-effects.

In these central sands I dug out a rather interesting sand-coloured fox with large bat-like ears, a handsome creature, and a new species of fennec. Though only about the size of a cat, he was full-grown, as indicated by skull and teeth. Foxes were comparatively plentiful, which shows that they do not need to drink, for there is no surface water here. The chief and commonest of the mammals was the hare, seen all the way along the line of march, of which I collected five specimens. Three different sand snakes were brought home. The Rashid tribe to the south have no *salugi* dogs; they do not go in for hunting; but the Murra tribe do, their chief quarry being the fox, the hare, and the *rim* (white gazelle). The red gazelle is not an inhabitant of the sands, but of the steppe, in common with the ostrich, now fast becoming extinct. The white gazelle is not very common, and I did not see it at all, though I saw one or two specimens of desiccating horns, characteristic lyre-shaped horns, lying about in the sands, and each of my Badus had shot *rim* in bygone years. The Murra also hunt and eat the wild cat.

I found an eagle's nest on an *abal* tree about 4 feet high, the biggest tree one sees in the sands. The eagle I did not see, but the two eggs I brought home—now in South Kensington Museum—are probably those of the Abyssinian tawny eagle. The birds one saw most of in the desert were the black fantailed raven, met with in ones and twos, and the greater bustard, whose tracks were everywhere. There was also a bird that looked rather like a pied-wagtail, perhaps some form of desert chat. We met curlew coming out of the sands in the north, but not in them. Tracks of birds, animals, and men are clearly left imprinted in the surface of the sands. The Badus have an uncanny way of reading them. They know exactly who and what has passed; they can tell from the footmarks the age of them, whether a camel is in good condition or not, and often know whose camel it was that passed—for instance, yesterday—certainly if it belongs to their own tribe. They can tell if a camel is gone with calf, and, if so, how far. Most of the animals collected were tracked by means of their imprints in the sands, which disclosed their hiding-places.

On the march again we came to the central region called Sanam. Here were fairly flattish sands, and riding along for eight or nine hours a day was not so monotonous as might be supposed. To make a compass traverse involves looking at the watch every ten minutes, and taking compass bearings of all the water holes and recording them. At night I had to take star sights. I took with me three chronometers, a

sextant, and an artificial horizon, and was able to get my latitudes most nighs and so adjust my marches on the map.

Hamad, the Murri guide, knew more or less where the pastures were, and if we had not had a line of pastures we could not have gone on; in fact, when I started from Dhufar I did not know where, if at any point, I was coming out; one never does in sands of this kind. One can only follow pastures. If they were to the north-east I should with luck have come out at Abu Dhabi; if to the west, in the neighbourhood of Riyadh; if there had been none I should have been obliged to turn back. Luckily I came out exactly where I could have most desired, for by good fortune the line of pastures led me through the heart of the sands. Hamad was a good fellow, extraordinarily cheerful, as all these people are. He wanted to know why my gums were not tattooed, because the South Arabian male tattoos his gums to arrest the growth of his teeth. Did I like ladies to have long teeth? "Why," I enquired, "should ladies have long teeth?" "Because," he replied, "if they have long teeth they eat more; and if they eat more they grow plump." I was afraid to tell him that we in this country are not all in favour of plumpness: nor would he have believed me!

We were now approaching the northern end of Sanam. The aneroid had fallen from 960 feet on the edge of the sands in the south to 500 feet in the middle; here we were some 160 feet above sea level. The sooner we could get out of these hungry marches of Sanam the better we would be pleased. The man in the north gets his water from holes about 17 fathoms deep. In the south when we watered in shallow holes we filled them up in order to obstruct possible pursuers—raiders. But in the north, where great labour has gone in the making of these deep water holes, you cannot afford to do that. *Tuwal*, as this deep kind are called, are covered over and the Badus pass on. Dangerous to make and to clean, the only material for revetment is the branch and root of some pigmy desert bush which is often quite inadequate, so that the sides are prone to slip in and entomb those mining the wells.

The water hole at Banaiyan represents the northern edge of Ar Rimal. True there are sands north of that point, but the great sands proper lie to the south. North of Banaiyan it is possible to have settlements, and the Ikhwan or Puritans are to be found living there. I wanted to avoid collisions with these people because they take rather an intolerant view of other people's religion. My companions were members of orthodox branches of Sunni Islam, the Shafi' and Hanbali sects, and they were terribly frightened of meeting the Ikhwan, and with good reason. The Ikhwan take the view that Badus are heretics. One of the religious rules of Islam is that the bodily functions, including sexual intercourse, must be followed by ablution, because prayer without ablution is of no avail. The Badawin tribes in the south, who

may move away from water holes for six weeks and two months at a time in winter, cannot observe this religious rule, so that the Ikhwan of the north regard them as heretics, and treat them in much the same way that Roman Catholics and Protestants treated each other in Tudor times in our own country.

Banaiyan represents the junction of three big regions: Jiban to the north, Sanam to the south, and Jaub to the west. Jaub is falling from Jabrin, and the fall is from west to east. It is, I think, true to say that throughout my journey the sands were falling away towards the east and rising to the west. To the north of Jabrin I came to an interesting salt lake about seven miles long and one and a half miles wide, surrounded by heavy deposits of rock-salt. The whole of the region to the north of the lake consisted of salt plains. I was carrying two aneroids, one of which did not survive the north winds and heavy sandstorms we encountered towards the end. The one with the correct reading showed that this northern part of the Jabrin is about 70 feet below sea level.

To turn back. The geographical problem of this part of Arabia was to ascertain its structure. The whole of the map, too, had been a blank. My journeys have provided explanation of one and remedy for the other. As regards the slope of Arabia, it is, in this longitude where I crossed it, falling from south to north: 3,000 feet at the Qara Mountains, it measures 1,000 feet at the edge of the sands 100 miles to the north. Some 500 miles north of that you come to below sea level, reaching into the base of the Qatar peninsula. The eastern perimeter of the sands is in marked contrast. It falls from north to south. I crossed from Sohar to Sharja in 1926 when we were looking for landing-grounds in connection with a possible alternative air route for Imperial Airways. At the edge of the sands there we found a height of 1,500 feet. West of Ibrī it would appear likely to be about 1,100 feet. Mugshin, which I reached on my previous journey, was 490 feet. These opposing slopes, only 300 miles apart, rather suggest a low depression in the neighbourhood of longitude 54-55°, latitude 20-22°. East of that depression the slope of Southern Arabia is upwards to the north-east; west of the depression it is rising to the south-west.

After leaving the lake our journey lay through the barren country at the base of the Qatar peninsula. It was a desolate spot, and what the wolf, whose cry we heard, lived on was not obvious. It was but four days' march to Qatar; they were miserable days of cold north wind and drizzling rain. As there was no firewood we could only use camel dung for fuel. Sleeping out in the rain—for I was obliged to travel without a tent throughout my journey from consideration of transport—was not comfortable, though it did not affect my health; in fact, I enjoyed perfect health throughout my fifty-eight days' journey, during which I

covered between 800 and 900 miles, though I lost $1\frac{1}{2}$ stone in weight.

It was the hour to celebrate. Before me was the palatial residence of the Shaikh of Qatar, and the promise of security and Arab hospitality after the hungry, thirsty, nervous months in the desert. It lay on the edge of the Persian Gulf, a token that I had crossed from sea to sea, and with me were these good companions without whom I could not have crossed the Rub'al Khali.

Sir ARNOLD WILSON: Mr. Bertram Thomas began his career in Mesopotamia; after some six years there he went to Transjordan, where he occupied a very responsible position in the administration of that country. He was transferred thence to Muscat and Oman. He has therefore had the experience, which I believe to be quite unique amongst European explorers, of having had a prolonged period of residence in three very different parts of the Arabian continent; to that experience he owes something, but only a little, of the qualities which have enabled him to perform his extraordinarily bold and daring feat. He has told of it with a modesty which is not uncommon amongst men who have done great things, but is sufficiently rare to be exceedingly attractive.

The second point I should like to make is that it would have been quite impossible to have achieved what he has by any other means. The motor-car, the aeroplane, the airship, and all the various modern means of avoiding trouble would have given us no information of any value whatever to science. What we want to know was who lived in the country; what they do; what animals were to be found there; what the aneroid heights were; what the geological structure of the country was, and information of these things could not have been learned as the result of a rapid journey by air. Mr. Bertram Thomas has made the journey not, as has been said, in the "orthodox, old-fashioned" manner, but in the only possible manner which would enable us to hear what we have tonight of scientific matters of real scientific interest.

Thirdly, Mr. Thomas has united in his person a number of functions which would do any man credit. He is a competent geographer who has taken a series of almost daily observations with a sextant which have enabled him to fix his position day by day with an accuracy which would satisfy the commander of a ship on the high seas. He is a philologist who has been at pains during the past five years to record the languages of the almost completely unknown people amongst whom he has lived, and has brought home no less than four new dialects, the very existence of which was scarcely suspected a few years ago. He is an anthropologist who has done what I fancy no European

has dared yet to do in Arabia—namely, to take the measurements of the skulls of casual acquaintances! It needed a very bold man and also a man with quite exceptional capacity to make friends to meet a man casually and say, "Do you mind me measuring your head?" The most sophisticated Badu might well be suspicious of anybody who did that, but Mr. Thomas has done it to some fifty men, and the results, as Sir Arthur Keith has assured me, are of exceptional interest. He is a zoologist who has brought home for the benefit of the Entomological Institute of South Kensington a whole series of new insects and a number of types new to science. It will be possible, with the assistance of this new material, and with the mammals, reptiles, and other things he has brought, to delimit with greater accuracy than hitherto the spheres of the palaearctic and of the African fauna. Mr. Thomas is also something of a geologist; indeed, he has brought home specimens of practically everything to be found in that part of Arabia except Arabs and unicorns. As you probably know, a fable of Arabia tells that the only way in which to catch a unicorn is to send into the desert a chaste virgin. On seeing her the unicorn will lay its head in her lap and suffer itself to receive—as who would not?—the caresses that we know have tamed not only the unicorn but others. We have not sent a virgin into the desert of Arabia, but a bachelor. He has failed to identify the unicorn, but practically every other beast has fallen to his collection and to those of the Arabs who have been at pains to collect things for him.

Mr. Thomas has many merits. I will not detain you further by any reference to them, nor would I wish to raise a crimson blush on his face by a formal encomium. I have known him since 1916, in very tight places and in very difficult circumstances. I recognized him from the first as the possessor of qualities which have enabled him to acquire very exceptional power and influence among Arabs. To these qualities he owes, throughout Oman, from Musandam to Dhufar, a reputation which has not been surpassed by any Englishman who has lived and worked in Arabia in my lifetime. We have every reason to be proud that this country can still produce men of this type, and that they can, when duty demands or the spirit of adventure calls, perform such journeys on their own initiative and resources and bring them to a completely successful conclusion.

SIR ARTHUR KEITH: I would only say just one word. The observations on South Arabians which Mr. Bertram Thomas has brought home are of the very highest importance in establishing the races of mankind; but I hardly think at this late hour it would be fair to him, or even fair to myself, to open up the many important problems which he has given us to solve. Therefore, with your permission, I postpone the discussion to some other day.

The CHAIRMAN : I think I can do no better now than invite you to thank Mr. Thomas for his address. You do not require any remarks from me. Good wine needs no bush. I ask you, therefore, to record in the usual way your very grateful thanks to Mr. Thomas and congratulations to him both on his journey and on the description he has given us.

The vote of thanks having been accorded amid hearty acclamation, the proceedings terminated.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF QUEEN SAIYIDAH ARWĀ THE ṢULAIHĪD OF THE YEMEN*

BY DR. HUSAIN F. AL-HAMDĀNĪ, M.A., PH.D.

I

IT is a great honour for me to have this opportunity of relating to you the story of the life and times of the Great Queen of Arabia. When

I was asked to speak of the Yemen to this Society, I wondered at first if any subject connected with the history of that country would be of sufficient importance to enlist your interest and sympathies. I thought, however, that in these days of universal suffrage, I could not find anything more appropriate than the life and times of one of the most outstanding figures in the chronicles of Woman in the East.

When the average European hears of Arabian women, he pictures them as veiled, suffering from absolute ignorance and misery and bound in the chains of slavery to their mankind. But as we turn the earlier pages of Arab and Islamic history, we find many examples of extraordinary women, sharing equal rights with men, even exercising sovereignty over them. Not to religion, but to custom, tradition, and in some ways to the jealousy of Man does Woman in the Yemen and other Eastern countries owe her present condition of subordination. It is remarkable, however, that at a time when Europe was in the rigid grip of the darkness of the Middle Ages there should have ruled in the Yemen a woman of such unique abilities as would challenge comparison with any other great historical personality.

In the course of my investigations into the history of the Ṣulaihīd dynasty of the Yemen, my best and by far my most important source of information for that history has been 'Umārat u'l-Yamanī (died in 569 A.H.—1173 A.D.). His history of the Yemen is translated into English and edited by H. C. Kay.† There are short accounts and fleeting references about the dynasty scattered all over various Arabic works of

* This is the full text of a lecture delivered to the Royal Central Asian Society, on Wednesday, April 29, 1931, Major-General Sir Percy Cox, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the Chair.

† "Yaman : Its Early Mediæval History." London, 1892.

history, but 'Umāra's is the most detailed and authentic version. 'Umāra, however, was not a great historian, as we understand the term; he wrote this historical account of a period immediately preceding his times for his own intellectual pleasure and because he was invited to write the history of his land. In the literature of the Ismā'ilis of the Yemen, hitherto unknown to the learned world of Europe, we have, however, another important source of the history of the Yemen under the Ṣulaiḥids. Throughout all these centuries the Ismā'ilis of the Yemen have formed a secret organization which has concealed its literature and doctrine from the outer world. This literature includes historical works which throw much light on the trend of Ismā'ili thought and activities carried on by the Ṣulaiḥids. These archives reveal the fact that the Ṣulaiḥids were a great link in the history of the Ismā'ili community in the Yemen.

Before coming to the subject proper to this afternoon's discourse, it is necessary to recapitulate the outstanding events of the Ṣulaiḥid rule prior to the reign of the Queen Saiyidah Arwā. The Ṣulaiḥids were a branch of the Hāshid section of the great Hamdāni tribe which consistently upheld the Shī'ite doctrine throughout Islamic times in the Yemen. After the death of the Dā'i-Abu'l-Qāsim b. Ḥaughab, the Conqueror of Yemen (منصور اليمن), and of the Dā'i 'Alī, son of Faḍl, the Ismā'ili power became practically non-existent,* but the religious activities were persistently, though secretly, carried on by missionary (Dā'i) after missionary until the death of the Dā'i Sulaimān b. 'Abdullah i'z-Zawāḥi. The last-named saw in 'Alī, son of the jurist Muḥammad the Ṣulaiḥid, signs of greatness, and nominated him to the leadership of the Mission.† The young 'Alī became a zealous and ardent supporter of the claims of the Faṭimid Khalīfas of Egypt to be overlords of the Islamic world. In the year 428 A.H. (1036 A.D.) he made a solemn covenant with sixty men, composed of his own and other Hamdāni tribes, to stand by one another unto death in support of his work as promulgator (Dā'i) of the Ismā'ili doctrine. In the following year 'Alī raised his standard on the summit of Maṣār in Ḥarāz. At first, he naturally met with active hostility from all sides. By sheer force of his able generalship, diplomatic resourcefulness and unflinching devotion to his cause, however, he was able to overcome all opposition. Before the end of 455 A.H. (1063 A.D.) he had subjected the whole of the Yemen to his authority, and on behalf of the Faṭimid Imām al-Mustansir had proclaimed the Ismā'ili doctrine throughout the length and breadth of the land. He made his power felt in places as far apart as Mecca and Ḥaḍramaut—both lying outside his jurisdiction. In 455 A.H. (1063 A.D.)

* According to al-Janādī, the Qarmāṭian dominion in the Yemen came to an end in 304 A.H. (A.D. 916). See Kay, p. 242.

† See 'Umāra, p. 19; Dā'i Idris, *Uyūn u'l-Akhbār* VII. p. 2.

he established order and peace in Mecca,* and as a consequence the Public Sermon was officially read in the Holy City in the name of the Fatimids of Egypt. These were achievements worthy of any great conqueror.

The Šulaihids seem to be singularly fortunate in having had two distinguished women who exercised great influence not only on the careers of their husbands, but also in public affairs and the administration of the country. One of them was Asmā, wife of 'Alī. 'Umāra relates an anecdote about 'Alī's marriage with Asmā. "Near the gates of Zabīd," says 'Umāra,† "within the walls was the house of an Abyssinian of the name of Qa'id Faraj u's-Sahrati, a man of benevolence and of exceeding charity. Whoever entered his mosque, he welcomed and entertained. His thoughts were always concerned with his guests, and he was in the habit of entering the mosque and of making private enquiries respecting them without the knowledge of his agents and servants. He went forth one night and found in the mosque a person occupied in reading the Qur'ān. He questioned him touching his evening meal, and the man in reply recited the following verses of the great poet al-Mutanabbi:

من علم الاسود المقتضى مكرمة
اقوامه البيض او اباءه الصيد

"Who hath taught the mutilated negro the performance of generous deeds—

His noble-minded masters or his enslaved forefathers?"

The Abyssinian took the young man with him. He led him to the chief room of his house, and treated him with the most liberal hospitality. He asked his guest the reason of his journey to the Lower Yemen, to which 'Alī replied that he had an uncle named Shihāb, whose daughter Asmā had few equals in beauty and none in literary culture and intelligence. He had asked her in marriage, and had been met with a demand for dowry exceeding in its amount the bounds of moderation, her mother urging that she should be married to none other but the Hamdāni Kings of Ṣan'a or to the Kings of the Family of the Banī Kurandī. The parents, in short, wished to exact a sum which it was wholly beyond his power to command. . . . The Abyssinian supplied him with a large sum of money, double the amount actually paid by 'Alī. The bride and bridegroom were equipped on a scale such as kings strive to provide when allying themselves with women of the most noble lineage. . . . Asmā was of a generous and noble disposition, liberal in the rewards she bestowed upon poets and in the large sums she granted in furtherance of the service of God, and

* Ibn u'l-Aṭṭār, IX, X, 422-3, 19-38; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, II, 532; Snouck-Hurgenje, *Mecca*, I, 61-62.

† Pp. 21-22.

always occupied in acts of benevolence and other deeds in keeping with her exalted station and her high purpose in life. The renown of her splendid virtues extended even to her children, her brothers, and her kindred. In an ode, which commences with the words :

حشمت بيفاء الوابل حشما

"The fair beauty, who is generous as the rain cloud, hath bestowed gifts"

a poet of 'Alī's court spoke of her in these words :

وَسَمَتْ فِي السَّمَاحِ سَنَّةُ جُودٍ لَمْ تَدُمِ مِنْ مَعَالِمِ الْبُخْلِ رَسْمًا
تَلَّتْ إِذْ عَظُمُوا بِقَيْسٍ عَرِشًا دَسَّتْ أَسْمَاءُ مِنْ ذُرَى النِّجَمِ أَسْمًا

"She hath impressed upon beneficence the stamp of generosity.
Of meanness she allows no trace to appear."

"I say, when people magnified the throne of Bilqīs,
Asmā hath obscured the name of the loftiest among the stars."

In the year 473 A.H. (1080 A.D.) 'Alī, at the head of an expedition,* including allied and vanquished princes, started for Mecca on a pilgrimage, but on his way there he was assassinated by Sa'id, in revenge for the murder of his father, Najāsh, the murdered prince of Zabīd. The Queen Asmā and other women of the royal house, who were accompanying 'Alī, were taken prisoner and sent to Zabīd. These women were confined in a house opposite the spot where the heads of 'Alī and his brother were displayed. The Queen Asmā, however, contrived to send a letter to her son Aḥmad u'l-Mukarram, appealing to him to vindicate the honour of his tribe. Thus impelled, al-Mukarram marched against the Abyssinians and defeated them.

The first warrior to reach the spot where the two heads were set up, and to stand below the casement of the captive Queen-mother, was her son Aḥmad. She did not recognize him, as his face was hidden by his helmet. He greeted her: "May Allāh safeguard and perpetuate thy renown, O our lady!"

"Welcome," she said, "O noble Arab!"

Aḥmad's two companions saluted her in similar manner. She

* Idrīs, *Uyūn u'l-Akhbār*, VII, 88, gives 459 A.H. as the date of this expedition and death of 'Alī, which confirms al-Khazrajī and Ibn u'l-At hīr (X, 38). 'Umāra gives (p. 30) two dates: 473 A.H. and 459 A.H., but again, on p. 82, gives 473 A.H., in which he is supported by Ibn Khallikān and al-Janādī. Kay is of opinion that the death of 'Alī occurred in 473 A.H., "but the error, it may be, proceeds from the confusion of an earlier expedition to Mecca with that projected in 473 A.H." As against this, Idrīs, *Uyūn u'l-Akhbār*, gives a letter of al-Mustansir, which is dated 468 A.H., and is addressed to al-Mukarram and the Queen Saiyida. 'Umāra and al-Janādī bring much earlier authorities on the subject, I have used their versions.

asked him who he was, and he answered that his name was Aḥmad, son of 'Alī.

"Verily the name of Aḥmad, son of 'Alī," she answered, "is borne by many Arabs. Uncover thy face that I may know thee."

Aḥmad raised his helmet, whereupon she exclaimed:

"Welcome, our lord al-Mukarram! He whose coming is like unto thy coming hath not tarried, neither hath he erred."

She then asked him for the names of his two comrades-in-arms, and on one bestowed a grant of the revenues of Aden for that year and on the other two fortresses. The army entered the town by detachments, while she stood at the casement with her face uncovered. During her husband's life the Queen was always seen unveiled—a sign of her rank which exalted her over men. The Queen Asmā assisted her son as she had assisted her husband in the administration of State affairs up to the time of her death.

II

After the death of his mother, al-Mukarram was helped by his wife the Queen Saiyida Arwā in the performance of his State duties. The King honoured the counsel of his wife and had great faith in her shrewdness and intelligence.

Arwā, who received another distinguished appellation—viz., "Saiyidah"—was born in 440 A.H.* (1045 A.D.). She was the daughter of Aḥmad b. Ja'far. Her mother, ar-Radāḥ, being widowed by the death of her husband Aḥmad b. Ja'far, married 'Āmir b. Sulaimān i'z-Zawāḥi. Queen Asmā, her mother-in-law, had supervised her early education. It is related, says 'Umāra, that one day Saiyidah told Asmā that she had dreamt that she held in her hand a broom with which she swept the King's Palace. "It is as though I had shared my vision," exclaimed Asmā. "By Allāh! O fair of face, thou shalt sweep away the dynasty of the Šulaiḥids and thou shalt rule over their kingdom."

In her personal appearance, Saiyida was of fair complexion tinged with red; tall, well-proportioned, but inclined to stoutness, perfect in beauty of feature, with a clear-sounding voice. She was well-read and, in addition to the gift of writing, possessed a retentive memory stored with the chronology of past times. Nothing could surpass the inter-linear glosses, upon both verbal construction and interpretation, inserted in her own handwriting in the pages of books that she had read.

Our Queen was decidedly a woman of high literary calibre. But unfortunately we have no evidence to show that she herself ever wrote

* 'Umāra gives 440 A.H., but Kay (p. 38) suggests 444 A.H.; Idrīs, *'Uyūn u'l-Akḥbār*, also gives 440 A.H. on the authority of *Kitāb u'l-Mufīd* (a book which does not now exist).

any original works. The Da'l Idris 'Imād u'd-dīn* (died 872 A.H.—1468 A.D.) reproduces lectures of the Fatimid Khalifa al-Āmir billāh, in which the latter upholds the claims of his father al-Musta'li to the Khilāfat and Imāmat against those of Nizār. These lectures were preserved for the Queen on silk parchment, and her royal seal was set upon it. Idris says that he himself copied these lectures from this parchment. "She was a woman," he comments, "of great piety, integrity, and excellence, perfect intelligence and erudition, surpassing men even and how much more women with no thought beyond the four walls of their own chambers! She deserved the eulogy of the poet who said:

وما التأنيث لاسم الشمس عيباً ولا الذكر فخرأ للهِلال

"Femininity is no defect in the name of the Sun;

Nor does the masculine gender of the word 'crescent' add any laurels to it."

'Alī treated Saiyida in her earlier years with a degree of deference he showed to no other person. "Show her respect," he used to say to Asmā; "by Allāh, she will be the preserver of our race and the guardian of our crown unto whomsoever will endure of our dynasty."

Al-Mukarram married her when she was twenty-one years old in 461 A.H. (1068 A.D.) during the lifetime of his father 'Alī.

The effects of facial paralysis, which al-Mukarram had contracted during the successful close of his campaign against the Abyssinians of Zabīd, soon became manifest, and, counselled by his wife, he retired to the town of Dhū Jublā. She begged to be given her personal freedom and to have liberty to attend to the task on which she was engaged, saying that a woman who was desired for the marriage-bed only could not be fit for the business of the State. She first rode from Ṣan'ā at the head of a large army to inspect Dhū Jublā, the future residence of her royal husband. On her return to Ṣan'ā, she said to al-Mukarram: "O our lord! send for the people of Ṣan'ā to assemble." When the citizens of Ṣan'ā had assembled, he looked from the Ḡhumdān Palace upon that vast mass of humanity and nought met his eyes but the lightning-flashes of drawn swords and lance-heads. On going to Dhū Jublā, she desired her husband to assemble its people and the dwellers in the neighbourhood. They gathered together on the morning of the following day, whereupon she said: "Look down, my lord, and behold these people." He did so, and his eyes fell on men carrying rams or bearing vessels filled with butter and honey. "Life among these (industrious) people," she said to her husband, "is to be preferred." The King removed his court to his summer residence Dhū Jublā, and built there a second royal palace with gardens overlooking the two

* *'Uyūn u'l-Akhbār*, VII, 122.

streams (an-Nahrain) and the original Palace. The Queen, however, ordered the latter to be consecrated as a Cathedral mosque. This action marks the foundation of that famous mosque where she was eventually to be laid to rest. She thus assigned to her husband his domestic rôle, while she energetically took up the responsibilities of running the State in the troubled times that synchronized with her rulership.

‘Imrān b. Faḍl i’l-Yāmi and Abū’s-Su’ūd, son of As’ad b. Shihāb, whom the King had appointed to the governorship of Šan’ā, continued as her chief counsellors.*

One of her first acts was to put down ruthlessly all hostile elements in the country. She determined to avenge the foul murder of ‘Alī by punishing his assassin, Sa’id, “the Squinting.” She wrote to her ally, al-Ḥusain b. at-Tubba’ī, the Prince of aṣḥ-Ša’ir, to represent to Sa’id that her husband was afflicted by paralysis, and that the State was ruled by his wife. In accordance with the Saiyida’s military stratagem, al-Ḥusain further suggested a joint attack upon Dhū Jublā by Sa’id from the Lower Yemen and by al-Ḥusain himself from the mountains. “If you approve of my advice,” said al-Ḥusain, “let it be acted upon. For your rule,” he continued, “is better in the eyes of the Muslims than the rule of these heretics.” Sa’id fell into the trap and, on the day appointed by al-Ḥusain, set forth from Zabīd for Dhū Jublā at the head of 30,000 spearmen. The Queen had meanwhile sent orders to her governors at Šan’ā to proceed with 3,000 horsemen to the Lower Yemen, and to keep in the rear of the Sa’id’s army and follow him stage by stage. Sa’id, however, halted below the fortress of aṣḥ-Ša’ir, when the two flanks of the Saiyida’s army fell upon him and crushed his forces. Sa’id himself was killed and his head hung below the window of the palace Dār u’l-‘Izz.

While the Queen was occupied with warfare and the administration of the State, her husband, al-Mukarram, died at Dhū Jublā.† The Saiyidah concealed this fact till she had communicated with and had received from her spiritual master at Cairo a letter appointing her son ‘Alī‡ in his father’s place. As her son ‘Alī was a minor, the Saiyidah appointed Sabā, son of Aḥmad, to act as the head of the State under her. Both sons of the Queen,§ however, died during her lifetime, and

* Idris, *‘Uyūn u’l-Akḥbār*, VII, 122.

† Historians suggest various dates for the death of al-Mukarram. ‘Umāra gives 484 A.H. (1091 A.D.); al-Janādī says that al-Mukarram died in 484 A.H., or 480 A.H., or 479 A.H. The Dā’ir al-Idris gives the date as 477 A.H. (1084 A.D.).

‡ Surnamed ‘Abd u’l-Mustansir, after the name of the Fatimid Khalīfa al-Mustansir billāh.

§ The Queen had four children: ‘Alī, Muḥammad, Faṭīma and Umm Hamdān. Muḥammad died during the life of his brother; Faṭīma married Šams u’l -Ma’ālī, son of her premier Saba b. Aḥmad. Umm Hamdān was married to Aḥmad, son of Sulaimān i’z-Zawāḥī.

the State was governed by the heads of government or premiers appointed by her from time to time.

An unfortunate controversy raged for some time between Sabā and Sultan 'Āmir b. Sulaimān i'z-Zawāhi. According to the Dā'i Idris, this quarrel was responsible for the decay and ultimate downfall of the Sulaihid power in the Yemen. The Queen referred the difference between the two chief men of her court to al-Mustansir, who wrote to the Saiyida and to the princes of both the houses of the Sulaihid and Zawāhids requesting them to reconcile their differences in the best interests of the Ismā'ili mission in the Yemen. These letters had an immediate effect in uniting the warring elements.

When al-Mukarram died, leaving the Queen a widow, Sabā asked her hand in marriage. She refused. Sabā thereupon collected an army and marched against her at Dhū Jublā. The Queen, however, was not the type of woman to submit to intimidation, but immediately gave orders for the mobilization of her forces. "The two armies met," says 'Umāra, "and the fire of war was kindled and raged for several days." Sulaimān, son of 'Āmir i'z-Zawāhi, the Queen's step-brother, suggested to Sabā that he should write to the Imām at Cairo to plead with the Queen on his behalf. Sabā saw reason in this proposal, ceased to fight against her, and despatched his emissaries to the Imām. The Imām recommended the cause of Sabā in the matter of this proposed marriage, but the Queen was firm in her refusal. She was, however, greatly perturbed at this development, for she had in fact intended to respect the suggestion of the Imām. Sabā realizing the unpleasantness of the situation created by himself, and, "contemplating her lofty aims and her noble deeds, felt humbled in his own estimation. He perceived that the lustre of his reputation was dimmed by his action, and admitted that no person could be fitly compared to her, she whose people called her their Mistress." Sabā therefore relinquished his plans for his union with the Queen.

When Sabā was still the head of the State and Commander-in-Chief of the Queen's army there arose a young man to power. The Queen was a keen judge of human beings, and saw signs of able generalship and leadership in this young page of hers who had carried messages between herself and her husband. His name was al-Mufaḍḍal, and he inspired such confidence in the Queen that she not only entrusted to him the treasures of state, and made him her only confidant, but gave him absolute powers of military dictatorship. In matters both of the State and the Army, al-Mufaḍḍal was the Queen's right hand. He reinstated al-Manṣūr, son of al-Jayyāsh, to the throne of Zabīd, and removed his uncle who had usurped it. But during his absence in Tihāmah, the orthodox Muslims in the Highlands, who were supported by the Khawānites, rose against the Government. Al-

Mufaḍḍal's first measures to stifle the rebellion were successful, but by no means decisive. He, himself, was of jealous temper and committed suicide when his mistresses fell into the hands of the enemy.

The Queen was very scrupulous in the observance of treaty obligations. On the death of al-Mufaḍḍal, she herself marched down from the fortress of Dhū Jublā and encamped on the open ground near the fortress of Ta'kar. She adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the besieged, assuring them of the safety of their lives and property if they submitted to her authority. The Queen faithfully observed the conditions agreed upon, and appointed her freedman Faṭḥ to the governorship of Ta'kar.

For some years the Queen herself assumed the responsibility of the premiership till the arrival in the year 513 A.H. (1119 A.D.) of 'Alī b. Najīb u'd-daula. With a body of horse he was deputed by al-Āmir billāh and later supported by al-Ma'mūn u'l-Batā'ihī, the Grand Wazīr of al-Āmir, to render assistance to the Queen in any manner she desired. After the presentation of his credentials, the Saiyida made him the commander-in-chief of her forces. He was successful in quelling the rebellion and in establishing order in the country. Subsequently differences arose between the Queen and Ibn Najīb u'd-daula on account of his insolent bearing towards her. On the grounds that the Queen had become weak-minded and that she ought to retire from public life, he and his supporters, Ṭauq and his band of Hamḍānī horsemen, rose in revolt against her at Janād. The Queen was supported by her generals and princes, and despatched them with an army to besiege the rebels. The siege was carried on with vigour, and soon Ibn Najīb u'd-daula was in great straits. At the same time the Queen planned a stratagem. She sent to the chiefs of the tribe who were helping him and distributed 10,000 Egyptian dinārs among them, desiring her messengers at the same time to circulate the news among the soldiery that Ibn Najīb u'd-daula had distributed 10,000 dinārs among their leaders. On learning this the soldiers mutinied, and the leaders found themselves deserted. "Perceivest thou," it was said to Ibn Najīb u'd-daula, "the artifice accomplished by her of whom thou hast said that her mind is weakened?" He rode to the Queen and submitted to her authority, and his behaviour subsequently became more friendly in his relations towards her. Ibn Najīb u'd-daula was recalled by al-Āmir billāh, but some of his enemies threw him and his companion, the Saiyida's secretary, overboard, and spread the news that he was carrying a mission on behalf of the Nizār. The Queen, however, repudiated the charge levelled against him.

In place of Ibn Najīb u'd-daula the Queen then appointed 'Alī, son of 'Abdullāh the Šulaiḥid, as premier.

III

After having dealt so far with the administration of the State under the Queen, and having given some indication of her political qualities, let us now turn to her religious activities. It should be remembered that the Sulaihid power in the Yemen aimed at establishing a hierarchy similar to that existing in Egypt. The Sulaihid hierarchy was based and organized on the same lines as the Fāṭimid hierarchy in Egypt. The administration of State affairs was separate from that of the Da'wat (mission). This dual form of government was carried out by chiefs appointed for special purposes. The Sulaihids enjoyed a full measure of independence of the central government in Egypt, but they always faithfully held themselves responsible to the central organizations over which the Imām had the final word.

The Fāṭimid Imām al-Mustanṣir billah gave both functions, temporal and spiritual, into the charge of the Queen. He also entrusted the mission of India and Sind to her care and leadership. In her turn she appointed the Da'i Lamak, son of Mālik, as the chief of the Church. After the death of Lamak, the office of the Da'i was given to his son Yahya.

The Da'i Idris gives in his book the correspondence of great historical interest that passed between the Sulaihids, particularly the Queen Saiyida of the Yemen on the one side and the Fāṭimids of Egypt on the other. The Fāṭimid al-Āmir billāh, perceiving the chaos and anarchy in his empire, sent state papers and an old tattered handkerchief with his ambassador, Sharif Muḥammad b. Ḥaidarah, to be delivered to the Queen. When the Queen saw the handkerchief tears rolled down her cheeks, for she recognized the secret sign denoting the imminent danger of the collapse of the Fāṭimid Empire and the subsequent disappearance of the Imām from the public gaze. Among the papers there was a letter,* in which the al-Āmir gave the tidings of the birth of Ṭaiyib and the appointment of the new-born child to the Imāmat. In the event of the Imām's concealment, the Queen was ordered to carry on the mission on behalf of the Imām in the Yemen, India, and Sind.

The Queen's fears were only too soon to be justified, for a band of Nizārid conspirators pierced al-Āmir with knives while he was attending a military procession in Cairo, and his son Ṭaiyib was carried away in concealment by the missionaries appointed by al-Āmir. Thus ended the Fāṭimid Khilāfat in Egypt for the followers of Musta'li.

The Queen propagated the mission in the Yemen on behalf of Ṭaiyib, but the Ismā'ili mission which upheld the claims of Musta'li and his sons became defunct in Egypt. The assassination of al-Āmir,

* This letter has been reproduced by 'Umāra (ed. Kay, p. 135) *in toto*, and his version agrees with the version given by Idris.

like the tragedy of Karbalā, gave greater stimulus to the Ismā'ilis in the Yemen to promulgate the creed on behalf of the progeny of al-Āmir. It brought the Period of Publicity (Zuhūr) to its close and ushered in the Period of Concealment (Satar). The Queen Saiyidah separated the functions of the Mission even more rigidly from State affairs. The Mission was thenceforth called the Ṭaiyibi Da'wat (الداعي الطائفي). The Queen appointed the Dā'ī Dhuaib, son of Mūsā 'l-Wādī', to be the first missionary (الدعوة الطيفية) on behalf of the concealed Imām. Thus, for the first time, the Yemen under the Šulaihids, both in the matters of the Church and State, severed its connection, feeble as that connection had been, with the Fātimids of Egypt under 'Abd u'l-Majid.

The story of the events of her reign in the Yemen—her prowess, her statesmanlike measures, her military stratagems and skill, her riches and the magnificence of her court—is of great value to the historian, but her greatest achievement was one which lives even at the present day, and that was the establishment of the Ismā'ili Ṭaiyibi Mission. Being separated from the State, the tenets of this faith were promulgated by her Dā'īs or missionaries, both in her lifetime and after. The chief missionary (who is called the Dā'ī 'l-Muṭlaq) appoints his successor to carry on the work after his death, and generation has succeeded generation right down to our times, so that the esoteric doctrine of this quasi-masonic organization has survived the vicissitudes of time. From the time of Ṭaiyib's concealment till today, it has been held by these believers that one of his descendants will appear sooner or later, for it is considered a matter of cardinal principle that at no time shall the earth be without a spiritual leader (Imām). The existence of the mission and particularly of its literature is to a very large extent due to the foresight and policy of the Queen Saiyidah in separating the functions of the State from those of the Church. In Europe an account of this literature was given for the first time by the Italian scholar Griffini, in the Journal of the German Asiatic Society.*

The glorious reign of the great Queen of Arabia, who had certainly not found her royal position to be a bed of roses, came to an end by her death in Šha'bān 523 A.H. (A.D. 1138), at the advanced age of eighty-three years.† She was buried in a tomb adjoining the Mosque of Dhū Jublā, which was built by herself. Attempts to destroy the sepulchre were made by some of the opponents of the Ismā'ili creed, but the Saiyida's burial-place is still intact and visited by all sects of Islam. Her last testament, the original of which the Dā'ī Idrīs himself read

* *Z.D.M.G.*, Vol. LXIX, p. 80 seq.

† Idrīs, *'Uyūn u'l-Akhbār*, gives 533 A.H. as the date of her death, and is supported by the Testament which is made in 532 A.H. This means that the Saiyidah lived ninety-three years.

and copied down in his book, is a document of high literary and archaeological interest. In it she makes for the last time the declaration of her faith in the Imāmat of the house of the Prophet.

She seems to have shared the love peculiar to her sex of collecting and wearing all kinds of ornaments. The precious jewellery which is enumerated in this testament was, in accordance with her wishes, presented to the Imām Ṭaiyib by Aḥmad, son of Abi'l-Ḥasan iṣ-Ṣulaiḥī.

The Dā'i 'l-Khaṭṭāb, one of her court poets, laments her death in an elegy which begins with :

عليك سلام الله والصلوات ورحمته ماشاء والبركات

"May the salutations of Allāh be upon thee and His Blessings
And His Mercy and His favours as long as He desires."

Although she was ruler over many peoples and a strict administrator of unbending laws and had of necessity to display qualities that betokened inflexibility of purpose, hardness of heart, and severity, yet we can learn from the above story that in her innermost being she was but human, and that she displayed on occasion in those far-off days the same characteristics that are to be seen in her more sophisticated sisters of the Western world of the present day.

* * * * *

MRS. CHARLES CRAUFURD, who had visited the Yemen lately, said she had been most interested in Mr. Hamdani's lecture ; she could well believe that the Yemen had such a powerful woman as ruler, for she had been struck by the charm and intelligence of the women of Sanaa—they could not only read and write, but were able to talk intelligently on the current subjects of the day. The women she had seen on her journey up, the keepers of the coffee houses and the peasants, were unveiled, but the veil was universal in Sanaa. On her arrival at Sanaa, a message was sent to the effect that she was not to go outside the house unless dressed as an Arab ; an objection was raised, and so the Imām compromised by allowing her to wear European dress, with scarf or a veil, but when visiting the Palace she had to wear Arab dress. The veil was black and worn from the forehead.

Mrs. Craufurd then said she would like to press a point here which needed attention : she had often wondered why, when the European nations were doing so much to give medical help to the men, nothing had been done for the women of Southern Arabia.

The Italians and the Russians had hospitals for men in Sanaa, but nothing for the women ; and although we have only recently taken over the Mandate for Palestine, we have already established two women's hospitals in Jerusalem ; yet in the Aden Hinterland, which we have held for nearly a century, we have done nothing more than allow a small grant for a woman doctor in Aden, and that only lately. It would have

been better if we could give a grant for a women's ward to be attached to the Keith Faulkener Mission Hospital, started by Dr. Young, with the woman doctor in attendance. This was brought to her notice by an Arab woman.

She hoped serious attention would be given to this matter, for it was work which needed doing. (Applause.)

A hearty vote of thanks for a most interesting lecture was given at the close of the proceedings.

RECENT CHANGES IN THE OUTLOOK OF WOMEN IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

BY MISS E. N. AIDIN

LECTURE given to the Royal Central Asian Society on July 8, 1931, at the Royal Society's Hall, Mr. C. F. Strickland, C.I.E., in the Chair.

In introducing the Lecturer, the Chairman said that the Society was fortunate in having as a lecturer a lady who was so closely in touch with the development of modern ideas among the women of the East ; a very great change was taking place throughout the whole Eastern world, and for good or for ill, women were awaking to the possibilities opened to them by the spread of education, and were learning from the example set by Turkey to take their stand side by side with men. Miss Aidin's experience lay in Persia, perhaps the most backward of Asiatic countries (with the exception of Afghanistan) to take up new ideas ; but the women of Persia could not fail to be influenced by the complete unveiling of their neighbours to the north in Soviet Asia as well as in Turkey, and the immense importance of their education for the new responsibilities and freedom could not be overestimated. Miss Aidin's eighteen years of experience as headmistress of the C.M.S. school at Isfahan gave her a unique authority.

THE LECTURER : Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am limiting my subject entirely to the Persian women who live in the towns. A large portion of the population are, of course, in the villages, but so far there has been no movement towards liberty in the villages, and their inhabitants do not form any part of the intelligentsia of Persia. The people of whom I speak, the women in the towns, form about a quarter of the population of Persia. They still wear the veil. That is according to Mohammedan regulations, and I will try to speak about those conditions which are peculiar to Persia. All over the East women are opening up, awakening, feeling there is a new life with new possibilities for them ; but in Persia there are various conditions which make it rather different from any other place in the world. First of all Persia, being a tableland and through having no railway system, has been isolated for many hundreds of years. It is perhaps the one large country without railways. Thus it has been quite isolated, and has lived a life quite separate from that of the rest of the world. For thirteen hundred years now the women in all the towns of Persia have been veiled, and their veil is a black robe which envelops the whole person from head to foot. Over the face there is a horse-hair veil, which makes it quite impossible for anyone to see the face of any woman in

the street. According to Persian law this is compulsory; it is not simply customary as in Egypt or India, and incidents have been known of women being stopped in the street by the police because they have been careless about the use of their veil. Thus a gradual change has been impossible in Persia. The women of Persia cannot begin to unveil and go on by degrees, because you cannot gradually alter the law. It is quite impossible for them to unveil until a law is passed permitting them to do so. What is the mentality that has grown up under this long black veil? Until you have got the background against which modern ideas have come, you cannot realize the position today. What does the veil mean for Persian women, and what has it meant for them during all these hundreds of years? It is the badge of inferiority, it is the outward sign that woman in Persia is considered inferior to man. Ten, or even seven years ago, woman in Persia was considered entirely inferior to man. I remember hearing two boys quarrelling in the street, and as I was going by one said to the other, "I cannot believe a word you say; your word is as the word of a woman." In Persia the name frequently given to woman is one meaning that she is weak or intellectually deficient. Even now they are constantly hearing that their word cannot be trusted, and that they are not as clever, intelligent and go-ahead as men. There is a book which is used in my school, a very good book on domestic economy. Everything else in it is extraordinarily good, but there is one sentence that always amuses me. It is where the book is teaching young ladies how they ought to prepare to keep their homes in future. It says, "It should not be necessary for the husband before he goes out to work in the morning to lock the storeroom door, because a good wife does not steal her husband's things." (Laughter.) That it is supposed to be necessary to put that into a school book shows what women in Persia have had to struggle against in their desire for emancipation and freedom. As regards the veil considered as a practical problem, the chief difficulty has been in connection with marriage. A young man wishes to get married, but according to law he has seen no one except his mother and sisters, and, if it is a sufficiently liberal family, his aunts—but some conservative families will not allow aunts into the magic circle! The young man's mother comes along perhaps to my school, makes her enquiries, and goes back with her report; there is a young lady, tall, rather pretty, dark, with curly hair, and so on. The young man thinks that will suit him very well, and the marriage is fixed up, the bride and bridegroom never having a chance of communicating with each other until after the ceremony is performed. In the more conservative circles, even now, as in the olden days, according to proper Eastern custom, a large looking-glass is placed on the floor—the looking-glass is supposed to bring good

luck. The bride and bridegroom sit on the ground, the bride very heavily veiled. The bridegroom puts various trinkets into the bride's hand until she consents to throw back the veil, and he sees her for the first time—in the looking-glass. Sometimes it is a pleasant surprise, sometimes it is a terrible shock. Such things are unthinkable today, and get more and more impossible. Girls and women begin writing to the papers about it. Girls reading books, reading English and French novels, have to submit to this sort of thing, and it is unthinkable that it should continue much longer. Thus we see Persia at the moment of crisis, and the question is, which way is she going to turn? How far will women be able to live the double life with which they are confronted? There are one or two rather interesting things in connection with the veil. For instance, the veil has got its uses as well as abuses. It is, we feel, a terrible thing that a young girl should marry a man that she has never seen before, and that they should be bound for life, but at the same time you must remember that the veil has been a very great protection to a woman. Strange though it may sound, the Persian woman seems to have no inferiority complex, although naturally one would expect to find it very strongly developed. She has been told during thirteen hundred years that she is inferior, yet dealing with the Persian woman one of the things one notices most strongly is that there is no inferiority complex. Perhaps the veil is an explanation of this. When things get too strained and life is intolerable in her own quarters, the lady puts away her beautiful silken veil, replaces it with an old and common one, and goes into the streets. In this dress no one, not even her dearest friend, or husband, or daughter, would recognize her. She has a day on her own, quite free. No one can speak to her, no man dare address her in the street as long as she keeps the veil down. In the bazaar she buys, talks—everything with the veil down—and she goes back in the evening. This ability to throw off all constraint, to go off, do exactly as she likes and come back in the evening, seems to me one of the things that has preserved woman's equilibrium: it has preserved her nerves and her freedom from any feeling of inferiority. In justice to Persian womanhood, I should say this freedom is not often misused. It is an opportunity for her quite freely to misbehave and no one ever trace it to her. But the Persian women do not; their morality is very high indeed. There is immorality, but on the whole advantage is not taken of the veil, which would so easily become a cloak for all kinds of wickedness. There is another thing which should be taken into account when considering the attitude of Persian women to freedom, and that is that there are no unmarried single women, no superfluous women as they are sometimes called. Every woman is married in Persia, every woman knows that however many offers of marriage she turns down she will have more: there is never a time

when she begins to worry and think that perhaps she is left on the shelf. There is no fear; whenever she chooses to get married she can easily do so. This also creates a different mentality. When thinking of the new woman movement of which I am going to speak in a minute, we must bear in mind these things: (1) that the veil, besides being a badge of inferiority, has also given the woman a certain amount of freedom, which on the whole she has not abused; (2) the fact that there are no women who wish to get married and are not able to do so. That problem does not exist in Persia, and those two things seem to me to have a very striking effect on the feminist movement as we see it developed today in Persia. I do not think I am mistaken when I say that the Suffragette and similar movements in England were very largely sponsored by unmarried women who had time and energy, and who were able to throw their full time and energy into these things; but in Persia these people do not exist. For good or for ill there is a difference in the Woman's Movement as it is developed in Persia compared with that in England or any other European country. Well, that gives something of the picture of what Persian women have had in the past. What about the present?

What about it now? We who have lived in Persia for many years have taken it for granted that Persia is a great stronghold of conservatism, that the law of the Medes and Persians alters not, that although the world may change Persia never will. There was a little story I read in a Persian magazine. It told how God revisited the earth He had made. In France, England, America, everything had changed so that He said, "This is not the world I made." But when He came to Persia He said, "It is the very same as I left it"—meaning that Persia is the same as on the day of creation. But another Persian story illustrates that a change has taken place. It tells of a Persian man in the bazaar carrying a parcel under his arm, but a friend stopped him and said, "I want to speak to you." He replied, "I cannot wait now." "You cannot wait; what is the matter?" "I have bought my wife a new dress." "What of that?" asked the friend. "Cannot you wait to speak to me?" "No," was the reply, "I am afraid if I wait it will be out of fashion before I get home." It is an adaptation of an old story, but it shows how, instead of the law of the Medes and Persians not altering, things are altering very rapidly in Persia. What are the chief factors which have made for change in this most conservative of all conservative countries? First of all the change of government. Many years ago there was a young man engaged in very ordinary work who determined to change the course of things for his nation. He enlisted in the army as a private. I do not know how he got his commission, but step by step he rose up the ladder until we began to hear of a certain general who was doing great feats on the northern

frontier against the rebellious tribes. The general became Minister of War, then Prime Minister, and in 1926 the Prime Minister became Shah of Shahs in Iran, King of Kings in Persia. People were not lacking to tell us how this was the final ruin of Persia, that with the overthrowing of the old dynasty and an adventurer coming to the throne there was no more hope for Persia. But he has abundantly proved how entirely untrue all those prophecies were; and how absolutely fitted he is for the post which he has got by his own fearlessness and personality. Persia today, as never before, has got a chance of taking her place among the countries of the world. I cannot wait now to tell you the many stories of his justice, his impartiality, his fearlessness, his love of the common people, his realization of wherein the difficulty of his nation lay. He is a man of most exceptional character in every way. It is most extraordinary the emphasis he has laid on the very points which really are the chief needs of his nation. I think we may say that the regeneration of Persia started from the day when he became Shah. The *second* great factor in the opening up of Persia and the bringing of new ideas to Persia was of course the motor-car. As I have said, for hundreds of years there was no possibility of connection or communication with the outside world, and then came the motor-car. First was the Ford, because no other car could attempt the roads. It went rattling over main roads, bringing in its train gramophones, cinemas, silk stockings, high-heeled shoes, and everything else of the modern world, and spreading them broadcast in villages where they had never been seen. The cinema would be set up and bring a new world into the villagers' mind. New ideas began to spring from the cinema, from the gramophone, and of course from the motor-car. Then there is a third factor, which is education. The Shah has thrown a tremendous amount of his personal interest into the education of the young, especially girls. It seems rather strange that a man who has himself had no opportunity of a higher education should realize that what is needed for the country today is higher education, especially education for girls. It is no mean achievement to be able to say how in the last seven years the number of schools has risen. In 1922 there were 612 boys' and girls' schools in the whole of Persia—remember that Persia has a population of between ten and twelve million—and in seven years' time the number of schools has reached 3,300. Well, that is a tremendous thing. The number of pupils has trebled in the schools; that, again, is extraordinary. The money spent has more than doubled: in 1924 it was about 760,000 tomans, and in 1929, the latest date for which I can produce any statistics, it was over 1,800,000 tomans. Money is being spent lavishly, and very largely for girls' education: the percentage spent on girls' education has increased far more than that on boys. In the capital,

Tehran, there is one girl for every two boys in school, whereas for thirteen hundred years practically no women have been going to school. Ispahan is very backward; there is one girl for every five or six boys going to schools; but Shiraz is well ahead of this. The Bakhtiaris are making a great push for education and opening a great number of schools. Down near Khuzistan the Anglo-Persian Oil Company is opening a great number of schools, which are tremendously appreciated. All over the country what Persia seems to need is not electric light and cinemas but education. Money is very scarce in Persia, but they are willing to give a very large amount of their finance to the running of schools. This is very remarkable. So we see among the chief factors bringing about a change in Persia are the Shah himself, easier communication with the coast and the world, and the emphasis which is being laid on education. Between the old and the new there is bound to be a clash. Would you picture my school for a minute when we are getting ready for dismissal? All the girls are there with bobbed hair, dressed in neat gym. tunics, brown stockings and gym. shoes. The order is given and everyone envelops herself in a black veil. I go round making such remarks as, "Cover your face," or "Your dress is showing." This is before going into the street. For none but the least desirable of the Persian population are careless about veiling. These same girls in school delight in basket-ball, running and playing. They ask, "Why should we be less than men?" They read papers, have debates, and prove up to the hilt what wonderful things they will do. Then they go home and the younger brother comes in. They stand up and say, "Shall I get your cup of tea, sir?" But in the school the talk centres on women's progress. As I was crossing the playground I was asked, "Miss Aidin, have you heard the great news? Margaret Bondfield is in the Cabinet. Our turn next!" They are heavily veiled, but are dreaming of the day when they will be Cabinet Ministers—there is no harm in youthful dreams. I can imagine the tremendous enthusiasm when Amy Johnson flew across to Australia, though I was not in Persia at the time. I tell you these things to show how carefully they are following the course of things in the West. At one time the girls in my school were married at about twelve years of age, but now there is a demand for higher education: they remain until sixteen or seventeen, and it is a very sad day when the day of engagement comes along. I had a letter from a Persian woman a few days ago telling about a woman, one of my pupils, married, and shortly afterwards turned out of the house and divorced. She wrote, "God has allowed two great blessings for Persian women—one is divorce and the other is death." It is sad to think of the number of lives that must be sacrificed before the rebirth of the new nation can become possible. They are very good at acting, and we were going to have a little play for school-leaving day.

The girls came to me and said: "We have the exact play we want to give; it is a magnificent thing." I said: "How good! What is the moral of the play?" They told me, and it was not exactly the moral one wants to bring home to the children. "Don't believe anything they tell you about him before marriage; it is all lies!" I suggested something different, and we ended by acting Tennyson's "Lady Clare." We had three scenes showing that there is such a thing as faithfulness in love and marriage, such a thing as ideal marriage. In school you see how the clash is coming, not in my school alone but in all schools. A very sweet girl finished her education in my school and became a pupil-teacher. One morning I got a note, "Will you please write to So-and-so who works in the bank and ask him to come and see you this morning?" I asked the little brother who brought the letter what it was all about, and he told me the engagement was fixed up for the next night, and she had never seen him, and wanted me to see him and tell her what he was like. I wrote and asked the young man to come, and he came. He was a Bahai, had lived in England two years, and was extraordinarily intelligent and progressive. What he wanted to know was whether she would respond to modern ideas of freedom. I wrote back to the girl that so far as I could judge from a twenty minutes' conversation she was a lucky girl. They were married and were happy. Afterwards I asked her, "Supposing he had not been what you wished, what would you have done?" She replied, "I was going to wait until they dressed me up in my wedding finery and then have an hysterical fit, tearing my clothes and banging my head on the floor. By the time they had brought a doctor and he had given me an injection of morphia I should have ruined the clothes. They could not possibly send me to my new home like that, and before the preparations were again complete I should have time to think out another plan."

What is the Woman's Emancipation Movement doing? Strictly speaking, there is no organized Woman's Emancipation Movement, though there is much unorganized effort. In a discussion in my school on the discarding of the veil the great majority of the girls voted against discarding the veil, although they had spoken in favour of it when it came to their turn to speak. They voted against it because, when they got out of the school, it would have annoyed their fathers and brothers if it got about that they had voted against the veil. They could talk, but nothing more. Ten years ago a very courageous woman started a newspaper in Ispahan, and bravely carried it on in the face of tremendous opposition. She is one of the leading women in the feminist movement, one of the few women who have been able to carry right through. She is an extraordinary character, very forcible, and realizes the need of co-ordination in the Woman's Movement. She works through the Press largely. There are the new songs, one very popular,

which is sung on the gramophone, written from the woman's point of view: "Thou hast gone, thou hast broken thy faith with me. Even if thou hast married another, why hast thou forgotten me?" The song is popular, although it is written from the woman's point of view and indicates something of the position that women are trying to get. There have been a few demonstrations in Tehran. For instance, the daughter of Taymour Tash has spoken in public at her graduation in the American Girls' College. There is a society in Tehran in which the condition of membership is that man and wife must join together, and the man allows his wife to unveil in the club. They keep very quiet about it because they are subject to scandal, but it is doing good work quietly. There was an incident which is not widely known, but I have it on what I believe to be good authority. When the Shah was returning from his summer seat thirty-five women decided to petition him to allow them to discard the veil. They dressed all alike in white clothes, with black cuffs, black on the neck and at the waist. The group divided into two parts, half in a shop on one side of the road and half in another shop on the other side of the road. They were all women of high class. Persuaded by some man to at least wear a veil over their hats, so that they would not technically break the rule, they were going to walk out from either side and kneel before the motor-car. They had a petition ready to present to His Majesty asking him to allow them to throw back the black veil off their faces and go free. It would have put the Shah in an extraordinarily difficult position. They waited many hours until they heard he had gone by a side road to his palace, and so the demonstration missed fire. But afterwards he sent a very kind note asking them to send the petition, and when he got the petition he wrote back saying how heartily he sympathized with their aspirations for freedom, and that as soon as possible he would be the first one to help; but in view of events in Afghanistan he did not think it desirable at the moment. With that I agree. Will it not be tragic for Persia if the fusion of East and West is going to mean loss instead of gain? because that is what the danger is at the moment. When you talk to many women they say, "We want to discard the veil and be free to do what we like." What we are trying to urge in school is the value of freedom for service for others. The idea of freedom not for self but for service is what we want to get hold of. As long as it is freedom for self there is nothing but ruin and misery ahead of us, and for that ruin and misery, if it comes, Europe will be largely responsible. Persia has come into contact with the West, and how are they to keep in the straight path that freedom will require? Undoubtedly they are not ready. The only thing which can prepare for the future is education, and I am firmly convinced that nothing but Christian education can prepare

them. If we give them education without religion what hope is there for the future? What motive power is there to keep them in the extraordinarily difficult circumstances along the right line? You know I am in a Mission School, and I think that if we do not give the very best that we have we are letting Persia down badly. If we sincerely believe that the best things we have in England are motor-cars, gramophones and cinemas, we have given our best. But if we believe that the best we have got is our most Holy Faith, until we pass that on to Persia we have no right to tamper with the soul of a nation, giving them material comforts and material things, everything that they can need for material advance, but withholding what we believe to be the greatest of all spiritual values on which the British Empire is built up. It is not built up on material things, and we know that it is not material things which count. We know that it is moral values and spiritual values in which the greatness of a thing consists. (Applause.) The danger is that Persia is going to take over the material things that we have got—our electric light, gramophones, cinemas and everything else—and to think that that is all we have to give. Persia is at the moment asking us to give her of our best. The West has given much, but we cannot rest satisfied until we feel assured that we have given the chance of the same things as we have had the chance of, the highest and best education we can give, the education based on Christian character. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have been very much interested in hearing what Miss Aidin has had to say. She has very wisely stuck to the considerable group of urban women in Persia whom she knows. Three things occur to me about it. Firstly, one must remember, when talking of Persia and the advance of women there, that Persia is not isolated in Asia. The whole of Asia is moving forward, and the inevitable reaction of one country on another is, I think, a danger if any country tries to go too fast. Recently, somewhere in the north of India, there was an all-Asiatic conference at which there were women from China, Japan, and the Malay regions; but I think Persia was not represented. Whether or no such a conference be a wise effort at the present state of affairs, it is at all events an important thing of which European countries as well as Asiatic have to take account. Secondly, there is the point of view of the men. Miss Aidin said something of that, but I should like to ask her more about it. Speaking, not as a man, but as a citizen of the world, I am anxious to know what the Persian men themselves think about it. Miss Aidin quoted one instance in which a Persian wanted an intelligent wife. In other countries—in China, from what I have heard, and certainly in India—one knows that the demand from educated young men is that they shall have wives who will not be

merely squaws. Not all take that view. I remember when an educated Indian woman was trying to organize the wives of a number of middle-class men in a certain town by self-improvement meetings, one man said, "If my wife becomes more intelligent, and is educated, she will cost me more. She will make more demands." So not everybody takes the enlightened view. We should begin young rather than take the women when they are thirty or forty years old. At that time the change is rather a shock—in fact, it must be rather a shock even at the early age. With reference to the play that Miss Aidin said the girls wanted to show at school, I thought the one she was going to suggest was the "Five Pound Look," which suggests that employment may be an alternative to divorce. The attitude of woman towards man undoubtedly does change. I remember an Indian minister—I mean one of the ministers of the reformed Indian constitution—being denied admission to a women's club because his wife had not thrown off the veil. It was a joint club of women who had thrown off the veil, and the husbands of such women. His wife was not willing to do so. She said, "Marry a second wife who will"; but he would not do that. The third point I wanted to make is that in some countries—China, I think, is the outstanding instance—educated women often adopt two points of view which perhaps are not desirable. One is that they become materialist. They take from the West what the West has to offer at first sight, and do not go deep. Whether eventually as Moslem countries advance there is any considerable prospect of the spread of Christianity amongst them is perhaps doubtful. It has not hitherto been the case in any Moslem country that Christianity has made great advances, but a Christian spirit can be introduced by the very best Christian people. The second point connected with the emancipation of women is one to which Miss Aidin did not refer. Chinese and some Indian women are profoundly nationalist, extremists, and opposed to other races—not necessarily only to the English or Europeans. There is a tendency in all countries, not only in Asia but in Europe as well, for women to be more extreme in their political views than men. It may be because they mix less with people of other classes and races. Has it happened in Persia as it has in India and China? There are several people present who have knowledge of the women's movement elsewhere, and we should very much like to hear what they have to say.

Mme. RIEDER: May I make a few remarks also? Judging from what our Chairman has said, this movement in Asia of the women is really something extending over a great many frontiers, and as one watches the women's movement around the world it is very amazing to see how little some people—for instance, in Geneva—seem to have been aware of it. We drew a *cordon sanitaire* to keep out cholera when

Russia and Poland were a danger, but you cannot draw a *cordon sanitaire* to keep out ideas. Ideas get through the mesh or over it.

The programme of these women at the Asiatic Conference reads like that of one of our International Congresses—such as that in Berlin two years ago, or the next one to take place in Athens next year. All of these Eastern women speak of the question of divorce, and consequently of the question of prostitution and of equal rights. It is all very far in advance of what can be accomplished, but reform is coming, and coming through the joining of hands by all the women round the world.

I noticed in Mexico last year that the women there were intensely interested to hear of these things. Amy Johnson's great flight had just occurred then, and had drawn attention to what a woman can do.

A Mexican asked me: "How can a woman be a Member of Parliament like Lady Astor, with a husband and family and all that it implies?" I said: "Some people do it, but of course it can only be done by a very capable woman, and if married to a husband who agrees thoroughly with her ambitions."

As to education in the East, what is really as much needed as women's education is that the great bulk of the men, who are so very slow to see it, should realize that they need a clearer understanding of the value of intelligent women. I shall not forget a Persian lady coming from Tehran to Baghdad and then taking the rough motor drive across the desert to Beirut. In order not to get jolted and bruised when crossing the desert one finds it wiser to sit tightly packed together. Her veil was discarded; and the distinguished lady sat securely firm in her seat between another traveller and a British officer of goodly size. Much is learned by the women of the East on such adventurous journeys.

I know Persia, and have watched the Turkish Woman Movement from the Young Turk days. The Persian representatives have among them remarkable men, and the most encouraging thing that the new Shah has really authorized is the sending out of about fourteen young Persian women to Europe and elsewhere that they may study. We have one of them in England. Instead of entering into professions they must begin to learn child-welfare work and nursing, so that they can teach these things on their return, and make a very different home for the Persian man.

In the early pre-War days in Turkey, when our Suffragette women in England were doing some extraordinary things, I was much among the women in Turkey, who asked, "What do these English women want? They go into the market-place alone, and lead their men around by the nose." However, I saw that they understood it later, after the War, when I was there in 1925. Nationalist Clubs—the Turk Ojaks—were full of men and women talking of political affairs.

This Nationalism grew fast, and women's freedom grew with it, aided by Mustapha Kemal Pasha, who introduced the woman's vote with his reforms.

I think that the women's movement in the East is something that is well on its way. We always welcome our Asian sisters' progress with the greatest affection and hope.

Dr. ALICE PENNELL (Miss A. Sorabji) said: I was at the All-Asian Conference referred to by the Chairman, to which women came from different parts of India, as well as from Burma, Ceylon and Japan. We did not have a Chinese delegate, and Persia and Afghanistan were represented by women belonging to those countries, but at the time living in India. It was interesting to note the different subjects that occupied the attention of the women of different countries, and to see at what stages they were in the development of their problems.

The women of India were all at one in their desire for a curriculum for girls different from that for boys. The boys and girls were given the same curriculum when the English system of education was first introduced into our country. For the last few years the women of India have themselves been working to have an absolutely different curriculum for girls. We hope to start a training college in Delhi very shortly, to put our new ideas to an experimental test. The new ideas are probably very old ideas in reality, for we want our girls to know the things that will fit them to be good wives and good mothers, and good home-makers.

One speaker said that in Iraq they hope shortly to have the same curriculum for girls as the boys have. We in India have gone a step further, and whereas till now we have had the same, we are changing that.

You will be interested to know that at our Conference we had Moslems and Hindus, Parsis, Buddhists, Christians and Jews. We were quite at one about a great many points—certainly as to whether we should go fast or slowly; and about the purdah or veil, we women of India who met at this Conference, and at similar meetings, are all decided that the veil must go in our country. In North India the veil or *burqa* is not the small thing worn in Egypt and lately discarded in Turkey, but it is an enveloping garment that covers the woman from head to foot, and we find it is a factor in helping to promote certain diseases we are trying to stamp out, such as tuberculosis, etc. It is a very insanitary affair with us, and we feel it must go.

At this Conference we had women representing the different parts of our very complex country, women with different backgrounds and civilizations, customs and traditions.

When we were talking of the rights of women, and their disabilities in certain domestic relations, a lady from Malabar said she

could not think what rights we other women in India had to fight for; in her part of the country women had rights that no women had even in Europe. The man went to the woman's home on marriage, she was the head of the family, succession was through the female line. If a woman wished to divorce her husband in Malabar all she had to do was to put a pair of shoes crossed at the door and he could not enter her house again. (Laughter and applause.)

The LECTURER: I am very sorry but I can tell you nothing about the position in Turkey. I shall be going there next week to try to study the movement as much as I can, but so far I know nothing of the situation. In connection with the second point I would like to state that it seems to me the changes are coming anyway. It is not exactly that the Christian missions are trying to break down one standard and put up another, but the old standard appears to us crumbling and nothing is being put in its place. Personally I feel that one has got to give the best and highest one knows in morality and everything else. In education one can only go on one's own personal experience as to what has helped one most to do right. There is no use in trying to destroy. Anything destructive I admit is harmful, and everything constructive seems to me of value.

A most interesting speaker gave the point of view of the Moslem ladies; they were content with the veil as a sign of care and respect, and it was the economic position more than anything else that had forced women to unveil and take up work. The same forces were operating now as had brought about the universal higher education of women in Europe a century ago.

After some further discussion the CHAIRMAN thanked the lecturer for her most stimulating lecture and the ladies who had taken part in the discussion. He hoped Miss Aidin would speak again on this vastly important matter when she next came to England. (Applause.)

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE Anniversary Meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society was held at the Royal Society's Hall on Wednesday, June 10, at 4.15. The Right Hon. Lord Lloyd, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., was in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN called upon the HON. SECRETARY to read the Report for 1930.

HON. SECRETARY: The Thirtieth Anniversary Meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society has been called in accordance with Rule 35 to consider the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year.

The first and most important point to which I must call your attention is that His Most Gracious Majesty the King has been pleased to command that this Society shall in future be known as the Royal Central Asian Society. Sensible of the greater dignity and importance which this title gives us, the Council are anxious to mark the occasion by increasing the membership to 2,000, and thus to enlarge the influence and scope of the Society.

The Council hope that every present member of the Society will co-operate by obtaining one or more persons to join.

Ten years ago our numbers were about 200, now they are 1,453.

During the last year I have to report the loss of 48 members by resignation and 25 by death, but we have received 200 new members, so that our membership is steadily increasing.

Amongst those who have died I regret to record the loss of Lord Thomson, the late Minister for Air, and our last anniversary lecturer, Sir Sefton Brancker, late Director of Civil Aviation. The tragic circumstances of their death is known to all.

General Sir Raleigh Egerton, who died recently, was not only Hon. Secretary, but for many years was on the Council, and was Hon. Librarian at the time of his death.

The Council also regret to report the following deaths:

Lady Bax-Ironside; Lord Birkenhead; Sir Frederick Black; Mr. Cecil Crawley, C.B.E.; Mr. Wilfrid Mathieson; Lord Melchett; Captain McClenaghan, 10/8 Punjab Regiment (who was shot on parade); Mr. Roland Michell; Colonel H. T. Morshead, D.S.O.; Mr. Cecil Richardson; Mr. F. M. Rundall; Mr. B. Lenox Simpson (better known as

Putnam Weale); Colonel H. T. Solomon; Lady Sykes; Sir Richard Temple, C.B.; Dr. Emil Trinkler, the Central Asian geographer; and Mr. P. B. Vander Byl.

A glance at the list will show the greatness of the loss to the Society.

With regard to the election of Council, I have the following proposals to put before you for your consideration and—sanction: Elections to Council. The Chairman of Council. The Right Hon. Lord Lloyd, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., has consented to accept the chairmanship for 1931-32.

It has been considered advisable to appoint a Vice-Chairman, which will entail an addition to Rules 11, 16, and 31.

THE CHAIRMAN put the slight alteration to the vote of the members; passed *nem. con.*

HON. SECRETARY: Rule 16 will now read: "There shall be a Council consisting of honorary officers and eight other members of the Society."

This alteration was put to the vote by the CHAIRMAN and passed.

HON. SECRETARY: The Council propose Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond as Vice-Chairman. The Council have nominated Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold Wilson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., and Colonel F. E. Fremantle, T.D., O.B.E., M.P., to be Vice-Presidents in the places of Sir Herbert Richmond and Lieut.-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, who retire in accordance with Rule 16.

THE CHAIRMAN then asked Colonel Stevens to read the accounts for the past year.

THE CHAIRMAN then asked Sir William Beynon to propose the following for election: As Hon. Librarian, Colonel J. K. Tod, C.M.G.; as members of Council, Sir Nigel Davidson, C.B.E., Mr. Bertram Thomas, O.B.E.

Air Vice-Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham had been co-opted to the Council in the place of Sir John Higgins, and his name was brought forward for sanction.

THE CHAIRMAN, in putting forward the names for election, said how very fortunate the Council were in securing Colonel Tod as Hon. Librarian, and Air Vice-Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham and Sir Nigel Davidson for the Council. There was no need to say more of Mr. Bertram Thomas, who would be a great ornament to the ranks. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN then gave a review of the work done during the past year:

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think that we can report that this session of the Royal Central Asian Society has, on the whole, been a good one. I am sure you are all glad to learn that, as Sir William Beynon has already told you, His Majesty the King has graciously

commanded this Society shall in future be known as the Royal Central Asian Society, and we are now recognized amongst the royal societies of the country.

We are very glad of the opportunity of having Sir Herbert Richmond as Vice-Chairman, and I think the Society is very much to be congratulated. As Chairman I shall give him as much work as I can.

We are very sorry to lose Sir Claud Jacob. He is very busy, and cannot find time to attend Council Meetings. We shall be very well served by Sir Herbert Richmond and others, and I think you may feel confident that the work of the Society will be capably carried on.

We have had some interesting lectures during the past year. May I just remind you of some of them:

India: Sir Akbar Hydari on "The Position of the Indian States in the New Constitution." Sir Reginald Craddock on "Indian Reform and Asia." "The North-West Frontier Province," by Mr. J. Coatman.

Turkey: "The Caravan Road from Persia to Turkey," by Mr. Michal Vyvyan. "Impressions of Modern Turkey," by Mr. D. Talbot Rice.

Persia: "Changes and Development during the Pahlevi Régime," by Mr. D. Bourke-Borrowes. "British and Russian Relations with Modern Persia," by Rosita Forbes. "Persian Painting," by Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson. "Glimpses of Persian History through Twenty-five Centuries," by Miss Ella Sykes.

Arabia: "The Folk-lore of 'Iraq,'" by Mrs. E. S. Stevens. "From Damascus to Hail," by Mr. Eldon Rutter. "The First Crossing of the Rub' al Khali," by Mr. Bertram Thomas. "The Life and Times of Queen Sulaihid of the Yemen," by Mr. A. F. al Hamdani. The Arab and Jewish views of the recent Commission in Palestine were given by Mrs. Lindfield Soane and Mr. Leonard Stein.

China: "Weihaiwei," by Sir Reginald Johnston. "The Demone-tization of Silver," by Mr. A. F. Algie. "What the Surrender of Extraterritoriality will Mean," by Sir Harry Fox. "Chinese Personalities," by the Hon. W. W. Astor.

A lecture on the Mandates by Mr. Norman Bentwich, while today Admiral Sir Richard Webb is lecturing on "The Problem of the Straits."

On the whole, although I have not always attended, I think that this is a very representative list of lectures, and as good as we could have. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing thanks to reviewers as well as lecturers. Their excellent work has helped to make our Journal so authoritative. While we would thank members for their help, there have been many non-members who have helped us. I should like to mention especially Professor Soothill, Professor Coatman of the London School of Economics, and Professor MacNair of Columbia University.

The Hon. Secretary reported that our membership has increased by 200 this year. But this does not give a fair picture. We lost 48 members by resignation, and that is a great number, and to our great regret we have had 25 deaths. As against these we have had 200 new members. It does not represent a full 200, in fact barely over the hundred. It shows how urgent is the need of new members if in these times the Society is to keep up its financial and numerical strength.

I think that is all I have to say, except to express the thanks of the Society to Colonel Stevens and Sir William Beynon for their work during the past years, and not only to them but to all the officers, and lastly to the staff, we tender our most hearty thanks today. (Applause.)

ANNUAL DINNER

THE Annual Dinner of the Royal Central Asian Society was held at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, London, W., on Thursday, July 16, 1931, the President of the Society, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., in the Chair, and Sir John Simon, G.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., O.B.E., K.C., M.P., being the guest.

The Rt. Hon. Sir JOHN SIMON said: I rise, Mr. Chairman, at your bidding, at an hour of the clock and in a costume which indicates that this is a crowded night to propose the toast allotted to me—that of “The Royal Central Asian Society.” During the thirty years of life of the Society this toast has been constantly proposed, but this is the first occasion, as I am informed, when it has been proposed under this name, for it is only within the last twelve months that authority has been graciously accorded for the Central Asian Society to call itself the *Royal Central Asian Society*. (Applause.) Exactly where Central Asia begins and where it ends I shall not attempt to define, for, examining the current number of the *Transactions of the Society*, I notice that your range of interest has been from the Troad and the Sea of Marmora to the monetary arrangements in the Treaty ports of China, so that it seems to be one of the cases where the centre of the circle almost reaches the circumference. I think it was a now forgotten author, Mr. Euclid, who postulated that a circle could always be described round any centre and at any distance from that centre, and the very eminent mathematical don at Oxford, who is better known as Lewis Carroll, improved upon that postulate by demanding that it should further be granted that any controversy could be raised upon any subject at any distance from that subject. (Laughter.) The Royal Central Asian Society takes the whole of Asia as its province.

Now, my lords and gentlemen, in the few minutes which I am allowed to occupy I should like to observe that, as it seems to me, the special interest and study for the sake of which the members of this Society are associated together is entering upon a new and a very interesting stage. The association of Britain with the East is one of the great romantic facts of history, but it has passed through various phases. Beginning as a matter of exploration and adventure, and passing to the stage of trade and commerce, we have seen, step by step, yet new associations between Britain and the East—the period, for example, in which Britain provided the counsellors and advisers of great nations in the Far East; the period when Britain's great contribution, greatest of all perhaps, was in the realm of administration. And now, applying

such small knowledge as I have of one quarter of this vast Asian problem, it appears to me that the subject which this Society exists to study is taking on yet a new aspect, and that we are rapidly approaching a time when one of the contributions and contacts between Britain and the East is a thing no less surprising than this: that the East itself is attempting to adopt and reproduce various portions of the British Constitution. The introduction into an Oriental country, with a long history of autocracy, of methods of self-government which have been evolved here during centuries of experiment by a Western nation for its own condition and its own people, that attempt, that aspiration, that effort, must always be a momentous and even a hazardous enterprise; but wherever it honestly occurs, in India or elsewhere, it is one which should be studied by all Britons who are friends of the East with sympathy and with understanding. (Hear, hear.)

In considering this new constitutional problem there is one special difficulty. I never have seen on this subject any ground for economy of frankness, and it is much better to state boldly and plainly the truth. The difficulty is not removed, indeed I think the difficulty is intensified and aggravated, by an assumption which is almost invariably made, an assumption which is common both to constitutional reformers in the East, and to those who sympathize with them in our own land—to apply it to a particular case, an assumption which is common both to India and to Britain—the assumption that the only form of constitutional progress which is worthy to be considered is a form which follows strictly British lines. It is quite natural this assumption should be made. So far as our own people are concerned, it is our British constitutional method and structure which is the only one we really understand—if, indeed, we understand that. And as regards constitutional reformers in India and elsewhere in Asia, the truth is that it is only the British model of which the Indian constitutional student learns anything in the textbooks which he studies. The result is that we tend, all of us, both on the British side and on the Indian side, to treat British constitutional methods and forms as the only model, whereas, in fact, they are only one species, and a very curious species at that, of a very much wider genus. The British Parliamentary method, if you try to apply it to India, can only be applied in a translation, and the very best of translations has an unhappy tendency of losing something of the spirit of the original. To put the thing in another way, British constitutionalism sought to be applied to Oriental conditions involves an operation of transplanting—transplanting a form of government native to British soil, and that is a very delicate operation indeed. The only chance of its success would be if the new institutions were given plenty of time to take root and to develop along their own line.

My point is—and I think it is proper to mention it at a meeting of students of Oriental life and progress—that the British Constitution ought not to be treated as a sort of panacea which is sure to produce the right cure in all places for all people in all circumstances and at all times. We here, adopting the usual British tradition of speaking slightly of our most precious possession, may as well admit that the British Constitution is not a perfect work of art at all. At any rate, it is a living organism which changes, and has changed, with the times, and, as we can see without going to the Far East, many countries have tried in some written document to reproduce our British institutions, and sometimes they have produced a thing which is very unlike the model which was supposed to be followed. In other words, a mode of Government in any country, East or West, must be the expression of the political instincts of the people concerned (applause), and it is an enormous assumption to make, as all who have studied this aspect of the Orient realize, that the species of government, self-government, responsible government, if you will, which has grown up through the centuries with us will turn out to be the model and exemplar even for the most progressive peoples of the East.

Let me point out two very special things. Our British Parliamentary system is what it is very largely because of our party organization, if indeed, Mr. Chairman, I at this moment am at liberty to speak of party organization. And again, our system is one in which a Government is liable to be brought to an end at any moment by the vote of the legislature, and to some of us it is extremely surprising for what a very long time some Governments go on living! But these two features, though they are undoubtedly features of our Constitution, are not a necessary part of the idea of more responsible government or of self-government. In our case this form of evolution is very largely due to the fact that Britain is a small country; that Members of Parliament are very closely in contact with the constituencies which they are supposed to represent; that if they do not truly represent them they will hear about it very quickly, and these things which are possible with us are really only possible because of the special conditions of our political life. And it very largely turns on another thing which has a most direct bearing upon this problem in the Far East; it turns upon this: that in Britain political minorities are prepared to trust themselves to political majorities—partly because even the most hopeless of minorities dreams that it will be a majority some day! Partly, again, because there is an immense amount of moderation even in the most extreme of our people, and partly because of the fundamental agreement of all British parties and all sorts of British people on a great many matters of common consent.

Now, unless you can reproduce those features in India it is a very

dangerous thing to set to work to dig up the British Constitution and try to transplant it, without alteration, elsewhere. Since so many people are good enough to say they have read the Statutory Commission's Report, though possibly they do not always put it under their pillows at night, I have ventured to extract one sentence from the unanimous Report of the Statutory Commission on the future of Indian government which I think puts this thought tersely and clearly. We wrote: "It seems to us most unlikely that, if Britain had been of the size of India, if communal and religious divisions so largely governed its politics" as they govern Indian politics, "and if minorities had had as little confidence in the rule of others as they have in India, popular government in Britain would have taken the form that it has." Therefore the reflection, and the only reflection that I seek to dwell upon before I ask you to drink the toast is this: do not let us, however much we desire, as we do desire all of us, to help these great Oriental peoples along the road to constitutional progress, do not let us join in promoting the delusion that the British model is the only form of responsible government. It is possible to conceive of various methods whereby the executive, for example, might become effectively answerable to public opinion, and I am quite clear about this—that any acceptable system for the East, any acceptable system for India, must make definite provision for minorities in the actual structure of the Constitution itself, and in a way which is extremely difficult to reconcile with majority rule as we understand it. (Applause.)

And that leads me to this, which is a cognate point, though an extension of what I have endeavoured to say. The real reason why what is called the Federal solution holds the field in reference to the future of Indian government if it is ever to advance along the Constitutional path is this: it is because a Federal basis is absolutely necessary when you are dealing with a country so large and so varied as India, so that ultimate union can only be attained by allowing the utmost diversity in the various constitutional elements. Whether the Statutory Commission was unduly cautious in thinking that such a solution could only be reached by degrees, or whether some other people are unduly sanguine when they almost speak as though it was already within reach, is a matter which can be discussed on another occasion. But whether it come soon or whether it come late, that is a fundamental reason, as it seems to me, why the future development of Indian Government in the direction of responsibility must take a Federal form.

And let me say in conclusion that one of the great services which Britain has been able to render to Indian political thought is to help India to face the facts, and if we do not help India to face the facts it is we who are false to the trust which we ought to discharge. What I am saying is not a denial of the aspirations of the Indian peoples. It

is only a recognition of the necessity of taking long views. If delay were to arise, it will not arise because Britain has desired it. If delay arises it arises from the nature of the problem to be solved, and that, as I think, is not in the least denying or opposing all that is legitimate and genuine in the great Indian National movement, for Federalism is a form of Nationalism, and I am convinced that in the long run it is the form which must be taken in India—India in the larger sense of All India—if indeed that immense continent, with its 350,000,000 people of so many creeds, languages and races, is going to have a peaceful and progressive future.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have the good fortune to be authorized to associate the toast of "The Royal Central Asian Society" with Sir Arnold Wilson. (Applause.) If anybody is fit to speak with expert knowledge and enthusiasm on many aspects of Central Asian problems, it is he. I recall, Lord Allenby, speaking at a dinner of another society some years ago when I think you were present, when I had the duty of proposing the toast of that society, coupled with the name of our late lamented friend, David Hogarth. I said something about Dr. Hogarth of which I was rather proud at the time, and I am sufficiently proud of it to repeat it tonight with a new application. I said the best thing that could be said about Dr. Hogarth was that he was the sort of man Herodotus would have liked to meet. I venture to say the same thing to the very distinguished orientalist, administrator, scholar and student who is to respond to this toast. I invite the company to join me in drinking the health of the Royal Central Asian Society, coupled with the name of Sir Arnold Wilson.

The toast having been most cordially honoured,

Lieut.-Colonel Sir ARNOLD WILSON said: My Lord Chairman, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is three years since Sir John Simon was our guest. On that occasion he accepted the invitation on condition that he was not asked to speak, and we had the melancholy satisfaction of watching one of the greatest exponents of forensic and parliamentary oratory sitting mute and, I hope, happy whilst lesser lights addressed us. Lord Peel on that occasion assured us that, as sometimes happened in Parliament, the best speech of the evening was that which had not been delivered. We have been more fortunate tonight, for Sir John Simon consented to speak on condition that he was not asked to remain to listen! It has been our privilege at our banquets to listen to the addresses of not a few British statesmen. There must be many here who can remember Lord Bryce in 1914 speaking in accents which read curiously prophetic today, though he could scarcely have foreseen that within two years he would be called upon to preside over an inquiry into one of the greatest tragedies of history, the massacre of a minority of more than one and a quarter million by a

dominant majority of some 8,000,000 ; many can remember Lord Curzon in 1920 and in 1924, with that marvellous gift of lucid and comprehensive oratory, foretelling a period of storm and stress in Asia which would outlast our generation ; Lord Milner in 1923, pleading for a policy of patience and perseverance in Palestine, and urging that only by a policy of active co-operation and understanding could the Arabs and Jews in that country reach economic prosperity and political stability. That policy we may congratulate ourselves on having pursued pertinaciously for the past eight years, and I believe we are nearer today than ever before to that policy of co-operation which Lord Milner pleaded for so earnestly. It is within my knowledge that there are commercial firms, with great stakes in Palestine, who are doing their very best to work on those lines, and I cannot doubt that they will eventually succeed. We have listened to Lord Birkenhead with his dry, almost acid wit, and to Dr. Hogarth with his pungent, but never acid, humour ; and I cannot but think that when all those great men meet in the Elysian shades they will sometimes discuss the affairs of Asia, which they have studied so deeply and which they have done so much to elucidate. And we have heard other orators, statesmen still living : Lord Allenby, Lord Plumer, Lord Lloyd, Lord Zetland and others. They have all served their generation and are still serving it, and yet I venture to affirm, without fear of contradiction, that we have never listened to a more courageous and more definite expression of opinion than we have listened to this evening from the lips of Sir John Simon, who, with his colleagues on the Statutory Commission, over a period of two years, ascertained by inspection, as the mathematical school books used to say, the essential basis of any scheme for the better government of India. I think I can speak for you all when I say that we should prefer, if I may adapt a saying of Dr. Johnson, to err in company with Sir John Simon than to think rightly with those from whom he differs.

Sir John Simon has been kind enough to congratulate us on attaining the status of Royal ; the King has been graciously pleased to command us to call ourselves the Royal Central Asian Society, but we are in reality the Royal Central Society for Asia. The privilege of a Royal Command demands from us the exercise of certain responsibilities, and I appeal to all here to do their best to obtain further recruits for this Society. We have, it is true, increased our membership in the last two years from 1,000 to 1,500, but we should have more. After all, we cover the whole of Asia ; we include all the most responsible persons who have any connection whatever with that great continent ; the officers of the Society are doing their best for us. I will not particularize, as I have been forbidden to mention the name of at least one of them, but we are grateful to one of our officers whose unfailing flair for dis-

covering fresh lecturers and fresh reviewers and whose ability to tackle the increasing office work involved by our increasing membership commands our unstinted admiration. To Sir William Beynon and Colonel Stevens, your Honorary Secretaries, the promotion of your interests is not merely a labour of love but a love of labour, and they deserve all the support you can give them. Your finances are safe in the hands of Sir Edward Penton, but not so secure that we do not require further members. The Council has to deplore the loss of one of its oldest and most active members in the person of General Sir Raleigh Egerton, but, thanks to the assiduity and energy of Lord Lloyd, it has never been stronger. I will not bring a crimson blush to the faces of members of Council by descanting upon their individual capacities, but I may be permitted to welcome on this occasion Mr. Bertram Thomas, who has just joined their company. (Applause.) One on whom the Royal Geographical and the Royal Asiatic Societies have respectively conferred the highest honours in their power requires no further commendation.

And then I should like to take this opportunity of expressing on behalf of you all to Sir Aurel Stein, by means of a telegram, our sympathy at the manner in which he has been treated, as you will observe from the columns of *The Times* today, by the Chinese authorities in the course of his important and fundamentally valuable researches. (Cheers.) Sir Aurel Stein has done more for Central Asia than any of us, and he has met, as appears from today's telegrams, nothing but gratuitous and pettifogging obstruction at the hands of that little band of oligarchs who are pleased to call themselves the Government of one-sixth of the human race. We can only register and deplore the fact.

The JOURNAL has never been so good. I can say that without fear of contradiction. (Hear, hear.) The articles are of quite exceptional interest, and the reviews, which cover books in all the principal languages of Europe as well as that of America, are of quite exceptional interest and value. Indeed, we have received special praise at the hands of *The Times Literary Supplement*, than which there is no higher authority in the English language.

Amongst our guests this evening is Mr. Whitley, who left the Speaker's chair only to assume an even more controversial post as Chairman of the British Broadcasting Corporation; scarcely had he accepted that post than he was called upon to take the chairmanship and to proceed to India at the head of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. In that capacity, accompanied by Mrs. Whitley, whom we are very glad to welcome here this evening (applause), he travelled, as the Royal Commission's Report will show, no less than 16,000 miles; he examined 837 witnesses, and he has done, like Sir John Simon, the best of things in the worst of times in that he has contrived to produce a substantially unanimous report upon one of the most vital, as it is one

of the most controversial, issues of our time, succinctly and briefly embodied in no less than 357 specific recommendations or suggestions. That is a great achievement. (Hear, hear.) We had hoped to entertain, and to be entertained by, other guests this evening, Lord Trenchard and Sir Roger Keyes among others, but after they had accepted our invitation they received a Royal command, which I regret to believe they accepted with alacrity, and I can only hope that they and Sir John Simon and Lord Allenby will show themselves to be as proficient on their feet in the State lancers as they would doubtless have been in a somewhat different sense had they been on their legs instead of me this evening. In their absence and in the absence of Lord Allenby and of the Chairman of Council, Lord Lloyd, it falls to me to perform a task for which I am most imperfectly equipped: to offer a few general observations upon Asia at large. I do so with all diffidence and with all humility, for I received a telegram when I was somewhere near the top of Scafell two days ago announcing that none of these distinguished men could hope to be present.

May I begin by dismissing, in a sentence, the fable of the unchanging East. It is a legend which has no foundation in history. The record of Asia has been, from the earliest times, a series of cataclysmic changes and of violent vicissitudes which have no parallel even in Europe. They arise for the time being, as it seems to me, from three principal causes. The first is the improvement of communications. Populations distinguished by profound cultural, I might almost say biological, differences are now being brought into ever closer contact, and the forces of economic rivalry tend to exacerbate racial prejudices and racial dislikes. Secondly, we have the results of war-time propaganda. Promises, declarations, and pledges freely, carelessly, almost cynically given during the period of the war by ourselves and other European Powers and often accepted in almost the same spirit have come back like a boomerang. The fruit has been bitter, and not only to us. Thirdly, we have the cumulative outcome of the policies pursued by Great Britain and other European Powers in the East for the past 100 years.

May I quote here a single sentence indicted by Sir Henry Maine in regard to India nearly eighty years ago: "The English nation cannot evade the responsibility for rebuilding on its own foundations that which it has unwittingly destroyed." On what foundations are we to build? The idea that an Eastern society can be reconstituted upon an improved native model is a pure delusion not less dangerous because it is widely believed. The new foundations must be of the Western and not the Eastern type, for a country over which the breath of the West, heavily charged with Western philosophic and Western scientific thought, has once passed, and in passing has profoundly affected the

minds, the ideas, and the actions of the educated classes, can never be the same as before. The new foundations must be of the Western and not the Eastern type. But it does not follow, as Sir John Simon has explained with an emphasis which is unmistakably significant, that they need be based upon our systems, and, more especially, it does not follow that they need involve a representative form of Government based upon an electorate. Eastern nations have in the past contrived very generally to maintain their bureaucratic ideas with autocratic systems of Government which, indeed, involved many forms of representation, but never, as far as I know, on an elective basis. The outstanding feature of the policies of every Asiatic country has been the failure of electoral institutions to take root.

Let us take the case of the Assembly of Turkey, to which every candidate for the suffrage of the electors is nominated in advance by the President of the Republic. Take Persia, where by more indirect but equally effective means arrangements are made by the executive to ensure that all candidates of every Parliament are of a single political colour. I need not refer to Egypt. Its adventures in the electoral domain are fresh in your minds. In Palestine no Parliament has yet sat or is likely to sit. In Syria no Parliament has sat for many years. In Mesopotamia, Ja'far Pasha el Askeri will not mind me saying, ministerial control of the electoral machine is accepted as an unofficial part of the constitution. In Ceylon and in the Dutch East Indies it is true that we and the Dutch are making electoral experiments which are viewed with great apprehension by many responsible people. In India I think it is fair to say, and Sir John Simon had he been here would have nodded assent, that importance is attached to the electoral system not because it is an efficient system, but because it embodies a Western conception and therefore an enviable status. I need not detain you by discussing the fate of electoral systems elsewhere. They have no existence in Russia; they are clearly decaying in South America; they are on their trial in Europe. It may, indeed, be the case that all the world is out of step "except our Jock," but it will be increasingly hard to convince the world that we alone are right in our passion for applying to Eastern countries methods of government which even in this country are not viewed with the same enthusiasm as they were thirty years ago, and all that Sir John Simon has said on that subject this evening seems to me to bear out that contention.

And there is one other point, the question of population. The outstanding fact, unique in history, is that the population of the world at large, and more especially of Asia, has increased by 100 per cent. in the past one hundred years. The population of India has trebled; the population of Russia has trebled; the population of the Malay States and Ceylon and of Egypt has more than doubled in

the short period during which we have had a certain responsibility for the government of those countries. Is this to be the end of all our strivings—that we are to promote indefinitely the increase of the human race? We have encouraged the growth of agriculture; by improved productive agriculture we have made two blades of grass grow where one grew before. We have encouraged preventive medicine. We have taught the peoples of the East how to avoid famines; we have enabled them to plant thirty or forty million people in desert areas where formerly only a few nomads could find precarious existence. In the language of the Christmas lesson in the Authorized Version, we have multiplied the nations, but we have not increased their joy. We are faced with the appalling responsibility that in the event of a breakdown in the modern machinery of a Constitution, such as that of India or Egypt, we threaten to throw these millions for whose birth we have been responsible into the depths of misery appalling to contemplate. It is not our fault. The results we see before us are the reaction of 100,000,000 proud parents to the philogenitive effect of civilization, but there it is; we have this vast population of 500,000,000 as compared with fewer than 120,000,000 which the Roman Empire at its height was responsible for, wholly dependent for their existence upon the maintenance of the delicate machinery of government which we ourselves have devised. There is no question more worthy of study at your hands, not with the molluscous objectivity of the tame historian, but with the keen interest of participants whose happiness and that of their children depends on finding the right solution. It is a question which the earliest philosophers were not asked to deal with; but we have to deal with it—and in this generation.

There is only one freedom open to man today—freedom to choose his own master. And we, whose belief it is that progress towards such an end is possible, must go ahead, true to ourselves and true to our own natures, not dependent, as Sir John Simon said, upon any particular remedy, upon any particular constitution, but realizing, above all, the awful responsibility that rests upon us for having increased the populations in the countries over which we elect to exercise influence. We cannot now allow them to slip back, for while anarchy one hundred years ago meant little, even a brief spell of anarchy today may mean a calamity and the terrors of famine and civil war the like of which the world has not yet witnessed.

I have detained you too long, and I apologize for it. ("No, no.") I will now ask you to raise your glasses and drink to the health of your guests, coupled with the name of Mr. Whitley.

The toast having been enthusiastically honoured,

The Right Hon. J. H. WHITLEY said: Sir Arnold Wilson, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Ever since I was a boy I have been

puzzled by a phrase which is in common usage amongst us, a phrase which suggests that it is a meritorious act to heap coals of fire on another fellow's head. Even today I do not understand the meaning of that phrase, but I do feel that tonight I am in the position of the other fellow. In inviting me to be one of your guests tonight, and particularly in asking me to take the great responsibility of responding for all your guests, I feel the coals of fire upon my head, for I have perpetrated recently a horrid crime. I have had some share in inflicting on a long-suffering public one more Blue Book. Well, I will only make this little apology, that I was but one of twelve participants in that crime, and I found myself simply in the position of a learner throughout. I had by my side nine gentlemen with lifelong experience of Indian affairs, and, fortunately, I was able to rest a great deal of my responsibility upon them. The last thing that you will expect of me, I am sure, is that I should add to my crime in your presence tonight, and, therefore, far be it from me to attempt to pronounce on the great questions that have been discussed with you by Sir John Simon and Sir Arnold Wilson. I only feel that this call gives me an opportunity which I must not neglect, and that is to express for myself, and I am sure for all my colleagues, our thanks for all the help that was given to us in this country and in India in the performance of our duty. From beginning to end, both here and in India, from everybody concerned we had most whole-hearted sympathy and help. Soldiers, administrators, business men throughout came readily forward and gave us their assistance.

I returned from my short experience of India with perhaps one thought which you will allow me to express tonight, and which certainly is not one likely to arouse any controversy—it is a thought of profound admiration for all the men and women who have devoted their lives to the interests for which your Central Asian Society works. Sir Arnold tells me that the word "Central" is a little in the wrong place; the adjective applies to the Society, and not to Asia. It does not divide Asia into centre and other parts. Your Society takes under its ken the whole of the people—the whole of the interests of Asia. I did feel, particularly in the outermost parts of those great countries, a profound admiration for the men and women who were pioneers in past days, who have left their mark on every part of those great districts, and for those who today are bearing the heat and burden. When one comes into contact with those men and women, often in very lonely places, upholding the highest traditions of British conduct and British understanding and sympathy with the peoples with whom they come in contact, one cannot but be very humble in admiration of what they have achieved and are achieving. Ladies and gentlemen, in answering for the whole of your guests tonight, I am conscious that I am perhaps

the one with least knowledge and experience amongst you. But I can only say that my short experience has left me full of sympathy both for the peoples with whom you are, or have been, concerned, and with those of you who have held and are now holding positions of responsibility.

There was one question I asked myself over and over again. As you travel through India you often hear of the people called aboriginals, and you are told that the great bulk of people are illiterate. Well, I came away with the feeling that, even if a man cannot read or write, he has the same human feelings as you and I have; he has exactly the same responsiveness to justice and the same sensitiveness against injustice; that human nature is pretty much the same the world over. Perhaps that was more striking when we came in contact with the boys. A great part of my life has been spent in the home country in contact with boys. Whether away up in the distant province of Assam or the more distant confines of Burma, whenever I was able to come into contact with boyhood I could not help thinking that the boys were exactly the same in spirit, in possibilities, as the boys in our own country. Once more let me tender to all those who have helped me in my task, and to all you who are concerned with the interests of the peoples of Asia, my humble thanks for all the help that you have given me in my duty.

This concluded a series of thought-provoking speeches, on which the company exchanged views as it slowly dispersed.

In accordance with the resolution taken at the Annual Dinner a telegram was sent to Sir Aurel Stein, saying the Royal Central Asian Society wished to express their sympathy with him, the greatest living Central Asian scholar, in the unjust treatment accorded to him by the Chinese Government.

Sir Aurel replied: "Gratefully appreciate kind message of sympathy. Encourages effort in alternative fields"—an answer characteristic of his courtesy and courage.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEPAL

COMPILED BY CAPTAIN C. J. MORRIS

THE literature dealing with a country which is in normal circumstances closed to Europeans must of necessity be small in amount.

For this reason I have tried to include in the following list everything which has been written about Nepal in the principal languages of Europe. Very few of the books are devoted exclusively to Nepalese matters, and where I have thought it necessary I have added a note to indicate the contents of certain volumes. In recent years the Nepal Government has published a number of standard Hindi classics and school books in Nepali translations. These are not included in this list, but they are available in the India Office Library. I have thought it of interest to include a few of the more important books and articles on Tibet and other neighbouring states.

MANUSCRIPTS

HODGSON, B. H.

All in the Library of the India Office, Whitehall. The numbers refer to the volumes in which the manuscripts have been bound. Much of the material occurs in two or more places, in the form of rough working notes and fair copies, but I have noted everything that has been bound and listed by the India Office. The following list takes notice only of MSS. in English, but there is in addition a large number of volumes in various vernaculars, chiefly Persian, Urdu, Nepali, Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, and Tibetan. The total number of bound volumes of MSS. given by Hodgson to the India Office, including English and vernacular MSS., is just over a hundred. The chief contents of each volume only are indicated. Hodgson was very inconsistent in his spelling of place-names and people, but I have made no attempt to standardize it. His output was enormous, as the following list will show, but much of his ethnological work is unmethodical and not of great use when judged by modern standards.

Vol. 1: British relations with Nepal from their commencement down to A.D. 1834, compiled from the records of the Residency Office and other authentic sources, with occasional observations by A. Campbell, Assistant Surgeon.

Memorandum regarding a Mission from the Goorkha Darbar to the Governor-General of India at Calcutta in 1835-6, by A. Campbell, Officiating Assistant Resident attached to the Mission.

- Vol. 2 : Routes and itineraries to Cathmandu and to frontier forts and military stations.
- Vol. 3 : Topography. Contains various routes, including China to Darjeeling, and estimated distances and routes from Nepal to China.
- Vol. 4 : The Newar tribe : Narrative of Nepal. (Contains geographical descriptions.) Routes in Nepal.
- Vol. 5 : Hill tribes : Magar, Gurung, Chepang. Customs and manners of the Newar, Khus, Mugger, Goroong, Murmi, Limboo, Kiranti, and Lepcha. The Terai : Scattered papers in other volumes here collected. *Jatmala*, or classification of the Newar tribe. List of confiscated property of Krishna Jaisi, *Darogha*, or head of the elephant stables.
- Vol. 6 : Ethnology, Trade, Law, and Army. Classification of hill tribes. An account of the judicial system. Apparently a fair copy of the scattered notes concerning the army in other volumes, particularly Volume 9.
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- Vol. 10 : Memoir on the army of Nepal submitted to Government in 1825, when Hodgson was secretary to the Embassy.
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- Vol. 12 : Miscellaneous legal notes, and some notes on the various forms of crime in Nepal.

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THE OVERLAND ROUTE TO THE PERSIAN GULF

IT is possibly owing to lack of advertising in England and India that the overland route between Europe and the Persian Gulf, thence to India, is not as well known as it deserves to be, except by residents of Persia and Iraq, although lately there has been an increase in the number of people who travel home this way from India.

The route, especially for those who dislike the sea, has considerable advantages over the ordinary sea route round by the Mediterranean, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean. It is shorter, cheaper, and far more interesting, and one does not suffer the boredom of a three weeks' voyage on the same boat. During the last six years many improvements have been made, the chief one being the opening up of the Mosul route, which obviates the long and very tiring motor journey across the desert between Damascus and Baghdad.

I give below a time-table for the direct journey from London to Karachi, showing the cost and some other particulars. If one has leisure it is more interesting to break the journey by staying a few days at Istanbul (Constantinople), Aleppo, Baghdad, and various interesting places on the way, but these excursions add considerably to the cost of the journey.

There are several variations of the overland route, one being from Aleppo across the mountains, by car or by rail to Damascus, and from there to Baghdad by the Nairn convoy; but this way costs more than the Mosul route, though it has the advantage of passing Damascus, which is one of the most fascinating cities in the Near East. Many people come out across the Mediterranean to Beyrout, then by car to Baghdad, or from Egypt through Palestine to Haifa and then to Damascus, but neither of these two routes are strictly overland, as they involve crossing the Mediterranean by boat.

LONDON-ISTANBUL (Simplon-Orient Express) *via* Dover, Calais, Paris, Lausanne, Milan, Trieste, Belgrade and Sofia.

Depart London, Wednesday 11.15.

Arrive Istanbul, Saturday 12.0.

	First Class.			Second Class.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Fare . . .	18	0	4	13	10	0
Sleeper . .	7	1	8	4	18	11
Meals . . .	8	3	0	3	3	0

The train meets the Channel boat at Calais and goes to Istanbul direct; there is no changing; it consists of first- and second-class sleepers only and a restaurant car. The difference between the two classes is that first-class compartments contain a single berth and the second class contain two berths. If two people are travelling together it is much cheaper and hardly less comfortable to go second class. Books of food-tickets for all meals on the journey can be bought beforehand—they are charged for on the train in the currency

of the country through which the train is passing, but English money is accepted everywhere. The food is excellent, and a great variety of local wines is obtainable. A recent innovation is a hot and cold shower-bath, very necessary in a train journey lasting several days.

It is a great advantage on this part of the journey, and afterwards as well, if luggage can be reduced to hand baggage only—each traveller can take about three normal-sized suitcases inside the compartment. Heavy luggage in the van can be registered through, but the formalities connected with heavy luggage at Istanbul are sometimes liable to cause considerable delay. Customs and passport formalities are arranged so as to cause the minimum amount of inconvenience to travellers; passports are taken over by the sleeping-car conductor, who deals with the officials at the numerous frontiers, and the customs inspectors visit the carriages on the train between stations.

The station at Istanbul is just below the Museum, and there is time to look through it and to visit some of the buildings in the neighbourhood before crossing over by the ferry to Hyder Pasha. The porters who carry hand baggage across the Bosphorus have the reputation of being very rapacious and truculent, but recently I find their manners have improved. The Taurus Express leaves from the station where the ferry-boat lands.

HYDER PASHA—NISSIBIN (Taurus Express) *via* Afium, Konia and Aleppo.

Depart Hyder Pasha, Saturday 16.08.

Arrive Nissibin, Tuesday 5.20.

	<i>First Class.</i>			<i>Second Class.</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Fare . . .	8	5	6	6	0	4
Sleeper . .	3	1	3	2	5	9
Food . . .	1	10	0	1	10	0

This train is almost identical to the one on the European side. The scenery during this part of the journey is magnificent, especially where the line twists in and out through the wild ravines and rocky passes of the Taurus Mountains. There is time enough at Aleppo to take a drive round the town and to see the old Saracenic fortress which dominates the city.

NISSIBIN—KIRKUK (Motor Convoy) *via* Mosul.

Depart Nissibin, Tuesday 7.30.

Arrive Mosul, Tuesday 15.30.

Depart Mosul, Wednesday 9.00.

Arrive Kirkuk, Wednesday 16.00.

	£	s.	d.
Fare (one class only) . . .	5	5	0
Board and lodging . . .	1	17	6

This part of the journey is done by motor convoys consisting of Ford cars, saloon and touring, with lorries for the baggage, run in connection with the train service by the Iraq State Railways. Food is provided en route. At Mosul there is a very good rest house, well equipped, with comfortable beds and water laid on in every bedroom. There is plenty of time during the afternoon and evening to see the town and to drive out to the ruins of Nineveh, which are on the opposite bank of the river.

The road from Nisibin to Mosul and on again to Kirkuk is quite good, except during the rains, and much less monotonous than the drive across the desert between Damascus and Baghdad. For many miles one sees snow-clad

mountain ranges away towards the north-east, and the convoys pass frequent Arab camps, camel caravans, and occasional little desert villages. In the springtime much of the country is quite green and covered with wild flowers. Towards Kirkuk, for quite a distance, the road is particularly good, with a tarred surface. Three passengers, besides the driver, are carried in each car. The drivers are a mixture of Kurds, Turks and Iraqis.

KIRKUK-BAGHDAD-BASRA.

Depart Kirkuk, Wednesday 18.33.

Arrive Baghdad, Thursday 6.57.

Depart Baghdad, Thursday 9.45.

Arrive Basra, Friday 6 35

	<i>First Class.</i>			<i>Second Class.</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Fare . . .	8	2	9	4	13	0
Food . . .	2	0	0	2	0	0 (including Basra)

From Kirkuk to Baghdad is a night's journey. Though the Iraq Railways cannot be compared to the Simplon-Orient Express, travelling by them is quite comfortable. The carriages are roomy, on the Indian pattern, and bedding can be hired on the train. The carriages are not corridor, but there is a restaurant coach attached, and meals are timed to coincide with times of stopping at stations.

If one is travelling direct there are three hours only in Baghdad, which gives an opportunity of having a bath and a meal at one of the numerous hotels.

The last spell of the train journey, from Baghdad to Basra, is considered by most people to be the most trying part of the whole journey. The train seems to crawl across the flat, dusty desert, stopping incessantly at little wayside stations. It is here more than anywhere else that one needs a good supply of books to read, for there is nothing to break the monotonous view from the windows. Travellers with time to spare can break the journey by visiting Ur of the Chaldees, which is on the route, and coming on to Basra next day.

At Basra there is a large new rest house close to the station, which is very comfortable and well run, also belonging to the Iraq Railways.

BASRA-KARACHI (British-India Line) *via* Bushire.

Depart Basra, Saturday.

Arrive Karachi, Thursday morning (Bombay, Saturday).

	<i>First Class.</i>			<i>Second Class.</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Fare . . .	22	0	0	15	0	0

The fast British-India mail-boats sail from Basra to Karachi, and on to Bombay, weekly; there is also a slow Gulf Service sailing once a fortnight from Basra, which calls at most of the Persian Gulf ports.

The motor convoys between Nissibin and Kirkuk run twice weekly, so in making a programme of the journey from London to Karachi it is necessary to take this into consideration, as well as the date on which the fast mail sails from Basra to Karachi.

All passport visas for the outward journey can be obtained in London, but on the return journey it is necessary to allow some time in which to obtain a

Turkish visa in Baghdad, unless one comes from a place where there is a Turkish Consul.

There is no difficulty over language, as at all times on the journey there are officials who speak English.

If one travels direct, tips and incidental expenses do not amount to much ; the price of wine and spirits is not included in the cost of meals, but allowing for a moderate amount I should calculate that six or seven pounds would easily cover all incidental expenses.

By this route it takes fifteen days from London to reach Karachi. The cost first class is about £87 inclusive, or about £67 second class inclusive. Personally I recommend travelling second class up to Nissibin, and after that first class, assuming that economy is a consideration.*

C. DALRYMPLE BELGRAVE.

** Prices given on the early 1931 exchange basis.*

THE NON-ARAB MINORITIES IN IRAQ

By A. HORMUZD RASSAM

I DO not propose on this occasion to dwell on the ethnological and historical aspects of these races. My purpose is to deal with their present condition attained under a mandate from the League of Nations, and to explain the effect of what I consider will be the result of the lifting of that mandate, which we all hope will take place next year.

My association with my distinguished father, the late Hormuzd Rassam, and with the unending stream of his countrymen, Chaldeans and Assyrians, who never failed to call on him to pay their respects when in England, caused me to imbibe knowledge of my people from the days of my earliest recollections, and as my father to the end of his days strictly kept to certain Chaldean habits and customs my early life was spent in an Oriental atmosphere.

My father's last wish had been that I should carry on his Assyrian archæological researches at and in the vicinity of Nineveh. No one who knows the country and its peoples can fail to realize that by reason of his descent there had been handed down to him from generation to generation certain information in regard to the ruins of the ancient cities of the Assyrians, which accounted for his prescience in the selection of those sites which afforded him such extraordinary success as an excavator. The results of his operations can be seen in the Assyrian Galleries of the British Museum. To me, in due course, were certain directions given, and I was eager to put them to a test. However, this was not to be yet. Living in the Arab quarter of Mosul, and associating with my own kith and kin, I realized more than ever what were the real conditions under which the minorities were existing, and that my duty was to the living and not to the dead. Therefore, I returned to London in June, 1930, and have since been engaged in championing their cause at Geneva, working most strictly in accordance with the rules and regulations of the League of Nations, of which the mandatory power over Iraq is the strongest supporter, and largely the originator. My letter to *The Times*, published on August 1, 1930, and that in the *Spectator* of August 9, 1930, gave full publicity to my intention.

Until the end of the Great War, the Mosul vilayet was ruled by the Turkish Empire, and its peoples were a conglomeration of races, amongst

whom the Arabs were in a minority. Far from the centre of government at Constantinople, no attempt was made to deal individually with the inhabitants—a central force was always ready to crush rebellion—and so far as possible the peoples were left alone and dealt with only through the heads of each tribe or millet and lived under their own laws and customs, unmolested so long as the tribute was duly paid and internal dissensions confined to themselves. Thus it came about that in 1918 the British, who had, by fortune of war, taken the place of the Turks as the rulers of the country, found extreme difficulty in evolving law and order. There could be no question of annexation or permanent occupation, and so, with the full approval of the League of Nations, Great Britain faced the difficult problem of the establishment of a Kingdom of Iraq under the mandatory system.

In June, 1920, His Majesty's Government announced the early setting up of a distinct Arab Government under an Arab ruler. Next, a Provisional Government was formed under the Naqib of Baghdad, to be replaced by a Government based on an Assembly elected by the people of Iraq, under an Arab ruler acceptable to the Assembly. In 1922 the present King Feisul, son of the Shereef of Mecca, King Hussein, was declared to be duly elected, and became the first hereditary monarch of the new Kingdom of Iraq, comprising the two former Turkish vilayets of Baghdad and Basra.

Meanwhile, the future of the Mosul vilayet lay in the balance. Occupied by British Forces after the Armistice, it became known as the "disputed territory," and it was not until late in 1925 that the League of Nations formally awarded this territory to the Kingdom of Iraq, with a revised northern boundary between Turkey and itself. When I arrived at Mosul in January, 1930, its peoples had had four years' experience of Iraqi government, and the first effects of the gradual relaxation of mandatory supervision of the internal administration were being felt. This experience had unfortunately not tended to make them anticipate with pleasure the termination of the Mandate in 1932, as had been officially announced in November, 1929.

I now propose to remark on the position of the minorities of the Mosul vilayet, of which I speak from personal knowledge thus brought up to date by living among them. There is no other way, in an Oriental country, by which truth can be arrived at, and any appearance of "authority"—that is, the possession of an official position with power of punishment—leads the people to adopt, either an attitude of "What you wish"—"as you say"—in the desire to ingratiate themselves, or one of sullen and inarticulate but smouldering resentment. This is why mahdbatas and petitions are rightly looked upon with disfavour. In such cases the only test of sincerity is knowledge that the signatories are aware that if their names are divulged to the local

authorities reprisals will inevitably follow, and that knowing this they are willing to take that personal risk.

It is quite impossible to give accurate numbers of the peoples of the Mosul vilayet; no census, in the sense that we use the word, has ever been taken, nor are the Arabs ever likely to be permitted to gain even such superficial administration in Southern Kurdistan as would permit the number of the Kurds to be ascertained. This difficulty is clearly shown in the report of the League of Nations Commission of 1924-25, and up to date it has been the custom of all parties to use such estimates as best support their contentions. The figures I now give are compiled from the verbal estimates of the religious heads, such as the patriarchs, checked so far as possible by official statistics obtained in Mosul and Baghdad and League of Nations publications.

In the Mosul vilayet, excluding Southern Kurdistan, there are (estimated):

<i>Moslems</i> : Arabs	...	...	...	80,000	
Kurds	...	...	...	80,000	
					160,000
<i>Christians</i> : Chaldeans	...	...	...	54,000	
Assyrians	...	...	...	40,000	
Syrian Catholics	...	...	...	10,000	
Sabæans	...	...	...	10,000	
Jacobites	...	...	...	12,000	
Armenians	...	...	...	4,000	
Various	...	...	...	2,000	
					132,000
<i>Yezidis</i>	...	...	...	40,000	
					40,000
<i>Jews</i>	...	...	...	10,000	
					10,000
					342,000
Total	...	...	...

The location of these peoples can be described in general terms as follows:

In the town of Mosul, a mass of	...	60,000 Arabs.
In the nomadic districts, tribes of	...	20,000 Arabs.
In Jebel Sinjar, a mass of	...	20,000 Yezidis.
In a semicircle touching the borders of		
Southern Kurdistan, a total of	...	70,000 Kurds.
Inside this Kurdish ring, small towns and villages, containing a mixture of Kurds, Assyrians, Armenians, and others	...	45,000 various.
In the foothills and central plain, Christians, Jews, Yezidis, and others	...	127,000 various.
Total	...	342,000

It will be observed that this distribution of the races interposes between the Turkish territories and the main body of Arabs well-defined belts of Iraqi Kurds, Assyrians, Armenians, and Yezidis; this arrangement has its advantages as ensuring to the Arabs "safety first."

So here in miniature form is the Mosul vilayet modelled on the lines

of former government of the Turkish Empire. In the town of Mosul lies the centre of government and the punitive forces. In the plains and foothills are its representatives, police, customs, but chiefly tax-gatherers. On the frontiers spasmodic warfare, now confined to occasional raids in accordance with local habits. At the extreme limits a wild, mountainous country, unconquered, and desirous of retaining its own administration, laws, language, and customs, and beyond the power of the Iraq Arabs to subdue. There is, however, this vital difference in the administration: whereas the Turk acknowledged and preserved the unity of, and dealt with, these different races through their own heads—patriarchs, aghas, sheikhs, etc.—the policy of the Iraq Government is to break down and eradicate all racial distinctions, and to deal directly with the individuals as Iraqis. Herein lies the cause of all the unrest in this territory and of the fear of the future when the mandatory régime has come to an end, and there will be no appeal from the actions of the Arabs in carrying out this policy with unfettered and increasing vigour.

If there is world-wide agreement that this policy is just, wise, and expedient in the interests of these various national entities, then all their protestations and petitions are unavailing, and while they exist they must forget pride of race, religions, language, laws, habits, and customs, and be content to gradually conform to those of the Arabs, and within a generation to have been merged in the ruling nationality. On the other hand, if the formation and constitution of the League of Nations truly represents the spirit and intentions of the nations of the world today, then the Iraq Government will not be permitted to carry out this policy, and provision will be made to preserve these racial entities and to legislate before approving of the termination of the Mandate in such manner that it will be impossible in the future to interfere with these peoples without coming into direct conflict with these nations who are now banded together to preserve peace in the world and justice to small nationalities. What form such provision should take is not a subject for this article. Suffice it to say that the whole question is now under the consideration of the League of Nations, the members of whose Council are well aware that however specious may be the offer of the Mandatory Power, with the words of Sir F. Humphreys, to accept moral responsibility for the result of future action on the part of the rulers of the Kingdom of Iraq, the Council itself retains in the eyes of the world the full legal as well as moral responsibility. They are therefore disinclined to give any decision at all until they are certain in their own minds and consciences that the proposals now made are in accordance with the spirit of the League, and not likely to bring irretrievable damage to the prestige of the League itself. Acceptance of moral responsibility has no value when dealing with mundane affairs, and it is

better to erect an effective railing at the top of a cliff than to provide ambulances at the bottom to render aid to those who have fallen down through lack of warning or safeguards.

In my opinion, and I give it with a full sense of the responsibility that lies on my unaided shoulders, there can never be contented and prosperous citizens of the Kingdom of Iraq, within the Mosul vilayet, unless due regard is taken to legislate for the preservation of the national racial entities of the population—these racial entities which up to the time of the assumption of responsible government by a Christian Power through the fortunes of war had been encouraged to preserve their national existence.

Of the vilayets of Baghdad and Basra I cannot speak with such complete knowledge, and categorical statements made from knowledge gained during flying visits, or by interviews with "invited" persons, are dangerous. For example, if the aspirations of the Iraqi officials who were of the so-called "National" party, when I left Mosul in June last year, truly represent their feelings and aims, then I should say that now they know from the published minutes of the evidence given before the Permanent Mandates Commission in June this year that it is the intention of Great Britain not to use their forces which will remain in Iraq after the lifting of the mandate to assist the Iraqi Government to put down internal disorder, they will try to carry out their plan to supersede the present ministers. As expressed to me, they regard these officials as aliens and interlopers who ought not to be allowed to govern the native Iraqis, and extract from them the salaries and emoluments of office. The leading spirits of the "Nationalists" were looking forward to 1932 as the time when the true Iraqi patriots could come into their own. Whether that spirit still obtains, I cannot say.

In conclusion, I may sum up my appreciation of the future position of the Kingdom of Iraq, after the Mandate is lifted, in this way.

The tenure of King Feisul and the two or three hundred ministers and officials who now form the real Government of the country will be precarious. The majority are not of the land, and their authority rests on force. Once the loyalty of that force is sapped, they will be fortunate to escape with their lives.

With the removal of the restraining power of the British Forces, the ancient feuds between the Shiah and Sunnis may at any time be renewed—most probably on the question of taxation. This would plunge the central part of the kingdom into civil war.

The Kurds will never consent to personal government by Arabs, and the latter can never conquer them by force of arms. It is most desirable that these basic facts should be faced, and the opportunity taken NOW to give them real self-government within the Kingdom of Iraq. This, as their latest petition to the League of Nations shows, they are

willing to accept. But if this is not done (promises, unless effectively guaranteed, will not be accepted) before the Mandate terminates, there will always be tension and trouble, which will have the effect of consolidating the Kurdish tribes into taking united action.

I have gone fully into the position of the races in the Mosul vilayet. Wherever, as in this case, a minority governs a large majority, and attempts to deprive them of pride of nationality, with consequent interference in faiths, languages, education, laws and customs, there can be no peace. Speaking on behalf of these non-Moslem races, I can say with truth that their wish is to become loyal citizens of Iraq, provided their entities are preserved, as are those of the Scotch, Welsh, and Irish within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

EL GLORIOSO TRIUNFO DE TRES MARTIRES ESPAÑOLES*

THE first nine chapters of the book give an account of the adventures and the eventual martyrdom of Friar Nicolas.

Friar Nicolas, who was born at Belmonte, in Portugal, about the year 1545, was brought up at Cubillan nearby. On growing up he went to Castille, and entered the order of St. Augustine. Being more inclined to charitable work than to study, he went as a missionary to Mexico and, later, to the Philippines.

After several years' successful work in the Philippines, he was sent on a mission to the head of the Order in Europe to plead for more workers to be sent out. As the journey via India was considered to be more practicable than by America, it was decided that he should go by that route. At this point we may quote the words of the author *in extenso* :

Leaving Manila (which is the capital of the Philippines), Friar Nicolas travelled via Malacca and reached the city of Goa in the year 1598, in which it happened that the vessels which were wont to come from Portugal did not arrive. This the Friar particularly regretted, because he would be compelled to postpone his journey till the following year, which was allowed neither by the necessity which had brought him from the Philippines nor by his desire to accomplish it earlier. He therefore decided to travel by land, as the sea route was seen to be impossible. At that time there was not the communication with Persia which we have today (1623), nor was that route as easy as it is now. However, the (Friar's) desire to go to Europe overcame all difficulties, and God, who had predestined him for so much glory, knew how to provide the means most suitable (for him) to reach it; and thus he had in his favour the Count de Vidiguera, Admiral of India and Viceroy of it at that time. The most illustrious Friar Alexio de Menesses, Primate of India at that period, approved and favoured his aims, and having obtained what he needed for the journey, he (Friar Nicolas) left Goa in February, 1599, and in June of the same year arrived at the city of Isfahan (Aspahan), formerly the capital of Parthia and today the metropolis of all Persia, where Shah Abbas (Abbas Rey) had his throne and court. At the beginning of his reign Shah Abbas showed extraordinary favour to foreigners, and most particularly to Christians (as we have said elsewhere), a circumstance which attracted many to his court. From one of these, a Venetian by nationality named Iacomo Faba, who was most intimate with him, he learnt of the Father's arrival, and summoned the latter to his presence and received him with much friendliness, showing pleasure at seeing him (which is not to be marvelled at since he was the first friar whom he had seen in his life), because, although the Father Friar, Simon de Morales (who has been spoken of elsewhere), had been in Persia, it was in the time of Muhammad Khudabanda (Mahamet Codabanda), his father, when this Abbas, who succeeded him, was at Coraone († Khurasān), and did not see him, and now, as of a novelty, rejoiced at what he saw.

Shah Abbas summoned him many times, listening to him with good will, and, which is very curious, putting many questions to him as to his mode of

* *El Glorioso Triunfo de Tres Martires Españoles*. Dos Portugueses, y frailes de la Orden de S. Augustin, y uno Castellano de Madrid. Madrid: for Juan Gonzalez. 1623. Translated by L. Lockhart.

living and some as to our faith, showing that he knew something of it (which he must have learnt from his wives who were Christian by race). One day, when in conversation, the Shah said: "Why are there no friars at my court, such as the Turk and the Moor have at theirs, when I am beyond comparison more friendly than they are to Christians?"

The Father was then ordered to send word as to the desire of this Prince for our friars to go to his kingdom, which he did by his letters, and so began the Persian enterprise in the history of which he played such a part.

A long while before, the two English brothers, Don Antonio and Don Roberto Cirley (Shirley), so well known in our books, had arrived at that court. Of these, Shah Abbas had chosen Antonio, who was the elder, to send him, as envoy, with a universal embassy to all the Christian princes, in company of one of his nobles, called Usen Alibegne (Uzun Ali Bey). As they were leaving for Muscovy, where the embassy had to begin, Father Nicolas wished to accompany them on the journey, it seeming to him to be safer to go in company with men who were Christians than to travel alone through the land of the Turks, with the intention of going in advance of them as they passed through Russia.

Father Nicolas made known his intention to the King, asking his leave to carry it out, which Shah Abbas willingly granted him. In addition to the letters which his ambassadors bore, he gave Father Nicolas, one to His Holiness and another to His Catholic Majesty, because, as the Father was determined to go in advance and reach their presence sooner, he wished them to be prepared, so that they should receive his ambassadors in better spirit. The Englishman, however, looked upon the matter in another light; it seemed to him that the Father would detract from the authority and importance of his embassy, for by arriving first in the presence of these two monarchs, and informing them of the wishes of the Persian, he would take all the benefit which he alone wished to obtain by means of the good tidings which he bore, and which, in his opinion, would be very well received by the Christian princes; but, hiding his feeling, he pretended to be well pleased with the company of Father Nicolas, being sure that in such a long journey opportunity would not be lacking to take his letters and even his life, and certain enough he obtained it, as he also struck the Moorish Ambassador; such was his wish to remain alone with the embassy in order that he alone might derive the benefit expected from it.

Then, being provided with the necessary supplies, they went by way of Gilan or Hyrcania, whence, travelling via the Caspian Sea, with its customary storms and perils, they arrived at the city of Astrakhan, which is the first or most southerly (city) of Russia, situated on the banks of the River Volga, whose waters retain their freshness although after a distance of 100 miles they mingle with those of the Caspian Sea, into which the Volga flows through seventy-two mouths.

De Gouvea (CHAPTER III.).—Don Antonio intends to kill Father Nicolas, who, free of his hands, is accused by him, imprisoned, and left in Russia.

The Persian King's Ambassadors were well received by the Governor of Astrakhan. After they had rested there for a few days he sent them to the court of the Grand Duke, which is the city of Moscow, from which all the province is now called Muscovy (Moscobia), although Russia is its proper name.

These two cities are about 300 miles (sic) distant from one another (the country) for the most part uninhabited, except by many beasts, which live in those extensive forests; and in the few places that there are the people are without culture and barbarous, very well trained in the chase, although not a few are skilled in thieving and robbing. For this reason, the usual way of going from one city to the other is by the River Volga, which is navigable from Astrakhan to a point very near Moscow. For those coming from Moscow, the journey is certain and rapid because they have the current in their favour, but it is very difficult for those who travel from Astrakhan to Moscow, through having to go against the current, which is very impetuous. Their boats are very large and very heavy, and they neither use nor can use sails, because the flow of the river will overcome all the favour of the wind. Thus it is necessary to tow the vessels, which lengthens the journey, since no more travelling is

done by sea than what the sailors do by land ; but this causes no annoyance, because while the sailors rest the travellers leave the vessels and amuse themselves on shore. This is what the Persian King's Ambassadors and Father Nicolas did many times, and one of these might have cost the latter his life. As the Englishman was endeavouring to kill him, he sought an occasion on which he could do so without his companions knowing anything of it. On a certain day the two were talking together apart from the others on the banks of the river, and went sufficiently far as to be beyond earshot. By chance the Moorish Ambassador went towards the same place without thinking that others had gone there in advance (but God guided him there in order to prevent the death of the blessed Father, because from eternity he had arranged that it should be more public and more honourable for his Church and of greater edification for the faithful). The Ambassador found the Father half dead in the hands of the Englishman and of some of his followers, who were drowning him in the river, and without doubt, had he arrived but a little later, he could have been of no avail, because he (the Father) already lacked strength even to get out from the river, much less to resist his adversaries, who, seeing the Ambassador coming, left him in the river and hid themselves among the trees.

Astonished at so great an evil act, the Moor rescued the Father from the river and caused him to be taken to the vessel, thenceforward treating him with more care, as he remembered how he would be praised by the King, his sovereign ; and the Moorish Ambassador himself related this event to me.

Father Nicolas proceeded with more caution and care for his person, having experienced the evilness and treachery of the Englishman ; but although he was able to escape from his hands, he could not do so from his deceptions.

As it should be known, the tyranny of the former Princes of Muscovy had introduced a custom which is most iniquitous and extremely oppressive, that is that none of their vassals can leave Russia without the express permission of the Duke, under pain (of forfeiture) of life, and that no foreigner who enters that country can ever leave it, but will pass his life in perpetual prison and rigorous confinement, without any hope of freedom. However, the merchants and ambassadors of the other Powers have permission, but neither the former nor the latter enjoy it absolutely, because they cannot go out into the streets without a guard and a permit, and all eventually live in prison, although theirs is a more honourable one, and they can return to their lands when (the Duke) allows them (to do so). This custom arose from the fear of the natives who on one side wage perpetual war with the Poles and on the other with the Tartars. Anyone who enters their land is thought to be a spy either of one or the other ; it is, therefore, necessary that he should suffer prison and captivity. As has been said, the cunning Shirley did not miss this opportunity, and in order that all might happen to his taste, others were added, which seemed to be valued by the measure of his desire (Heaven allowing to the evil their opportune days and appropriate hours for the carrying out of their damnable projects). It was mainly in order to avoid so dangerous a company that the Father left the Moorish Ambassador's society and that of Shirley, and took lodging in the house of the Doctor Pablo Milanes y Catolico who, for his own purposes, was then residing in Muscovy, and celebrated in his house the sacrifice of the Mass, with the greatest consolation to himself and to other Catholics who had lacked this benefit for a long time. They confessed and took the sacrament, giving infinite thanks to so good a gentleman who came to visit them among a people so remote and hostile.

This (ceremony) was performed with some secrecy which was very necessary, but this could not be (in the following case) for, a daughter being born to Dr. Pablo, it was necessary that she should be baptized, and Father Nicolas baptized her, according to the Roman usage, eight days after her birth. This greatly aroused the perfidious Ruthenians against the Catholics, because in their condemned rites, the custom is not to baptize infants till they are forty days old, with other Greek ceremonies. In the capital there were, amongst the other merchants, some Englishmen who were great Lutherans and Calvinists ; these were on familiar terms with Shirley as their compatriot. These

informed him of the hatred which the Catholics had aroused among the Ruthenians, and that something was being hidden from them by the ambassadorial friar who lodged in that house (pointing to Father Nicolas). The Englishman, who was not stupid, came to the owners of the house and said to them that he regretted having brought with him any person who could cause annoyance to the least of the Ruthenians, and all the more to the Grand Duke, contravening their precepts and ancient customs. He continued that they knew that that daring friar was not an ambassador from the Persian, nor was it of importance to his service to take him in his company or to leave him. But (went on Shirley), he much disliked him, because, in addition to being a Papist, he was a Spaniard by birth, very bold and haughty as are the others.

The Ruthenians, seeing the blessed Father deprived of the favour of Don Antonio, whom they looked upon as the chief of the embassy (and he made himself be taken as such, for he exceeded above all in cunning), went to accuse him to the Duke, saying that a Latin priest (thus they contemptuously call Catholics) had entered his kingdom without his permission, and was holding services and baptizing in contravention of the customs and laws of Russia.

At that period Boris (Boricio), the son of Theodore, reigned over that country, who, adding to the fear (which in tyrants like him is very usual) the observation of his wicked and ancient customs, and without listening to the justice of the Father's case, sent him to the island of Solcastei or Soliskot, which is situated on the frontier of Muscovy and Norway, and (ordered him to be) delivered a prisoner to the Abbot of schismatic monks, who, although they are so ignorant that they cannot say who their founder was, appear, however, to be of the Order of St. Basil. Although their ignorance is so great, no less are the cruelty with which they treat against the Catholics and the obstinacy with which they embrace their schisms and heresies.

REVIEWS

Mesopotamia, 1917-19: A Clash of Loyalties. By Sir Arnold Wilson. Oxford University Press.

Those who have read Sir Arnold Wilson's first volume, "Loyalties"—and they must be many—have been looking forward to his second with considerable anticipation. They will not be disappointed in the "Clash of Loyalties," that secondary title which is the keynote—the somewhat bitter keynote—to this remarkable volume. A "Clash of Loyalties" is not quite the same type of book as Volume One. That was a racy, living and outspoken story of a remarkable three years' campaigning, ending in a joyous and resounding note of victory. The Turks were crushed, the army had risen from its miseries under competent leadership, Baghdad was in British hands, and our real trouble about to begin. The first few chapters, indeed, are in the vein of Volume One—more victories over the Turks, and more work for the political department in managing country that was extending behind us almost every week. That was all straightforward going, with such interesting concomitants as intensive cultivation, wisely stimulated to lessen the demand of the army on the Allied markets.

The vainness of the egregious but remarkable excursion of the Dunster force to Baku, in the laudable but quite impossible desire to put a screen between Bolshevism and Central Asia, is told in Sir Arnold Wilson's best vein—truth unvarnished, sheer common sense, and as much venom as would cover a threepennybit. We are shown the logistic and political, let alone military, futility of the conception, "all along" of neglecting wise old Lord Salisbury's maxim and adjuration to use a large-scale map. Horrible beyond belief are the details that Wilson here has to tell of the state that successive Turkish and Russian occupations of North Persia had brought the inhabitants of that normally smiling land, another of the unrecorded chapters that are best brought to light. "No traveller outside the town, no woman within, was safe from molestation at the hands of the Cossacks."

With Marshall's brilliant seizure of Mosul on the eve of the Armistice, as the result of Cobbe's and Cassel's determined execution of their orders, the note of movement changes. We now learn, without any of the fog of reticence, of the happenings while the "hot air" of the cryptograms of Wilson of Washington was poisoning the world from the laboratories of the Peace Conference. While Pan-Arab, Pan-Turk,

Pan-Moslem, and Pan-Bolshevist activities upset all the East, Wilson of Baghdad, working under the legal ægis of the military occupation and its commanders, was building with the desert sand a house which must be built, but of which no one could or would indicate the design or even dig a foundation.

The military authority was concerned with the protection of the country against the gathering Turkish clouds, against fierce unrest, both among Arabs and Kurds, due largely to the delays in Paris and the intrigues aforesaid. Into this the unco-ordinated enthusiasms of Miss Gertrude Bell, outside her legitimate duties in the Administration, were no inconsiderable embarrassment. The ghastly and entirely unnecessary Arab rebellion, which caused the loss of so many lives, and the despatch in 1920 of a fresh Army Corps to Mesopotamia, caused the death of a great many of those inestimable young political officers of whom Sir Arnold told us in Volume One, and who in the years succeeding the Armistice had a wider and more difficult task thrown on them. To this they responded in a remarkable manner, and in the days when the nation makes up its jewels they must never be forgotten. Of Sir Arnold's provisional building on shifting sand, with the interests of the people, and whatever form of government was to come, in the days when Sir Percy Cox had been sent off to Persia, we are told, with sufficient glare from the searchlights, to see the dark corners.

Wilson unfortunately cannot do himself justice, and that the reader must gather from the story. Fighting against at times extreme misrepresentation from those who must and should have known better, the Administration, whose hands were often tied, was doing most extremely well. When it pleased the Powers and the Government of the day to formulate, or it might even be said to hook up by chance from the fishpond of fate, a policy which has been made to work, Sir Arnold and his officers were treated none too courteously by those whom they had served, and for whom they builded better than they knew:

Sir Arnold carries us through the warning troubles of 1919, warnings which were clearly put before both the War Office and His Majesty's Government, and the successful trampling out of Kurdish dementia, to the dark days of 1920. Sir Aylmer Haldane is none too lightly handled, but perhaps his own published views invited a riposte. The searchings for an Arab ruler, or even an expression of Arab opinion, that would produce a useful formula of government, before the days when the French kicked the good King Feisal into our hands from Damascus, are part of the lighter side of the book.

"A Clash of Loyalties" is a solid book of close on 400 pages of a large size. Apart from its vivid tale, it is in many ways the official history of the civil administration in a large occupied country, behind an army, working for the unparalleled period of over five years,

"On a cloth untrue, with a twisted cue, on elliptical billiard balls." It may interest those who study such incongruities to see British authority in Palestine almost encouraging the disastrous filibustering of Ramzan Shallash at Deir Ez Zor in 1919, or the pitiful tragedy of the destruction of His Majesty's representatives at El Afar, near Mosul, in 1920.

The military happenings of the 1920 rebellion are better told here than elsewhere; and Sir Arnold Wilson also takes occasion to bring to record the work of several of the ancillary departments of the army, to whom the official history has done but scant justice. Indeed, it has been said that the turning aside from the main story for this purpose has somewhat destroyed the structure of the book. Yet who would have it otherwise? In his first volume, "Loyalties," Sir Arnold has bent the sayings of the great Duke of Wellington to adorn and emphasize his points. In the "Clash of Loyalties" he has gone further afield, and brought many of the masters of assemblies as his witnesses and with shrewd effect, Master Oliver, the Lord Protector, joining in the broadcasting.

When Government was at last to happen on its policy, and Sir Percy Cox was released from Tehran, then Sir Arnold steps off the scene in which he had so long laboured, leaving some of his best young men dead. "A Clash of Loyalties" will remain as the history of these difficult times when the leaves of the trees were for the healing of the nations.

G. M.

The Indian Mutiny in Perspective. By Lieut-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. 9" x 5½". Pp. xii + 276. Illustration and maps. London: Bell. 1931.

The book begins on a note of apology for a retraverse of ground so often explored. The apology is not needed, firstly, because Sir George MacMunn is so clear, effective, and picturesque a writer that no book of his could be other than welcome to a judicious reader; secondly, though much has been written of the Mutiny it is mostly fiction, of which only Mrs. Steel's "On the Face of the Waters" attains the first class, while the detailed continuous histories are few and dull. But there is a stronger reason still. In India the sky is lowering and the thunder rumbling. Comparison with a former tempest is not only permissible; it is urgently called for.

The accepted title is not wholly accurate. The area and the population affected were a smaller proportion of India than is generally realized. That which revolted was of the nature of a national and geographical entity, conventionally known to Indians as Hindustan, the country which throughout the ages has held priority among Indian peoples, the country of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, of Chandragupta and Asoka and Kanishka, and many centuries later of the Mogul Empire and the Courts of Delhi and Agra and Lucknow. Roughly it is what we now call the United Provinces and Behar. The people are a compact of Aryan and Dravidian and Semite and Tartar. The great feud of Hindu and Musalman smoulders and blazes as fiercely as anywhere. Yet there is a common patriotism of the Hindustani as

against other parts of India, and when this Hindustan revolted against the British, the bordering peoples, Sikhs, Jats, Nepalese, Rajputs, and Mahrattas, with a few exceptions, turned against it or stood neutral. So much for the word "Indian." As for "mutiny," that ceased to apply with technical correctness twenty-four hours after the outbreak. An indigenous Emperor with a shadowy title was set up in Delhi, and thenceforward what was mutiny should be regarded as civil war or rebellion.

We write of the "causes of the Mutiny" as if it were an abnormal event interrupting the natural order of things, a line of thought that misleads even now; but it would be strange if the domination of a few foreigners, of alien culture, religion, and habits of life, were permanently acquiesced in by a vast population, some of great intellectual capacity, some of warlike habit, and many of considerable self-conceit. There were grievances of course in plenty in the Sepoy army, as there were loyalties, of which Sir George writes sympathetically. The greased cartridge grievance was not wholly imaginary. But from these to mutiny is a long step. The military authorities were not principally to blame that a soldier's grumble blazed up into a rebellion affecting fifty million people. We must look beyond the civil government to the general temper of the British ruling classes. This in the early part of Victoria's reign was arrogance personified. Never had a ruling order enjoyed such success. Victory on land over an adversary who seemed more than mortal, countless victories at sea, victory over revolution at home, wonderful manufacturing and industrial achievements, vast wealth and world-wide dominion, all contributed. Even the improvement in morals had the same tendency, for Puritanism is by nature pharisaical. Lord Dalhousie, whom the Nana at Cawnpore specified as the prime enemy of Indians, embodied this spirit. The doctrine of lapse, the assertion of paramountcy, Macaulay's minute on education, refusal of the right of adoption, semi-compulsory evangelization, discouragement of heathenism and idolatry, prior claim in Government service to Eurasians and Christians, these were but the indices of a policy of racial and cultural domination which sowed the wind to reap the whirlwind. They were disavowed by the Queen's proclamation of 1858, and her memory has always been cherished by the masses of India.

Sir George's verdict on the British conduct of hostilities is in the main favourable. As to the courage shown there has never been any question. Three courses of action have, however, been greatly debated: the omission to pursue the Meerut mutineers when they made their desperate *coup* at Delhi the concentration on the siege of Delhi with forces obviously inadequate to carry the city, and the policy of pushing forward troops from land and sea bases as they came to hand without stopping to organize a complete army of reconquest. On all these Sir George makes out a good case for civil and military authorities, particularly the latter. Much of the criticism, he observes, is ill-judged; much of it suggests the retort known at the card-table that it is easy to point out errors after seeing fifty-two cards. The idea that the Meerut garrison should have turned out in the dark of May 10 or the heat of May 11 to hunt scattered mutineers whose destination was unknown is convincingly refuted. As to the other policies, they were civil as much as military, and they were right. The keynote was that the British held the machinery of government. The rebels could not stop to organize a government as long as the spear-point threatened from the Ridge, and their internal dissensions made the end certain. As for the kindred policy of throwing troops to the front as available, that was justified by results. It certainly saved Lucknow. A bold rush by the besiegers could have carried the Resi-

gency entrenchments at any time, and would have done so had not the fighting element been drawn off by the various British advances from the south. Cawnpore might have been saved and perhaps would have been saved in the same way but for the treachery of the capitulation. Whether the treachery was planned or not is doubtful ; Sir George apparently thinks not, but there is a point he has not noticed. The rebel soldiery, especially the Moslems, were almost openly in revolt against the Nana's incompetence and faint-heartedness, and he simply had to score something like a military success, if not by fair means then by foul. His success, such as it was, followed by the massacres, did as much as anything to ruin the rebel cause. Chiefs and fighters throughout India, waiting to see which way the cat would jump and ever driven by the instinct that draws outsiders into a fight, found themselves revolted by the Nana's cruelty and repelled by his pusillanimity. Many a waverer was so turned to the British side. Generally the action of British commanders would have commended itself to Nelson. "No captain," said the master of naval war, "can go wrong who lays his ship alongside an enemy." Whatever confusion there was in their general strategy, the British observed that rule.

What do we learn at the present crisis from the story of the Mutiny? One thing at least, that to oust the British Government, in the name of Dominion status or representative institutions or anything else, before an Indian Government commanding the assent of the great majority of the people, and organized on a basis of national consciousness, has come into being, must result in chaos and bloodshed. The second lesson is not to underrate the opposing forces. Our predecessors failed for a time to realize that the Bengal army was of one mind, and that the Hindustani country was behind them. And we are told that we have only to deal with a limited number of educated talkers, mostly high-caste Hindus, of unwarlike character, and, worst error of all, that the great mass of the peasantry are unmoved by political agitation, and indifferent to all but their cattle and their crops. In comparing those times with the present allowance must be made for difference of mentality. If today an Indian cantonment were to rise and after a few preliminary murders to proclaim an Indian Emperor, our instinct would be to make very stern speeches, to open negotiations, and to propose a conference. That scheme has its merits, but it would simply never have occurred to the men of 1857. Anyway, for interest in the past and guidance in the present Sir George MacMunn has given us a most valuable book. A. L. S.

The Indian Civil Service : 1601-1930. By L. S. S. O'Malley, C.I.E. With a Foreword by the Right Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xiv+310. London : John Murray. 12s. net.

This book fills a gap that has long existed, for in spite of many references to the Indian Civil Service in the various histories of India, and much information on the work of its members in numerous books of reminiscences and memoirs, there has hitherto been no connected history of the service, and this Mr. O'Malley has now well supplied.

The origin of the service in the writers, factors, and merchants of the East India Company is traced, and it is shown how, even in the earliest years, their duties included much beyond those of mere mercantile agents. Very early all had to "acquire a knowledge of military discipline." In 1700 in Calcutta one of the Company's servants was appointed "to collect the rents and keep the three Black Towns in order." The evils resulting from the combination of

mercantile with administrative duties and of a nominal rate of pay that rendered other sources of income imperative are shown, and the gradual development of a well-paid service entirely divorced from mercantile pursuits under the administrations of Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, and Lord Cornwallis, traced in sufficient detail, so that by the end of the eighteenth century "paternal despotism had replaced selfish exploitation, and a Civil Service in the modern sense of the word had come into existence."

Then follows an account of what may well be termed the halcyon period of the Service, ending with 1914, the Mutiny and subsequent transfer of India to the Crown making very little difference. This period, and especially the earlier portion, was marked by many notable characters, not a few of whom, mainly district officers, are still remembered in their districts, such as W. A. Brooke, who served from 1769 to 1833; Jonathan Duncan, still remembered in Benares; Sir Frederick Lely, in Guzarat; G. W. Traill and Sir Henry Ramsay, in Kumaon; and many more. Nor is such honour confined to civilians; the memory of many a military officer still lives, as Colonel Grey, of Ferozpur. The period, too, was marked by not a few tragedies. Thirty-three were killed in the Mutiny, and nine died of sickness or exposure, while two won the Victoria Cross—Ross Mangles, "who carried a wounded soldier five miles along a bullet-swept road," and Herwald Wake, for the defence of "the little house at Arrah."

A good account is given of the very varied work that fell to the civilian to carry out, and it is pointed out how very rarely between 1858 and 1914 were troops needed to quell disturbances, practically only for the Deccan dacoities in 1879, the Azamgarh riots in 1893 (and here they only had to show themselves), and a famine riot in Nagpur in 1896.

The varying rules regarding admission to the Service, training, leave, and pay are traced down to the present day. Subsequent to the time of Lord Cornwallis the chief changes have been the introduction of open competition and abolition of the Haileybury College in 1857 (it is interesting to note that the last survivor of the Haileybury civilians only died last year), and the introduction of simultaneous examinations in England and India in 1922.

During the War no less than two hundred members of the Service received commissions in the Indian Army, and many more were prevented from so doing by Government. Only twenty-nine new appointments were made during these years, during which the strain on the older men left behind to carry on the administration was great. The political history of these and subsequent years and the growth of the idea of self-government are sketched, as also the concomitant if not consequent increase in communal strife, for which "the shifting of the balance of power due to the reformed system of Government must be held responsible, and not any dereliction of duty on the part of the Civil Service and the Police." Contrast with the rare need for troops noted above the fact that in 1923 alone troops were called to the aid of the civil power no less than thirty-six times, and that in the five years, 1923-27, 450 persons were killed and 5,000 injured in communal riots.

Truly the "old days" are passed when the district officer stayed in one district for many years and toured leisurely throughout his charge, getting to know his people and gaining their confidence. Such officers are viewed with dislike by the Congress leaders, as one of the chief of these told an Indian friend of the reviewer *à propos* of his own efforts on these lines.

And what of the future? Changes were inevitable with the spread of education and rule by law, for the coexistence of personal influence and rule by law is an almost logical impossibility, and it can scarcely be disguised that

the personal influence of many officers was rather in spite of than in consequence of the law, people looking to the "hakim" for justice and not to the mechanical operation of the law. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were to "effect the substitution of the elected politician for the civilian as the guardian of the public interest," "to tear up by the roots the people's faith in the service as their representative, and to teach them that they must take their troubles to an elected representative." It is evident that there is no room in such a scheme for the Indian Civil Service of the past, nor would there be if Dominion Government, as existing in the present British Dominions, were a really practical possibility.

But completely overshadowing all such schemes is the *fact* of communal tension. So long as resolutions are passed such as that of the leading citizens of Multan (*vide The Times* of July 17, 1931) to the effect that "in view of the anti-Islamic activities of Hindus all over India, as evidenced by serious communal troubles, this meeting looks with alarm on the prospective changes in Indian Government, and urges on the Government that whatever other privileges the British Government may be pleased to accord to India, in the initial stages the European element in the Imperial Services should remain undiminished," and they are balanced by such requests as that of the Hindus of Sikandarabad (reported simultaneously) "imploping that a British official be posted to the town for their protection," there would seem likely to be ample need of the European.

The book ends with brief accounts of members of the Indian Civil Service who have distinguished themselves in other spheres of activity—Colonial Governorships, Commissions, inquiries, as Members of Parliament, etc., and in literature—and the list is not a short one.

The account is well balanced and restrained, perhaps too restrained for the general reader, but then it is a *history* of the Service. Perhaps someone some day will write the romance of the Indian Civil Service! C. A. S.

New Schools for Young India. By W. J. McKee. 9½" x 6¼". Pp. xxii + 435. Illustrations. North Carolina Press, U.S.A.

No student of rural welfare and economy, who has observed the work of Dr. McKee and his successor, Mr. Harper, at the Moga school in the Punjab, will doubt its great value as an educating and illuminating influence, both on the pupils of the school and on the staff of the education departments in India. The function of an official department is primarily to administer, introducing from time to time such modifications as may appear advisable in the accepted system. Adventure and experiment, at least in education and in an enormous country such as India, must be left largely to those enthusiasts official or non-official, who can apply to a limited area or a single institution their continuous and concentrated attention. It is by such means that the ideas of Froebel, Grundtvig, Macmillan, and Montessori in Europe were tested and adapted to more general application. The gibes, therefore, frequently hurled at the Education Department in India are only partially justified, and it is to Dr. McKee's credit that, while pointing to the rigidity and lifelessness which characterize (in unskilful hands) the Indian curriculum, he abstains from condemning the staff for failure to revolutionize it.

The contribution made to experience by the Moga school has brought about a marked and (let us hope) a lasting change in Indian educational method. The rigid was, under his guidance, made flexible, vitality was breathed into dry bones. The teachers' training school at Gakkhar, the rural

economy school at Gurgaon, and similar ventures at Narayanganj (Bombay) and elsewhere, are in themselves evidence of his wide influence. To remake and revivify the ordinary school in India will, however, demand a new type of rural schoolmaster, who can only be created slowly and patiently in the training institutions when these latter have been reformed. Time is needed, money is needed, and thousands of devoted and original leaders such as Dr. McKee. Will India grant the time and the money? Will she produce the leaders, men of self-restraint and vision, unselfish and not afraid to learn? They were found in Scandinavia, where they man the Folk High Schools; in England the call is now given by Sawston.

The kernel of Dr. McKee's wisdom lay in his versatile and sympathetic use of the Project system. To see the boys at work on their post-office, their hospital, their farm-plots, or their community shop was absolutely convincing to those who enjoyed the privilege. Not only was the school task a pleasure to every boy; it was also clearly expanding his mind from day to day, and filling him with tolerance and the sense of discipline. And these were not sons of sharp moneylenders, but boys of a depressed tribe, hitherto narrow in their outlook, miserable in their lack of aspiration. If Moga can bring to birth in their minds a conception of true democracy, a broad nationalism, and a spiritual view of life, interpreting and accepting without greed the triumph of science, the same result may be achieved by lesser men among castes and tribes possessing greater advantages. Liberty with moderation, self-development under wise guidance, and the fostering of a moral and spiritual sense of social responsibility are the main principles of Moga's educational doctrine, and while few will question their validity, their realization in practice by Dr. McKee is perhaps unique in India, and represents the greatest benefit conferred on that country by any American citizen.

It is therefore the more regrettable that Dr. McKee's book, describing with modesty his remarkable achievement, is difficult to read. It is too long, and even a reader who knows Moga and knows the Punjab must strain himself to reach the end. The arrangement is somewhat confusing; Part III, an account of social and economic conditions in the Punjab, should logically have been Part I. There are a few curious errors, such as (apparently) the use of the term Gurmukhi for a language and Hindi for a script, and the implication that the grain elevator at Lyallpur is other than a white elephant. No mention is made of the Rural Community Board or Councils, so eminently germane to the author's subject, and none of village guides, co-operative adult schools, rural libraries, or travelling propaganda vans. But, above all, the statistics and references are in many cases lamentably out of date. Dr. McKee's familiarity with educational literature in the Punjab seems to end with the year 1924; his co-operative data are similarly antique, and though he makes up-to-date quotations from Darling's "Punjabi Peasant" (1928), his village investigations are those of Lucas (1920) and Bhalla (1923), to the entire neglect of the activities of the Punjab Board of Economic Inquiry in subsequent years. Recent publications in India are not easily obtained in the United States of America, but authorship, backed by a well-known name, carries with it an obligation to overcome difficulties.

It would be ungracious to end on a note of adverse criticism. India has every reason to be grateful to Dr. McKee and his successor for their unselfish and distinguished work at Moga, and those educators who will study the book without regard to the defects indicated will find abundant material for thought and admiration.

C. F. S.

India Insistent. By Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.C.L. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. viii + 117. Heinemann. 3s. 6d.

The statement of the case for caution in granting Home Rule to India has in some cases been too long and full. The retired administrator's mind is crammed with knowledge of his subject, which he finds it impossible to express in a moderate compass. Sir Harcourt Butler's little book has the merit of being brief, and such as the average man, with slight knowledge of India, can read and understand without exhausting himself—and we have to face the fact that this is what the average man demands. Sir Harcourt gives no more, and would not claim to give more, than his own opinion, but it is an opinion backed by forty years of Indian experience. He does not, except in the last chapter, attempt to argue, but simply states facts as he sees them, and, whether we agree with him or not, it is well to have the case plainly and concisely stated.

An account of the physical features of India and of the peoples, with their various customs, classes, and religions, is followed by a description of the Indian States, a history of the growth of British power, and an enumeration of the many conflicting interests represented at the Round Table. Sir Harcourt evidently does not regard Mr. Gandhi as an entirely ingenuous person. He concludes with a warning against a hasty surrender to the demands of a small but vocal educated class. The book is full of local touches, and every administrator will recognize incidents such as the claim of an Indian to special favours from the person who had previously punished him. The present reviewer had a precisely similar experience. But it may be held that Sir Harcourt, in common with many old servants of India, fails to realize not so much the merits of the educated classes as the extent to which they can now draw the masses, rural as well as urban, after them; and once that point has been reached, at which the peasant is prepared to believe what the urban politician tells him, there is such force behind the "insistence" of India that resistance becomes impossible without a degree of slaughter which modern minds will not accept. The well-wisher of the humbler classes can only steady the pace of self-government and seek to protect the weaker castes and tribes from the possible dangers of hastiness.

At one point Sir Harcourt appears to have slipped or laid himself open to misconstruction. The non-Brahman Government in Madras was surely not, as he seems to imply, a Government of untouchables, but of non-Brahman caste Hindus. It had, of course, the support of the depressed classes as being anti-Brahman. It is also inadvisable to describe in too plain terms the quality of the water drunk from village tanks or to give details of the atrocities committed by rioters in moments of fury. The facts are undeniable, but striking facts do not lose but gain force by *meiosis*.

This straightforward account of the Indian situation, as viewed by an able and experienced ex-Governor, is worthy of attention from every British citizen and from all Indians who are sufficiently open-minded to wish to hear the other side. Its publication at the present moment is particularly well timed.

C. F. S.

A Digest of the Evidence and Report of the Indian "Age of Consent" Committee. Vol. II. By Katherine Mayo. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 262. Cape. 7s. 6d.

To appreciate the value of this book, the reader must bear in mind that for the last twelve years a constant stream of Hindus has gone to the United States with the object of vilifying the Government of India. Their idea has

been to create a body of opinion in America which would be a substantial help in the activities of Congress.

Unfortunately this activity has been only known to few either in England or India, and very little effort has been made to combat it.

It is because of this campaign of vilification and deliberate misrepresentation that Indian opinion was so greatly upset by the publication of "Mother India." Three similar books had been published in India and had created no stir, but "Mother India," written by an American lady and published in America, was quite a different proposition.

It became the fashion for the Hindus touring America to deny the main facts shown up in "Mother India," and to affirm that child marriage was by no means common, and that Miss Mayo had greatly exaggerated the facts.

However, in 1928 the Age of Consent Committee toured India, and in 1929 they produced their report, and very nauseating is the reading thereof. The evidence given is very complete and unbiassed, and it will be impossible for anyone in future to deny the facts set out. The only conclusion that can be arrived at is that India will not be fit for self-government until these practices are stopped. This point of view was actually taken by some of the witnesses.

The number of people who will ever see the Committee Report are very few, and Miss Mayo has done a notable service in bringing out the salient points in Volume II. As a political and controversial book it is excellent, but the facts brought to light and discussed are so disgusting to Western minds that the reading of it is no pleasant task.

H. S.

Indien Kämpft! By Walter Bosshard. 8½" x 5½". Pp. xii + 290. 68 illustrations. 1 sketch map showing the author's route. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroder. 1931.

Herr Walter Bosshard has made several trips to India during the last ten years, and in 1927-28 was a member of the late Herr Trinkler's Central Asian Expedition, which he described in his book, "Durch Tibet und Turkestan." His latest work, "Indien Kämpft!" is based on observations made during previous visits to India, but for the most part it is the immediate result of a motor tour undertaken for the *Münchener Illustrierte Zeitung* and a Berlin photographic firm, and carried out from February to October, 1930.

The author is careful to explain that the present work is no mere collection of old newspaper articles, but an independent record of his views on the "spiritual and political revolution in India." His journeyings in 1930 ranged from Bombay to Delhi and Patiala, back again to the west to see Gandhi's campaign, then to Calcutta via Allahabad and Benares; from Calcutta to Madras and Mysore, and then back to Bombay, with a final dash to Peshawar and Landi Kotal. He claims to have visited nearly ten thousand villages and towns, and to have conversed with five thousand persons, but admits that in a vast and anomalous country like India, another person might make the same journey and come to precisely opposite conclusions. He might indeed; he might, for instance, come to the conclusion that Sir Parshotamdas Thakurdas, though an important member of the mercantile community, was not a Parsi, and that the Agent to the Governor-General for the Punjab States was not identical with the Punjab Government. But these are minor points in a work of sustained merit. Herr Bosshard has read widely and quoted carefully. His experiences are all personal, and the interviews and conversations which appear in the book are obviously accurate records of what actually occurred. He does full justice to each side of a controversy, and endeavours

to form his opinion without any perverse pre-judgment. As a Swiss he has all the advantages of an impartial observer, and was often recognized and appealed to as such during the course of his travels. But his attitude, if neutral, is by no means merely benevolent. British and Indian officials and non-officials, Princes and politicians, all come under his lash, and since India is now a world problem, neither Europe nor America emerge scatheless. His criticism, however, is for the most part as salutary as it is well deserved.

Himself an organizer of no mean ability, he has but a poor opinion of Indian railway trains, hotels and dak bungalows. New Delhi, as the capital of India, is for him nothing but disillusionment—no opera, no business house, no cinema, no newspaper. But why should Herr Bosshard despair? Indians of the highest rank have been heard to compare New Delhi unfavourably with Versailles, and to sigh for the amenities of Swiss mountain resorts amid the beauties of Kashmir. Here is an obvious opening for Herr Bosshard's compatriots, if not for Herr Bosshard himself.

The photographs in the book are interesting, but the author's descriptive skill makes the ordinary illustration superfluous. No photograph could give a livelier impression of the Chamber of Princes or the Indian Parliament than we get from his graphic pen. The art and craft of the late President of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Jinnah's sartorial perfection and impressive eloquence, Mr. Gandhi's inconsequences, and the white-haired dignity of the elder Nehru are "featured" with peculiar vividness. The figures move to the life; Herr Bosshard's dexterity as an interviewer supplies the voices, and the up-to-date presentment of "Political India in 1930" is complete.

Hardly less realistic are the descriptions of Tata's works at Jamshedpur, Mysore State and the Indo-French Colonies. Herr Bosshard, however, is no mere film producer. His shrewd observation strips the mask from the face of Indian politics. He notes that the Indian members of the Legislature are almost exclusively Europeanized Indians—a class, influential no doubt, but small in proportion to the population. They have adopted the democratic parliamentary life of Great Britain in form, but not in spirit. He can understand their desire to see the Legislature more emancipated and more powerful, but they must learn that they are not sent to Delhi for their own sake or for the sake of their oratory, but to represent in the first instance the millions of India outside Parliament. "Schein Parliament" is, he thinks, the right name for the Legislative Assembly. Penetrating the smoke screen of propaganda, he turns his searchlight on realities. He tells Mrs. Naidu that Gandhi's next conflict will be with the banias and moneylenders who suck the blood of the cultivator. He cannot see how the extravagant prices paid for illicitly manufactured salt can enable the peasant to buy his salt any cheaper. He wonders if Gandhi's followers are in earnest when they declare that they are ready to give their life for their Fatherland, and comes to the conclusion that only a few are really interested in the freedom of India; they are all dreaming of another world. As regards the Congress, Herr Bosshard is under no illusion whatever. "The influence of Congress," he says, "must not be overrated. The Nationalist Press and many European newspapers declare that the Congress has 300 millions behind it. This is very far from being the case. On the contrary, over India as a whole, the group holding these views—a chosen band, no doubt, belonging for the most part to the intelligentsia—is nevertheless small and diminishing. The Muslims, the Untouchables, and the cultivators, with a few exceptions, hold aloof from the Congress; they all fear the rise of a Hindu autocracy which might deny them the rights they have obtained under British rule. The development of the Congress in

certain cities, especially in Bombay, must not be taken as a criterion for the whole of India." Would that so clear and sound an appreciation of the Indian situation was as easy to find in the journalistic and political circles of Britain !

Second to none as a trained observer of modern politics, Herr Bosshard is perhaps on less solid ground when discussing the basic facts of India: the rival religions, the Untouchables, and the cultivator. He rarely quotes from original reports and statistics, but bases his views on the writings of the Abbé Dubois, on the recent Indian Year Books, or the works of Messrs. Darling and Strickland. But, after all, his fleeting visits could hardly provide the first-hand experience which these subjects demand. He has evidently no liking for Hinduism; Brahmins seem to him effeminate, selfish and intolerant, and their caste pride is not diminishing. They have set up a caste barrier against other races which they submerged, but resent the British doing the same to them. In fairness, however, it should be pointed out that the author's judgments appear to have been formed solely from his experience of the Hindus he met in cities and towns. He has little to say of the Rajput, of the Jat, or Maratha cultivator. He prefers Muslims as more manly. But nearly the whole of his chapter on the Indian Muhammadan is devoted to an interview with the late Muhammad Ali, hardly a typical representative of the stolid but eminently sane body of Muslims whose strength lies in the Central and Western Punjab, the Salt Range and Sindh. The map of the author's journeys shows that he made a detour avoiding these tracts—a not unnatural precaution considering the time of year. As a good Swiss who has put in his military service on the Gothard, he has an evident admiration for the tribes on the frontier and the troops which guard it.

Herr Bosshard is far from accepting unreservedly the picture, which the Nationalist flaunts before the world, of a poverty-stricken India oppressed by a Satanic Government. He devotes not the least interesting of his chapters to a most amusing description of the ignorance and carelessness which many American and European newspapers display in their treatment of Indian affairs. On the other hand, with his intimate knowledge of the journalistic world, he is able to expose the reckless and impertinent attitude of the Hindu Nationalist towards the Press of other nations. He dwells on the benefits conferred by the British connection. Railways, roads and canals have unified India, and made her a nation. At the same time Britain's mistakes should be realized. The unsuitable type of education provided by the Government has produced a literate proletariat, with no one to direct commerce or organize industry. In spite of canals and co-operative societies, agriculture and the peasant have never received adequate attention. The British Government is popular with the bulk of the rural population at present. But there is always the possibility of the Nationalists winning over the peasant to their side by specious promises. This contingency must be carefully guarded against. Failure on the part of the Nationalists to carry out their promises is bound to produce resentment among the rural population. The last and greatest service of Great Britain to India may well be to preserve her from the chaos which is bound to follow on this disillusionment.

Herr Bosshard's concluding chapter gives food for thought. No country of Western Europe, he thinks, can have any interest in the break-up of Britain's world power. Such a catastrophe would mean widespread complication and confusion. India's future is no longer a matter for Great Britain and India alone; and the Englishman in India must not alienate the sympathies of non-Britishers by his attitude of superiority. The aim of the Congress Party with their intensive press campaign of an "enslaved India"

is to isolate England from the rest of the world, and to win over America and the Continent to their side. But let there be no mistake; India will not be content with shaking off the British yoke: she will make it as uncomfortable as possible for all white races.

Herr Bosshard's record of his Indian impressions takes us as far as October, 1930. An up-to-date sequel from the pen of so clear-sighted and humorous an observer would be gladly welcomed. But it is difficult to see what purpose is served by Herr Ludwig Ankenbrand's appendix to the present volume. The tone of factious triumph over the supposed discomfiture of England is in strong contrast to Herr Bosshard's fair-minded survey of a problem bristling with difficulties. The writer might well take to heart the lessons which Herr Bosshard seeks to drive home in his concluding chapter.

An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam. By Reuben Levy, M.A.
Vol. I. Pp. x+410. London: Williams and Norgate (for the Herbert Spencer trustees). £1 1s.

Mr. Levy's important and admirable book is, by intention, a continuation of Herbert Spencer's "Descriptive Sociology," and has been undertaken at the request of his trustees. It is to be completed in a second volume, which will cover the ground of provincial—and, later, independent—Islamic Governments, and of Islamic philosophy and science; but to read the volume now before us with pleasure and without sense of incompleteness, it is by no means necessary to await its sequel. The work is well printed and produced (though printer's slips are not entirely lacking), provided with four helpful if familiar maps, a satisfying index, and a consistent transliteration. The lack of a date seems an unfortunate oversight; and possibly a more detailed table of contents, or alternatively a more methodical sectioning of the chapters, would have been welcome.

The title chosen by Mr. Levy could stand not ineptly at the head of a number of quite dissimilar works. To one writer the Sociology of Islam would suggest one treatment and content, to others others. It would therefore be absurd to ask Mr. Levy all that any writer could have included. He confines himself, with reasoned clarity, to his professed aim "to investigate" the Islamic "system of religion and its effect upon the life and organization of Moslem society."

This leads him, in the present volume, to consider in turn the grades of Islamic society, the status of women and children, the sources and scope of *Aqah*, and governmental conceptions and phenomena. Much of the ground is fairly familiar, in outline, to orientalist; Mr. Levy is too sound to wish to spring surprises upon his readers; and the nature of the subject excludes both sensational treatment and the production of revolutionary fresh evidence. But the survey of existing evidence has been extremely thorough, and the general reader will be gratified to find his own trusted authorities—Gibbon, Lane Poole, Dozy, Yule—quoted as confidentially as the most inaccessible German periodical. References to the recent Press, and to Mr. Levy's own first-hand observations in Islamic countries (notably Iraq and Persia), combine with a notably clear and effortless style to give the reader a good conceit of himself. He will, moreover, profit by his own occasional reactions against, here and there, a generalization which the need for brevity forces upon the author and which his moderation and detachment deprive of danger. Not everyone, for instance, will consider Istanbul today "a monument of Islam's past imperial greatness in Europe" (p. 50); nor agree that (p. 77) "no one who

is unable to boast of his genealogical connections in the tribe can ever hold command in it: and certainly no stranger can do so" (what of the Sa'duns themselves?); nor that (p. 100) "at the present time there are no sharp divisions in society nor any castes in Persia." But these are matters of opinion, and Mr. Levy's has been formed after an exhaustive, yet always humane, study of all the evidence.

Special reference should be made to the admirably proportioned account, which forms an introduction to this volume, of the outward spread of Islam: an account full of unstressed and significant comment which, perhaps more than any other chapter, will correct current misconceptions. There is great value also in the careful tracing of pre-Islamic usages in the system of Muhammad, upon whom and whose successors customs and beliefs of the *jahiliyah* were forced by popular conservatism, by expediency, and by their own inability to conceive the world otherwise. Justice is done to the inconsistencies in the new system which vexed and ultimately divided those upon whom it fell to base law and Government and ethics thereon—inconsistencies even in that small part of a full system which the limited knowledge and un-analytical mind of the Prophet enabled him to reveal. Many fundamentals were left entirely uncovered, almost puerile unessentials were laboured; and it is remarkable how much of accepted Islamic usage today has no Koranic authority.

What Mr. Levy does not do—it would require a volume devoted to each Islamic country to do it—is to trace, into modern times, the extent to which Islamic precept and rule has, in fact, been incorporated and remains imbedded in actual current law and society—the directions and local causes from which departure therefrom has come, the clash sooner or later of the *shari'a* with modern codified law, of a seventh-century Arabian with later and foreign conceptions of society. Probably the second volume will be helpful on these matters, an account of which would do everything to bridge the gulf between the Islam of the scholar and that of the traveller and administrator (Mr. Levy has been all three).

Meanwhile, it is possible to commend the work before us as reaching a very high standard of scholarship, as eminently readable, and as likely to hold its place, a product of English orientalism at its best, for many years to come.

S. H. L.

In the Arabian Desert. Selected by Katherine McGiffert Wright from the works of Alois Musil. 9" x 5½". Pp. xiv + 339. Illustrations and map. Jonathan Cape. 18s.

The Rwalla Beduins inhabit that part of the Northern Arabian steppe which is known as El Hamād, together with the country surrounding it, as far as Damascus and Palmyra in the north, Taima in the south-west, the nearer borders of the Nafūd in the south, and the district known as El Wudyān, which slopes down to the Euphrates, in the east. In this territory, which is between 90,000 and 100,000 square miles in area, the Rwalla wander almost without pause. During November they trek from the Syrian border southward to the Jowf oases; in December, January, and February they are to be found in the southern extremity of the Hamād; in March and April they move into its eastern and northern districts; and in June and July they return to their summer grazing grounds on the borders of Syria, where they usually continue to wander until the end of October.

The Hamād itself is completely waterless in the summer season, from July to October inclusive. There is no well found anywhere in its 50,000

square miles of rock and sand. Wolves, hyenas, and foxes roam in its hot and arid spaces; gazelles, ostriches, and hares live their troubled lives in its stony valleys; vultures and hawks swoop like meteorites out of its skies; serpents slither amongst its sparse herbage; lizards draw lace-like patterns in its sands. These creatures never drink. But although the Hamâd is waterless in summer, it is quite otherwise in winter. At the end of October or early in November heavy clouds from the Persian Gulf are blown over it, and rain falls on the parched soil. At this time the Rwalla Beduins, encamped in their summer quarters on the Syrian border, continually turn their eyes towards the south-east. The moment they see distant lightnings in the sky, scouts, mounted on swift dromedaries, are sent out to search for rainpools in the Hamâd. As soon as the rains have begun to fall the black tents are rolled up, the tent furniture and the pots and pans are bestowed in strong hair-cloth sacks, the burden camels are saddled, and all the gear of the Arabs is loaded upon them. Then with a final "We have resigned ourselves unto Allah" rumbling in their skinny throats, the nomads mount and ride forward into the stony wilderness. The joy of the wanderer lights up their grim, sun-blackened faces as they cry "Urge on! Urge on!" Their scouts come riding in to tell them which rainpools are full. Every khabra (rainpool) has its name, which is well known to every man and boy, woman and girl, in the tribe. The depressions are dotted about all over the Hamâd. Some of them are several miles in length, others are no more than three or four yards. Not all of them become filled with water in any given year. In some years no rain at all falls on the country which drains into a khabra, and that water-hole remains dry. But at no great distance there will probably be another, which is well filled with the muddy fluid which the Beduin loves more than the clear water found in wells.

Soon after the rains have begun to fall the dry desert shrubs grow fresh and green, and scarcely two months have gone by before new grasses spring up all over the wide steppe, filling every rocky valley with a filmy growth of vegetation. Into this transformed wilderness the nomads drive their immense herds of camels. Later on, flocks of sheep and goats, creatures able to subsist for four or five days without water in winter, will be driven far into it also. In two or three months the camels grow fat with good feeding and abundance of water. Their humps rise like hair-covered domes. The young camels are born in the Hamâd, and by the time the Arabs return, in May or June, to their summer grazing grounds, these calves will be three or four months old, and romping and gambolling together like colts.

The Beduins are needy men, starved men, the victims of a life-long hunger. Their minds are continually harassed by the importunities of their empty bellies. This, added to the wandering life which the search for pasturage entails on him, makes the Arab both acquisitive and violent. Old men are seldom seen among them, for the Beduin who is stricken in years must continue to ride his camel in the daily march like a young man. When, on a certain day, he is unable to mount and ride, it is because he is dead. No disability less than this could have prevented him. His relatives wrap him in his linen gown, and bury him amongst the stones of the open wilderness. Then, without a backward glance, they ride away on the ceaseless quest for water and pasturage.

When the Beduin has coffee to drink, bread to eat, and a sufficiency of water and grazing for his camels, he counts himself a fortunate and happy man. Perhaps he experiences his keenest sense of joy when he rides forth with a band of raiders to seek whom he may devour. His most bitter times

are in seasons of drought when the longed-for rain does not come. Then he drives his fainting camels hither and thither in the empty wilderness, seeking vainly for pasturage and water. Every day some of his exhausted beasts fall on the ground, groan a little, and die. With set face and straining eyes the wretched Beduin drives forward in the sunfire. All his life he has lived on the fringes of disaster, and he dares not to anger Allah or the sun by murmuring against the One or the other.

Does "In the Arabian Desert" give us a true and vivid picture of these men and of the manner of their lives? To the somewhat limited depths to which it penetrates it does give such a picture. The author has spent years in the aggregate in acquiring the knowledge which he has used in the writing of the several volumes of his travels published by the American Geographical Society. These volumes are full of valuable facts concerning Northern Arabia and its inhabitants.

The volume under review aims at being a popular account of some of the author's journeys in a form calculated to appeal to the general reader. Although it suffers from a lack of cohesion, it is a very readable book, and it gives rise to a distinct desire for more. Its chief defect, in my opinion, is that in some of the conversations Beduins are represented as making long speeches beautifully governed by the rules of logic. In these efforts the speaker seems to anticipate every conceivable difficulty, and every possible question, which might be expected to occur to the mind of an uninitiated European. While European readers will certainly gather much reliable information from these speeches, they will as certainly receive, or be obliged to repudiate, the idea that the Beduin Arabs marshal their facts, and impart them to their hearers, in the clear and concise manner of our popular lecturers. This is hardly the case. It usually requires several leading questions in order to elicit a single fact from a son of Ishmael.

The illustrations are interesting and the map is unusually clear. The publishers are to be congratulated on the production of a handsome volume.

ELDON RUTTER.

Passages from "Arabia Deserta." By Charles Doughty. Selected by E. Garnett. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 320; map. London: Cape. 1931. 4s. 6d.

This "new voice of an old friend" hails us strangely from behind the green and white dust-cover of Mr. Jonathan Cape's *Life and Letters* series. Uniform with the work of such diverse writers as André Siegfried, Katherine Mayo, and the late Aloysius Horn, *Passages from Arabia Deserta* is aptly dressed to catch many an eye which might never see—or, seeing, might shun—the sober bulk of the original book.

Mr. Edward Garnett, in putting together these selected passages, has followed a plan abandoned in 1906, when, with the author's consent, he prepared the abridged two-volume edition of *Arabia Deserta* published two years later by Messrs. Duckworth. That edition amounted to about half of the original, and though Mr. Garnett has been able to claim on its behalf a widening of the circle of Doughty's readers, it had the drawbacks of a compromise, retaining for the many the disadvantages of great length and a price insufficiently low, while depriving the few of one-half of what they wanted to read. This time the editor—or, rather, selector—and the publisher together have been able to do the job thoroughly. *Passages from Arabia Deserta* comes down in bulk to a quarter of the whole work, and in price to the remarkably low figure of 4s. 6d.

The task of selecting a quarter from Doughty's book must have been heavy (for there is no empty quarter in *Arabia Deserta*), but Mr. Garnett has chosen well. He has kept Khalil on the move, has not allowed him to cut back for more than a couple of pages to former wanderings in Transjordan, or to lie too long in the summer tents; nor has he permitted a second stay at Teyma or a second visit to Hayil.* If now and then the traveller takes a sudden unspecified leap (as from Zeyd's desert camp to the Mahuby tents on the Harra), it is the necessity of coming through in 130,000 words that is driving him on.

"My object," writes Mr. Garnett in his Introduction, "in selecting these passages is that for every old reader to whom *Arabia Deserta* is known there shall be five new readers, shortly, to whom *Passages* shall be a great experience, exciting not only wonder and admiration, but introducing to them a style consummate in its creative richness." The criterion, therefore, by which the editor would desire his work to be judged is the degree of his success in presenting a bundle of samples sufficiently cohesive to hang together as a single parcel, and representative enough to display to advantage in a limited space what Doughty has to offer. To this end the book must tell the story of the journey and show the traveller's literary powers in passages of variety as wide as possible, while preserving a due balance between the comparative lengths of the portions chosen.

It is interesting to see how this has been done. Wisely—perhaps inevitably—the editor dispenses with any division into chapters. Cross-headings, usually marking a break in *Arabia Deserta*, are freely used to relieve the continuity of the text. The manner in which the passages have been selected and the balance of different portions of the book, one against another, deserve attention. The start from Damascus and the journey with the Haj (20 pp.) bring us to the kella and the monuments (20 pp.). Sixty pages are allotted to the wanderings with the Fukara and earlier accounts of nomad life. Then, after a flying visit to the Aueyrid Harra, and the well-known description of Vesuvius in eruption, we cut through to the ride to Hayil (20 pp.) and the life and story of the Rashidian town (50 pp.). The precarious journey to Kheybar takes twenty pages, but the stock of Arabian lore gathered during Doughty's long captivity in that place finds no room in the sixteen pages assigned to the period of his stay. Next, we catch a glimpse of the second ride to Hayil, and of the subsequent passage to Boreyda, ten pages telling of the alarms of that inhospitable town. In half-a-dozen pages we read of the perilous ride to Aneyza, where four whole chapters of *Arabia Deserta* are represented by less than thirty pages. The desert journey to Ayn-es-Zeyma (16 pp.), culminating in the furious incidents of Salem and Fheyd (10 pp.), is followed by the traveller's brief ride to safety at Taif.

To all who are familiar with *Arabia Deserta*—and what reader of this JOURNAL is not?—the above will give the key to the manner in which Mr. Garnett has dressed the 300 pages which form his show-case. For general interest, some may regret the omission of the all but fatal quarrel with Mohammed Aly el Mahjub, or of some of the Kheybar stories: others may wish that more had been heard of the Nejmy himself, or of Zamil and the three Abdullahs of Aneyza. But it is so much easier to indicate matter for inclusion than to suggest which passages should be omitted in exchange, that only a very venturesome critic would attempt the task.

Besides, the editor's prime purpose is a literary purpose, and variety of

* Doughty's spelling of names is adopted in this review.

display has certainly been achieved. Admirers of *Arabia Deserta* will be glad that new readers are given so many of the most justly famous passages, including: "And now come down to Arabia, we are passed from known landmarks . . ." and "If after some shower the great drinkless cattle . . ."; the description of Vesuvius, already mentioned; and "Now longwhile our black booths had been built . . . the worsted booths leak to this fiery rain of sunny light . . ."—though unhappily a well-meaning compositor seems (p. 100) to have thought "fiery ray" a more fitting phrase!

From the literary point of view, Mr. Garnett has done well to refrain from seeking to fill the gaps in the narrative with fussy notes, explaining what has been omitted. Most readers new to Doughty, however, will be sufficiently interested in the book as a record of travel to try to follow his wanderings with the aid of the map provided—a task which would have been simplified if Doughty's track had been furnished with directional arrow-heads, and the map itself supplemented by a time-table of the journey, the corresponding dates being inserted at appropriate points in the text, where such are not already to be found in the narrative. In so far as it is a record of travel abbreviated for the purpose of appealing to a wider circle, this book takes its place beside the same publisher's recent edition of passages selected by Miss Katherine Wright from Mr. Alois Musil's Arabian travel books. For all the literary talent in which the general company of explorers abounds, it sometimes happens that each published volume is, in reality, two books interwoven—one for the expert and one for the ordinary reader—nor is Mr. Musil the only living traveller of whose works such can justly be said. This is not to imply that a serious traveller should write down to a "best-selling" level, but to indicate that in so many travel books literary material of general interest lies implicit, waiting only to be dug out for the ordinary reader's delight.

Mr. Cape, who, prompted by Colonel Lawrence, was responsible for the complete editions of *Arabia Deserta* published in 1921 and succeeding years, deserves congratulation no less than Mr. Garnett on this latest enterprise. The admirable format and typography of *Passages from Arabia Deserta* make easy, comfortable reading, and it is remarkable how true to itself the familiar language rings in this new home. Khalil (may his readers increase!) stands alone, undated as Hamlet in modern dress. E. D.

Mustapha Kemal: Between Europe and Asia. By Dagobert von Mikusch. Translated by John Linton. London: William Heinemann, Ltd. 1931. 12s. 6d.

This is a cleverly constructed book, written in an easy style and, except for an occasional mistake, well translated. It should, however, be approached with a certain caution. The author's reference in the preface to the sources which he has used is conveniently vague. He has doubtless used materials which are available in European languages; he has also evidently gleaned what he can in conversation with members of the governing clique in Angora. He states that he has used Turkish documents, but it is hardly likely that he has done so in the original, for it would seem from his book that one limitation on his authority is his ignorance of Turkish. The greater number of Turkish names and words in the book are either mistranscribed or mistranslated, or both. The transliteration follows a continental method, and the mistakes in transcription must therefore be ascribed not to the translator but to the author himself. There are other inaccuracies, which hardly seem as if

they were due to mere carelessness ; thus, the conspiracy in Smyrna against Mustafa Kemal Pasha occurred in 1926, not 1927 (p. 371).

The author was ill-advised to describe his book as "a biography." Had he called it "a study" there might have been no quarrel with him, however its value was assessed ; but a biography it is not. The biographical portions can only be described as "skimpy." They could not be more ; the materials do not exist. The considerable length of the book is eked out with what is practically a study of Turkish politics since 1908 in their general lines. This is ground which is pretty unfamiliar to the general reader, and the author's book will furnish him with a fairly accurate view of the forces at work. He is writing from the Turkish point of view, and he not unfairly records the view which educated people in Turkey take of both movements and men. Some allowance must be made for a bias in favour of the hero, but the Ghazi Pasha's services to his country have been so great that it is not always possible to cavil at some belittlement (not directly expressed) of those whom he has succeeded to or swept aside. Indeed, it is often difficult for a foreigner to reconcile the undoubted admiration with which at certain periods his countrymen have regarded him with the violent opposition that has broken out from time to time in political circles, and this is a point of which we think the author gives a good impression. He is distinctly clear on the sources of the personal rivalries of Turkish politics, viewed, be it understood, from his hero's point of view.

But these things are not biography, nor as a study do they compose an impartial and complete view. The strictly biographical passages have the defects natural to biographies of living personages. The less admirable sides of the Ghazi Pasha's character are mentioned but glozed over ; perhaps it had been better not to refer to them at all. The author belauds the violence and dissimulation which he describes his hero as often employing. This attitude, of course, follows from the point of view which he has adopted as to the Ghazi Pasha's motives and as to the vital necessity of his success. The patriotism of the Ghazi Pasha cannot be doubted ; but he is one of those dominating figures, the strands of whose motives are never likely to be altogether disentangled. At any rate, to attempt to do so now would require a very much more extensive and exact investigation into the recollections of his opponents as well as of his partisans than the author has made. The amount which must be allowed for the partisan outlook of the book may be gauged by the fact that the author is fond of applying the adjective "Puritanic" to the governing clique in Angora, but perhaps he has not a very precise idea of what Puritanism was.

The book, skilfully written, may easily make a favourable impression on an uninformed reader, but it is quite a superficial work. The space is distributed in the wrong proportions. The author's hero exercised no influence on the course of events before the end of the war, but the author devotes a very great part of his book to an account of the movements of those times. On the other hand, he gives but a few pages to the really important movements of later years with which the Ghazi Pasha has been most intimately bound up. As a consecutive record the book breaks off with the events of 1925 ; only the barest skeleton of an account is given of the modern reforms introduced under the Ghazi Pasha's auspices. A serious investigation into the state of Turkey during the last seven years would be a matter of the greatest interest, and is one of the tasks proper to a biographer of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The author has preferred a few general remarks of the most commonplace character. His book must be pronounced to be a clever example of an undesirable type of journalism, the practitioners of which are content to beg all the important

questions and to eschew all serious investigations. It is a pity, for in the story of the Anatolian War of Independence and the personality of the Ghazi Pasha there is much to stir and interest the student, much which deserves treatment of a higher kind than it here receives.

J. P.

Facets of the Chinese Question. By E. Manico Gull. 9"×5½". Pp. xxi+192. With illustrations and maps. London: Ernest Benn, Ltd. 1931. 10s. 6d. net.

It is a remarkable fact that, although China today is one of the most severely criticized and one might almost say best-abused nations in the world—if judged by letters to *The Times* and the conversations in the morning rooms of Far Eastern clubs in London—yet such is the spell which the Chinese are able to cast over foreigners, and particularly over Englishmen, who have lived among them for any length of time, that so many of the latter feel impelled on their return home to write books about the country and its people, which are almost invariably couched in terms of sympathy if not of genuine liking. It is perhaps fortunate that the gift of making books is not given to all our friends from China, otherwise we should be obliged, as Mr. Pepps was on one occasion, to "fall to the furnishing of a closett" for our Chinese library.

We hasten to assure the author of *Facets of the Chinese Question* that his most interesting and scholarly work has, in our opinion, more than earned its right to be included in the "closett" aforesaid. We are only sorry that, owing to the unavoidable absence abroad of the two members of this Society best qualified to review a book of this description, the task should have fallen upon the present reviewer, who, although he has lived some years in China, is bound to confess that he has no more than a nodding acquaintance with the Chinese classics, and feels more at home with treatises and tariffs than with the intellectual and moral development of the Chinese people.

To the studies of Chinese life and character, made from varying angles or facets, which compose this book, the author brings several valuable qualifications. He has lived for some time in China—but not too long: he has been concerned in public affairs—but not too deeply: he has devoted much time to the study of the Chinese language and literature—but he has been saved from becoming a sinologue. Moreover, he possesses a knowledge of trade conditions in China which any Commercial Attaché might well envy, combined with, as Mr. Micawber once remarked of his young friend David Copperfield, "a capacity for getting up the classics to any extent." In this latter respect, the large number of quotations culled impartially from Chinese and Western literature, which serve to support and illustrate the author's arguments, may well be a source of embarrassment to the plain man or ordinary reader, who will feel keenly how much his education has been neglected when he finds he can hardly recognize a single one of them. The inferiority complex thus set up is not lessened when Mr. Gull uses some such polite phrase as, "The reader no doubt recalls the lines," when introducing a verse from a French poem, which the present reviewer, though in his youth the recipient of prizes for proficiency in the French language and literature, is ashamed to confess he never heard of! The quotation in question will be found on p. 84, and it would be interesting to know how many of Mr. Gull's readers can identify it.

And this brings us to one of the pitfalls, which the writer of a work of this kind may easily fall into, namely, that in attempting to do justice to an abstruse and complicated subject he may, while satisfying the intellectual demands of the High Brow—the term is used in its strictly Pickwickian sense—

be writing entirely above the head of the Plain Man who, being one of a large majority, will be mainly responsible for the successful circulation of the book. Into this pitfall Mr. Gull has, at least in some chapters of his book, almost inevitably fallen, but not too deeply. His head still remains above the ground; he remembers the Plain Man, stumbling painfully after him, and from time to time suddenly switches off from a learned discussion of the influence of the Chinese script on the Chinese character or the exact meaning of the term *Wu Wei*, to an entertaining account of a trip through the Bohea Hills or a race meeting in Mongolia. So let the Plain Man not despair of staying the course, but, skipping the small ditches and splashing through the big ones, he will arrive safely at the last chapter, where he will, we feel sure, be the first to admit that he has had a very pleasant run. He will find, moreover, that the flashes of humour and shrewd comments on men and things with which the book abounds will go far to light his way through some of the darker passages of Mr. Gull's careful analysis of the mentality of the Chinese people.

Having thus faithfully dealt with the author and the reader of this book, it may be expected that we shall now give some account of its contents. This we do not propose to do, at any rate in detail, partly because it would be impossible within the limits of this review to offer any reasoned comments on the great variety of subjects which the author touches on in this comparatively small volume, partly because we think the book is so good that people ought to read it and not be satisfied—as we fear most of us sometimes are—with reading a review of it in a magazine. Suffice it to say that the twelve chapters range from essays on the influence of Confucianism on modern Chinese life and thought, on the attitude of the Chinese towards things spiritual and things material, on their strange shortcomings in practical affairs and on the much-debated question of the position of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the revolutionary movement, to a review of Russian policy in Mongolia and the part the Bolsheviks have played in recent happenings in China—all matters which the author deals with from a common-sense and, in some respects, novel point of view. These essays are interspersed with lighter descriptions of travel and adventure in various parts of China some years ago, with a charming account of the two capitals—Peking and Nanking—in which the writer draws attention to the extraordinary fascination which the former city has for all foreigners who have lived there. In this place he advances the ingenious, but debatable, theory that the Ming Emperor, Yung Lo, transferred the capital from Nanking to Peiping, as it was then called, owing to the attraction of Peking's clear blue skies and the view of the western hills from the city walls.

The Plain Man will say that the last two chapters on the Future of Shanghai and Other Issues and Some Inferences are the best, and with this view the reviewer, reluctantly compelled after reading the book to place himself in the P.M. category, is inclined to agree. In Chapter XI. Mr. Gull gives us a really excellent summary of the origin and development of the port of Shanghai, with special reference to the foreign settlements, in which he shows clearly how the present difficulties between foreigners and Chinese in regard to the administration of the settlements have gradually and almost inevitably arisen. He concludes the chapter on Shanghai with words which both foreign merchant and Chinese official might well take to heart:

“No country can expect to trade with China without Chinese goodwill. On the other hand, goodwill alone will not enable trade to be conducted. Trade requires mechanism. It requires not merely that we

should offer to China the things she wants at a price she can afford, but such conditions as will enable her merchants to take delivery, and enjoy possession, of the goods we export; our own manufacturers, shippers, and importers to receive, bank, and remit the money that is paid for them. The International Settlement has hitherto enabled these requirements to be fulfilled. The economic criterion of any proposals made for its future administration is, will they do the same?"

In Chapter XII. the author sums up the conclusions he has arrived at after viewing the Chinese question from its differing aspects, and the last paragraph may be quoted as defining his attitude towards the country and its people. Mr. Gull says (p. 192):

"I do maintain . . . that if China is not to become a disturber of the world's peace, the West has got to co-operate with her best elements, which are just as fearful of, and opposed to, her worst as we are. That to do this the first essential is to win their respect, and that the courses suggested above will help to do this. For respect will not be won by treating the Chinese mind as inferior to ours, or as being the same as ours; nor will it be won by weakness, sentimentality, or jockeying. It can only be won by unchallengeable sincerity, scientific, and sympathetic study of the country's language and modes of thought, courteous treatment of her people and, last but not least, by commingling our religious sense with hers, without self-righteousness and without ecclesiastical or racial pride."

With the above sentiments most of us who are interested in the development of friendly relations between Great Britain and China will be in hearty agreement, though some of us might like to add, as a rider, the suggestion that Chinese statesmen, more particularly those who are charged with the conduct of international affairs, would do well to bear in mind Confucius' definition of the term reciprocity, which is after all the essence of co-operation, quoted by Mr. Gull on p. 77:

"Confucius was asked, 'Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice in all one's life?' He answered, 'Is not reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself do not do to others.'"

In conclusion, we should like to express our gratitude to Mr. Gull and his publishers for the excellent get-up of this book. The volume is of handy size, light in weight, and the print is delightfully large and clear. The bright yellow binding, which will remind some of Mr. Gull's readers of hot afternoons spent in weary searches through Hertslet's "China Treaties," is in pleasant relief to the glaring red in which so many recent books on China have, no doubt unintentionally, been covered. And now having presented this little bouquet to author and publisher, may we enter a mild protest against the absence of a date, both from title page and author's preface? It is always annoying to take down a book from the library shelf and have to search for the date. In this case it will be found hidden away at the foot of a blank page and disguised in Roman numerals, which to many of us present the same difficulty as the typewriter did to the Scotchman!

H. H. F.

Through the Dragon's Eyes. By L. C. Arlington. Pp. lvii+348, with illustrations, many in colour, and a map. London: Constable and Co. Price 21s. net.

Mr. Arlington has placed the conscientious reviewer of this somewhat unusual but most interesting work in a quandary, because he has not produced one book, but several books treating of widely different subjects, all rolled into

one, and to deal adequately with the kaleidoscopic views which the author has seen through the *Dragon's Eyes* would require far more space than this JOURNAL can afford to give.

Some may think—and after reading the book we are inclined to agree—that it would have been better had it been shorter: that some selection among the many good things the author sets before us would have made it more digestible to the average reader. At the same time we must remember that the author's recollections of his life in China range over a very long period, that he lived in stirring times, and took his part in events which have since passed into history, so that he may well be pardoned if he sets down what he saw and what he went through just as it all comes back to an unusually retentive memory. A glance at the map at the end of the book, dotted all over with red stars indicating the places lived in and visited by the author, will more than justify his claim to have "studied the originals themselves."

The narrative parts of the book are, in our opinion, by far the best, making ample amends for the parts dealing with foreign and Chinese politics where, for reasons which will be referred to later, the author does not quite do justice either to himself or to his subject. The autobiographical note (which incidentally stretches to fifty-seven pages) tells of the author's early adventures in the Southern States of the U.S.A. in the 'seventies and voyages before the mast in sailing-ships, exciting tales of land and sea which a Henty or a Ballantyne would have worked up into a first-class book for boys, but which do not quite fit into the account of the author's career in China.

On his arrival in China at the end of 1879 the author, then a young man of twenty, joined the Chinese Navy and thus started a connection with the Chinese Government which was to last for the remarkable period of fifty years. Nine chapters devoted to Mr. Arlington's naval service contain interesting pen pictures of the great Viceroy Li Hung Chang, China's first modern statesman and diplomat, of that gallant but unfortunate sailor Admiral Ting, the hero of Wei Hai Wei, and of that Gilbertian "Ruler of the Queen's Navee," Admiral Wu, who was rewarded by the Empress-Dowager for sinking a French fleet in a naval action which never took place. Mr. Arlington was with the Chinese fleet as gunnery lieutenant during the "state of war" between China and France in 1884 and 1885 and the desultory naval operations off the China coast when the stolid courage of the untrained Chinese seamen and gunners was only equalled by the skill with which their officers, except on one unfortunate occasion at Foochow, manœuvred their ships so as to avoid contact with the enemy.

In the year 1885 Mr. Arlington joined the Chinese Maritime Customs, in which he served for nearly twenty years, rising from the humble position of a "watcher" to officer in command of a revenue launch in Hongkong waters, or, to be more exact, Chinese waters surrounding the island of Hongkong and the mainland of British Kowloon, where he had some exciting experiences with Chinese smugglers and pirates. Mr. Arlington's description of "treaty port" life in China in the 'eighties and 'nineties is vividly and often amusingly written, but it is marred, we think, by his constant and, more often than not, ill-natured criticism of his superior officers, from the "Great I. G." downwards. Of Sir Robert Hart, who founded the Chinese Customs Service and gave China what she had never possessed before, an honest and efficient revenue-collecting administration, which, in spite of revolution and civil war and regional governments contending with one another for its control, still remains today China's one available security for much-needed foreign loans, Mr. Arlington has nothing good to say, and he gives the general reader an

entirely erroneous impression of the services rendered to his adopted country by that great Irishman by harping, chiefly in footnotes, on some of the minor failings to which all great administrators and men of action are liable to succumb.

The same may be said of Mr. Arlington's criticisms of the men who have followed Sir Robert Hart as Inspector-General of Customs, and his references to certain unfortunate incidents in which senior members of the Customs who are still alive were once concerned, are, we must frankly say, in bad taste. One cannot help feeling that Mr. Arlington's bitterness in regard to his superiors in the Customs Service is largely due to the hardships of his early life, followed by long years of drudgery in a department of the Customs—the "outdoor staff," as it is commonly called—where he must have felt that his ability and education—in particular his knowledge of the Chinese language—were wasted and unrecognized; and this impression is confirmed by the later chapters of his book, where he describes his more responsible and more congenial employment in the Postal Service. He joined the Chinese Posts in 1896, and after over thirty years' service in various parts of China, retired in 1929, being then Chinese Secretary of the Directorate-General of Posts, with the rank of Commissioner.

Mr. Arlington belongs to that small band of foreigners, mainly British, though he himself is an American, who, in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties, often accompanied by actual danger to life and limb, helped to build up the Chinese Post Office from a small letter-carrying department of the Chinese Customs to the great organization it is today, probably, having regard to the vast area it serves, one of the most important postal administrations in the world. His narrative of his experiences in Nanking, Changsha, Kueilin, and other places, which, as he remarks, always seemed to be storm centres during his stay there, makes most interesting reading, and if his comments on his superiors are characteristically outspoken and not always very favourable, they have perhaps more justification than his strictures on their colleagues in the Customs.

The remaining chapters dealing with Chinese Personalities and Miscellanea consist mainly of a *résumé* of Mr. Arlington's views and judgments on every aspect of the Chinese question, and for the reason that, as Mr. Arlington remarks in his Preface, "an onlooker of some fifty years is apt to see something of the game," are entitled to respect, although to some of us they may not always carry conviction. Mr. Arlington's selection, for instance, of that ill-assorted pair of *Tuchuns*, Marshals Yen Hsi Shan and Feng Yu Hsiang, not to mention that destructive genius Wang Ching Wei, as leading personalities of the day, may appear to many as an undeserved slur on the members of the present Nanking Government, who are doing their best to repair the havoc wrought in the body politic of China by the aforesaid "personalities."

Of the illustrations in colour of Chinese tortures, which form a feature of this book, we feel bound to say a word. It has frequently been remarked by foreign residents in China (and the author himself draws attention to the matter) that in spite of the number of books that have been written about the country and its people in recent years there still exists, more especially in England and America, the most surprising ignorance regarding the manners and customs of the Chinese. As a case in point may be mentioned an article in a recent issue of a magazine devoted to the interests of our dog friends in which the writer stated that the Chow dog was chiefly reared in China as a table delicacy, and in another place referred to dog flesh as a Chinese "food-

stuff." Mr. Arlington, obviously quite unwittingly, has added to these current misconceptions by including in his book a number of illustrations (to be exact, eleven out of twenty-four) showing various forms of Chinese torture, evidently authentic, as they are depicted by a Chinese artist. It is true that he explains that these forms of torture have now been abolished in China, and that he is careful to add under the title of each picture the words "Ching Period," but this will not, we fear, prevent the reader who may have no special knowledge of China from coming away with the impression that the inflicting of the most horrible tortures so simply and faithfully portrayed by the artist is still a common and everyday practice in that country.

Mr. Arlington's views on the foreign missionary question, which would appear to be as much a stumbling block to him as was King Charles's head to Mr. Dick, will hardly meet with general acceptance among foreigners who have lived in China. In drawing attention to the mistakes and shortcomings of individuals and individual bodies of missionaries he seems to us to ignore entirely the good and lasting work which missionaries in China, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, have done in the past, and are doing today, for the Chinese people.

As we have pointed out, Mr. Arlington is an American citizen, but, if we may say so without offence, his book reveals him as a very typical Englishman, with a typically English outlook on life, with a keen sympathy for the "under-dog," and a hatred of oppression and injustice in any shape or form, be the victims Chinese or foreigners. Perhaps this is explained by his English, Scotch, and Irish forbears, of whom he tells us in the first lines of his Introduction!

In conclusion we should like to offer our congratulations to Mr. Arlington on having produced, at the age of over three score years and ten, a most readable and live volume of reminiscences of a well-spent life. H. H. F.

The Travels of an Alchemist: Being the Journey of the Taoist Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un from China to the Hindukush, at the Summons of Chingiz Khan. Recorded by his Disciple, Li Chih-ch'ang. Translated, with an Introduction, by Arthur Waley. Issued in the Broadway Travellers' Series, which is edited by Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xi+166. Map. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, Carter Lane. 1931. Price 10s. 6d.

This book, like the rest of its series, has an inviting appearance. It is well bound, printed in clear type on good paper, and is convenient to handle. A rough sketch-map of the route taken by the ancient and intrepid traveller who is its hero is provided, and the author writes a preface which, unlike most prefaces, supplies useful information to the reader. It informs him that there are two other books in Chinese that bear the same title as this one, or, if not literally the same, are written in our alphabet with the same letters, and so may easily be confused the one with the other. The other two books, having the same title, "Hsi Yu Chi," as this one, are the record of the journey of the famous Buddhist priest Hsuan-tsang to India, from whence he brought back more than 600 volumes of sacred books which were translated and became the scriptures of the Buddhist religion in China. The third is a kind of parody of the above, but is also valuable for its mystical expositions of Buddhist doctrines. The book which is the subject of this review is a plain matter-of-fact statement of a journey taken from Peking by the Taoist Patriarch, Ch'iu

Ch'ang-ch'un, for whom Chingiz Khan sent under the impression that the sage might communicate to him the secret of immortality. The record of the journey was written by the sage's disciple, Li Chih-ch'ang, who accompanied him on the journey. Born in 1148, the famous Taoist was seventy-one years of age when he set out on his journey to Karakorum, a journey which covered much more than 3,000 miles over the Mongolian deserts and across mountains covered with ice and snow. It says much for his physical vigour that he accomplished the journey, won the respect and admiration of the great Khan, and returned to die in peace in his own country.

Chingiz Khan, who summoned the famous alchemist to his presence, was one of the world's great—perhaps greatest—conquerors. Born the son of a petty Mongolian chief, he held in his hand at birth the sinister token of a clot of blood, and during his long life was responsible for the shedding of more blood than any man that ever lived. His dominating personality welded into a mighty machine the savage and ever warring tribes of Mongols, Tartars, Uighurs, Nuchens, etc. To this army Europeans have given the name of the "Golden Horde," and it conquered a vast territory from the China Sea to the Crimea and the Dnieper, and only the death, at an opportune moment, of the Mongol Emperor of China saved Europe from being overrun by Batu, the grandson of Chingiz, who hurried eastward to claim his share in the redistribution of territory consequent on this death.

It must always be a marvel how the Great Khan was able to make of his undisciplined rabble a weapon fit to overawe the world. But the Mongols at that date had two outstanding characteristics that made them good warriors. They were the best horsemen in the world. In their camps they lived on horseback. James Gilmour, who was a missionary in Mongolia, wrote that a wolf could distinguish a Mongol from a Chinese from as far as he could see him. If the traveller were a Chinese, the wolf stalked him; if a Mongol, he prudently left him alone. For when the cry of "wolf" was raised near a Mongol encampment it was the signal for the whole population to tumble forth of the tents. Every man, woman, and child grasped the first animal, horse, camel, or even bullock, that was at hand, and leaping on its bare back they went pell-mell after the wolf. If he escaped it was the kind of accident described in the Chinese proverb, "The blind cat catches a dead rat—pure luck." And the Mongol bowmen shot from horseback with deadly precision. Less than fifty years ago the writer saw Mongols and Chinese practising archery, and though these were degenerate Mongols, born and nurtured in the enervating climate of South China, they still had something of their ancestors' ancient fire left in them, and could lean from the saddle and pluck a whip from the ground without checking the horse's speed.

The translation of this book from the Chinese original has been carefully, even meticulously, done, and its accuracy leaves nothing to be desired. There is a printer's error on page 107, where "wire" is written for "wine," and there may be another, but the book is as nearly typographically perfect as is possible for a book of this kind to be.

The character of Chingiz, as set forth in this book, has nothing savage or bloodthirsty about it. His invitation to Ch'ang-ch'un to come to his court was couched in courteous terms, though, as Lord of the World, his slightest wish was a command. He sent with his messenger the golden tablet which was, with the Mongols, the same token as the King's signet ring in Medieval Europe. The person of the Taoist was guarded as carefully as though he had been of the blood royal, and the Khan listened to some plain truths by his visitor with a patience hardly to be expected from a despot.

Ch'iu, Ch'ang-ch'un himself appears to have been a person endowed with admirable common-sense with nothing of the charlatan about him. When setting out on his journey his disciples asked him, weeping, when they might expect to see him back.

"At first he would say no more than that if their hearts remained firmly fixed on the Tao they would surely see him again. But when they begged him to be more particular he saw that there was nothing for it but to tell them, and twice he said distinctly, 'I shall return in three years,' as indeed he did."

At one point of the journey they passed through some mountains, and a soldier of the escort "took occasion to tell the others that once in these mountains a spirit had cut off his back hair, which had much alarmed him. The Master made no comment on this."

(About fifty years ago a wave of terror passed over a great part of China and many queues were cut off, supposedly by evil spirits. The people who suffered this amputation were, like the soldier, greatly alarmed, but the epidemic died out of itself; but for a time it made the position of foreigners very unsafe, as the blame for queue-cutting, with other nonsensical charges, was laid on their shoulders.)

During the heat of summer they travelled by night, which they found pleasant and agreeable, but the escort feared "that in the pitch darkness goblins and elves might bewitch us and were about to smear blood on the horses' heads, when the Master said to us, laughing, 'Do you not know that ghosts and evil spirits fly from honest men? If this is true of ordinary people the followers of Tao ought surely not to be afraid.'" Wise old Ch'ang-ch'un!

The Emperor received the Master with marked courtesy. He said, "Other rulers summoned you, but you would not go to them. And now you have come ten thousand li to see me. I take this as a high compliment."

The Master replied, "That I, a hermit of the mountains, should come at your Majesty's bidding was the will of Heaven."

Chingiz was delighted; then he asked him: "Adept, what medicine of long life have you brought me from afar?" This was, undoubtedly, the reason why the Great Khan had sent for the Taoist sage. He had the world at his feet, but old age would not be kept at bay. Taoism had "the pill of immortality," and Chingiz would fain learn the secret.

The whole philosophy of Taoism is based on alchemy. The ancient chemist with his crucibles and drugs was partly a truth seeker and partly a quack. He believed he could transmute cinnabar into gold, and, no doubt, often did refine impure masses of quartz and saw pure gold glistening in his retort: the same change as is now daily made in our great furnaces when rough pig-iron is changed into tough and tempered steel. It seemed but a short step to believe that by a regimen of strict abstinence and purification of the body by drugs it would be possible to get rid of the grosser attributes of the flesh and to attain to an ethereal existence which would defy old age and death. Naturally, prayers and spells were part of the discipline, and so a religion was evolved that was half asceticism and half deception. It is likely, too, that to some enlightenment did come, as it came to Buddha sitting under the Bo tree, and as it comes still to devotees of many religions: a quickening of the faculties, an insight into essential truth, and a consequent inward calm that does make for tranquillity and a longer life.

"He asked life of Thee," said the Psalmist, "and Thou gavest it him—even length of days for ever."

And so the Master answered truthfully, "I have means of protecting life,

but no elixir that will prolong it." The Emperor was pleased with his candour, and had two tents for the Master and his disciples set up near his own.

But the Taoist sage was able to put his finger on the weak spot in the Khan's character. When leaving China at the commencement of his journey he found that a part of the cavalcade was a bevy of maidens selected for the Emperor's harem. He protested that he, "a hermit of the mountains," could not possibly travel in such company. Now in the august presence of the world's master he preached to him a sermon on continence: "The male we call Yang; his element is fire. The female we call Yin; her element is water. But Yin (the imperfect) can quench Yang (the perfect); water conquers fire. Man rises to heaven and becomes an immortal as a flame goes upward. But if common people, who possess only one wife, can ruin themselves by excessive indulgence, what must happen to monarchs whose palaces are filled with concubines? I have read in the Tao Teh Ching that not to see things which arouse desire keeps the mind free from disorders. Once such things are seen it is hard indeed to exercise self-restraint. I would have you bear this in mind." The man who could use such plainness of speech when addressing the great Chingiz was worthy of being called a sage. Much more of such advice was tendered, and the monarch accepted it in all sincerity. The Master made his adieux and returned to his own country. By the Great Khan's orders he was escorted back with the same care as on the outward journey, though, as he confessed, he had no elixir to prolong life. He was not long back when sickness overtook him, and he wrote a poem beginning:

"Life and death are like morning and evening,
The transient form comes and vanishes, but the stream goes on
untroubled."

"He then went up to the Pao-hsuan hall, and returned to purity. A strange perfume filled to room."

And so ends the story of this remarkable episode in the life of the great slayer of men. Mr. Waley has caught something of the fragrance of the sage's passing and has enshrined it in his book, and there will be few readers who will not recognize in it the tale of two great men, at opposite poles from each other in their thought as in their stations of life, who met like ships that pass in the night, and each made a profound impression on the other. J. D.

The Report of the Commission to determine the Rights and Claims of Moslems and Jews in connection with the Western or Wailing Wall.

The Wailing Wall forms part of the western boundary of the Temple of Herod, and indeed the six lower courses of the wall are the actual stones of the Temple.

Here the Jews have been accustomed for centuries to bewail the departed glories of Judah. Tradition goes back as far as the authority of the Prophet Jeremiah that the Jews who remained in the Holy Land during the Babylonian Captivity were in the habit of worshipping on the ruins of the first Temple. They seem to have done the same after the two succeeding destructions, and the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, in his visit to the Holy Land in A.D. 333, stated that "all Jews come once a year to this place, weeping and lamenting near a stone which remained of the Holy Temple." But there is clear evidence in the writings of several Jewish authors of the tenth and eleventh centuries that

the Jews repaired to the Wailing Wall for devotional purposes. The practice was always allowed under the Arabs and also under the Turks. In 1825 "arranged prayers" at the Wall are mentioned for the first time, and, in 1840 a decree was issued by Ibrahim Pasha forbidding the Jews to pave the passage in front of the Wall, it being only permissible for them to visit it "as of old."

The Jews do not put forward any claim to possession of the Wall or of any part of it, but they hold that God's presence is intimately bound up with the actual Temple of Solomon and that this divine presence (Shekinah) has never departed from it. They demand, therefore, to be allowed to continue their services unmolested, and they contend (and here is the crucial point) that such appurtenances as benches, a screen for separating men from women, an Ark with scrolls of the Law, ritual lamps, a wash basin, etc., were common, and were allowed by the local authorities before the Great War.

On the part of the Moslems it has not been difficult to show that the Wall is Moslem property, being the western wall of the Haram esh Sherif, and that the Pavement on which the Jews congregate when worshipping is a Moslem Waqf. However, since the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the Moslems have laid stress upon the sacred character of both the Wall and the Pavement because of the tradition that the Prophet tethered his steed Buraq there on his celestial journey to the Haram esh Sherif, and in recent years they have begun to give the name Buraq to the Wall itself. It would further appear that as the Jews have endeavoured to increase their "appurtenances" at the Wall, so have the Moslems endeavoured to annoy them either on utilitarian or religious grounds. They have erected a new structure above the northern end of the Wall; they have converted a house at the southern end of the Pavement into a *zawiya*, near which has been fitted up a water-closet, while a new door opens up a thoroughfare from the Pavement to the *zawiya* and thence to the Haram esh Sherif. The worshippers have thus been interrupted by the passing of men and animals over the Pavement, to say nothing of the innovation of the turbulent movements of a *zikk* in the adjoining Moghraby quarter.

All these disputes and bickerings culminated in the disturbances of 1929 and the subsequent formation of a Royal Commission "to determine the rights and claims of Moslems and Jews in connection with the Western or Wailing Wall at Jerusalem." The Commission, consisting of three non-British members under the chairmanship of the former Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, held twenty-three meetings and interviewed fifty-two witnesses from both sides. Their conclusions and recommendation are more or less what might have been foreseen. The Wall and Pavement belong to the Moslems. To the Jews is the right by ancient usage to perform their services. Political demonstrations are forbidden, and the maintenance of the Wall and Pavement are allocated to the Government and Moslems respectively. This settled, the Commission defines in detail the "appurtenances" of worship to be permitted to the Jews (and here it is to be observed that amongst the articles prohibited are screens, which were one of the causes of trouble in 1929); recommends future structural alterations in the vicinity to be such as not to impair the right of the Jews of access to the Wall; recommends the closing of the thoroughfare door on Holy Days, and that a prohibition should be placed upon the driving of animals along the Pavement and upon the performance of the *zikk* during certain hours.

The Commission concludes with the hope that both Moslems and Jews will accept and respect the verdict. This will no doubt be the case as long as the military and police force in Jerusalem is kept up to the present strength.

The Report is well got up, and is furnished with plans of the Wailing Wall and adjacent areas.

J. W. A. Y.

Palestine. Department of Education, Annual Report, 1929-1930.

From the cover of this Report, which is surmounted by the Royal Arms, as used in the United Kingdom on papers presented to Parliament, we learn that it is printed at the Greek Convent Press, and on sale from the printing office in "Russian Buildings" in Jerusalem. These bald statements are a suitable introduction to the well-written, historical outline with which the Director of Education, Mr. H. E. Bowman, C.B.E., prefaces a valuable summary of the work of his Department, which absorbed last year 6.52 per cent. of the total expenditure of the Palestine Government, as compared with 7.51 per cent. in Iraq.

The outstanding feature of the Report is the variety of types of schools, and of instruction, with which it deals. Foreign organizations and religious bodies of half-a-dozen nationalities and twice as many persuasions are playing their part both in elementary and higher education. Religious education is nowhere neglected; arts and crafts are taught in technical schools, and agriculture is a recognized subject in all rural schools, whilst sports and athletics are actively encouraged and carefully organized.

The ample statistical tables show at a glance what proportions of both sexes of every age are under instruction, in town and country respectively, in the various types of schools, and what languages and other subjects are being taught.

It is interesting to contrast this admirably-written Report with the meagre information to be found in the Annual Report to the League of Nations in regard to Education in Iraq, where the tendency is to frown upon foreign and sectional schools, and on imported teachers, and to force the youth of the country on to an educational bed of Procrustes.

An encouraging feature of the Report is the close contact maintained by the Director with scholastic institutions in adjacent territories, including Egypt, Syria, Trans-Jordan, Cyprus and Gibraltar, and the steady progress of boy scouts and girl guides and of other cultural activities. It is interesting to note that of the total correspondence received by the Director, about 42 per cent. was in English, 56 per cent. in Arabic, and 1.50 per cent. in Hebrew.

A. T. W.

The Egyptian Enigma, 1890-1928. By J. E. Marshall, late Judge in the Egyptian Court of Appeal. Pp. xiii + 342. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". John Murray.

Those who know something of Egypt as residents, neighbours, or habitual visitors, will find much of interest in Judge Marshall's spirited account of his thirty-eight years' sojourn in the "Land of Paradox"; but it may perhaps be doubted whether they would recommend his impressions and judgments of men and matters as a reliable guide to readers without such knowledge. Nevertheless, he knows his Egypt well; his familiarity with the language, though acquired, as he himself tells us, rather late in the day for a Judge of the Native Tribunals, enabled him to form an intimate acquaintance with high and low; and his "position of detachment on the Bench" is evidenced by the impartiality with which he bestows his wholehearted criticisms on his own British colleagues in the Egyptian Administration no less than on the Egyptian ministers, pressmen, and peasants. Indeed, he candidly admits that in the

multiplication of British officials the despised Egyptians had a just grievance. His strictures, though often devastating, are, on the whole, good-humoured; and his portrait gallery is decorated by a collection of entertaining anecdotes.

The first half of the Judge's life in Egypt was spent under the régime of Lord Cromer; and the author has wisely made no attempt to record the history or politics of that great Proconsulate. As a sidelight on the narratives of Lord Cromer and Lord Milner, this account of his social and judicial experiences and the impressions which he formed of colleagues and acquaintances illuminates the more intimate side of life in Egypt; and where his criticisms may be thought unduly harsh, they can be corrected by reference to the records of those who wrote under a sense of wider responsibility. A glaring example of partiality in statement is his reference to the Denshaw incident, which he describes as an assault on some British officers "who had unwittingly shot some pigeons belonging to the villagers." While he does not scruple to pillory the proceedings of the Court and the presiding Judge for sentences which caused "the utter amazement and astonishment of the civilized world," he suppresses the vital fact that the "assault" resulted *in the death of one and the grievous injury of two other British officers* of the Army of Occupation. Misrepresentations of this kind, which can be checked, will necessarily make the reader cautious in accepting his account of the post-war political events which have not been recorded by writers of authority—as, for example, the daring suggestion that H.M.G.'s Declaration of Independence in February, 1922, was merely a failure to call the bluff of Sarwat Pasha and the moderate Nationalists.

Indeed, one cannot but regret that in the latter part of his book the author has devoted himself almost exclusively to political and constitutional questions in place of the judicial and social aspect of his life in Egypt. A reasoned discussion of questions from a point of view definitely unsympathetic to Egyptian aspirations might have had considerable value as a statement of one side of the case; but the writer's obvious bias against Lord Allenby, and the inconsistencies and inaccuracies of the argument, render him an unconvincing advocate even for those who would agree with him in principle. Thus he describes the well-known principle of secondary elections as "based on an electoral system in vogue amongst the Red Indians of North America"; and while he admits that "the indefensible privileges" which foreigners enjoy under the Capitulations "constitute a great and unjustifiable hindrance to the progress of the country," it appears that in his contribution to the deliberations of the Milner Commission he advocated their retention, even at a time when he had "some confidence that the Egyptians were not quite the hopelessly impossible people that they have since proved themselves to be." In his account of the various negotiations for a settlement he omits practically all mention of the Sudan, an attitude not uncharacteristic of many British officials and residents in Egypt; but in view of the importance attached to this question by both parties, and of the fact that this has proved the most difficult of all the issues involved, any criticism of the negotiations which ignores it cannot but betray an inadequate sense of proportion.

The reader will turn with some relief from this unconvincing philippic against British policy as represented in the person of Lord Allenby to the very proper tributes paid to his successor, Lord Lloyd. This book covers the first half only of Lord Lloyd's term of office, and furnishes a just appreciation of the masterly manner in which Lord Lloyd handled the successive crises with which he was faced. The dispute with Italy over the Western Frontier, the

conflict with the King over one of his favourites, the danger of Zaghul's personal ambition based on his parliamentary supremacy, and the attempts of the Wafd to turn the Egyptian army into a political weapon and to fetter the action of the civil police in political disturbances, were all surmounted by statesmanship as firm as it was adroit and unprovocative. Though the author may find many unable to accept his condemnation of others, he will find few to cavil at his appreciation of this period of Lord Lloyd's administration.

N. G. D.

Travels in India, Ceylon and Borneo. By Captain Basil Hall, R.N., F.R.S. (The Broadway Travellers Series.) 9" x 5½". Pp. 272. Illustrations. Routledge. 1931. 10s. 6d.

Captain Basil Hall's "Fragments of Voyages and Travels" originally appeared in nine volumes, and, it being impossible to reprint the whole of the work, it was decided to select what seemed to be the most entertaining portion. They were written, so he tells us, "to engage the attention of those who, having entered the Service in less stirring times, find it difficult to gain experiences for themselves." The result was a graphic and entertaining picture of the Royal Navy a century ago, given by one who was a shrewd observer as well as a lover of his profession.

He was the second son of a remarkable man, Sir James Hall, of Dunglass, Haddingtonshire, who was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and afterwards went over to Brienne, where he attended the military school and there met Napoleon Buonaparte. His son describes an interview with the ex-Emperor at St. Helena in 1817, in the course of which the latter talked of his father as "the first Englishman he ever saw." Sir James had held advanced views, and in 1791 came into touch with many of the leaders of the Revolution. Later on he came to be described as one of "the most scientific of our country gentlemen," and his home in Edinburgh became a resort of the intellectual. Young Basil was, accordingly, brought up in a stimulating circle; hence his delight in observation and travel, which is so evident in his writings, and which was perhaps unusual in the average naval officer of his day. He joined the Navy in 1802, and, among other events, landed at Corunna, witnessed the battle, and assisted at the embarkation of Sir John Moore's troops. Here he probably first came into touch with his future chief, Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, under whom he was to serve, when transferred to the East India Station. Sir Samuel Hood was a member of the family of the naval "fighting Hoods" of the eighteenth century, and one of Nelson's trusted Captains. Gifted with a fund of humour, an unbounded curiosity, and an inexhaustible love of adventure, he was a chief after Hall's own heart, and it was greatly thanks to him that Hall was able to indulge his taste for travel. The biographical introduction to the volume under notice, by Professor H. G. Rawlinson, is remarkably well done, and his account of the gallant Admiral, who died prematurely of malaria, caught while visiting Seringapatam, recalls, for the benefit of posterity, the memory of one of Nelson's "band of brothers."

Chapter I., describing his arrival and impressions of Bombay, is perhaps typical of the man, as it shows us his enthusiasm and love of travel and beauty, his capacity for observation and his unaffected joy in all he sees. Chapter II., his sketch of his chief, Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, with his concentrated keenness for all he undertakes, whether trivial or important, combined with the qualities that make a great naval leader, is delightful reading,

with its description of an alligator hunt from Trincomalee, arranged for the Admiral's benefit. Chapter III. describes a picnic party to the caves of Elephanta, near Bombay, where several days were spent in exploring and examining. An expedition in Ceylon to Canteley Lake, which his Admiral and he undertook, is described in Chapter IV. in vivid language, while Chapter V. instructs, with considerable humour, as to the way Europeans should live in the East, and lays down the precautions that he thinks necessary for preserving the health of men both ashore and afloat. His professional and technical interest in the construction of native-built canoes, rafts, etc., and of various nautical appliances, as used in various parts of the world, shows itself in Chapter V., while Chapter VI. is devoted to a graphic picture of landing through the surf at Madras. Chapter VII., on "hook swinging," as practised by certain sects of the Hindoos, and his comments on the need of the firm arm of authority to check this and similar practices—such as sutteeism and infanticide—reveals the author's humane but administrative mind.

It was Hall's good fortune to be able to make a land journey across the Peninsula, and in Chapter IX. we get an account of his trip from Madras to Bangalore, which he performed by the now obsolete method of being carried in a palankeen. His preparations for this undertaking are described with his usual enthusiasm, and, incidentally, we get his opinion as to the utility to a Naval Officer of a knowledge of foreign languages. "I would fain," he says, "see it established as an Admiralty Regulation that no midshipman should be allowed to pass for Lieutenant who, besides French, could not read or speak moderately well either Spanish, Italian, or Hindustani, the four great dialects with which naval men are most concerned." He admits that this rule would not be popular, but there could be no doubts as to its advantage to the public service. He passed through Mysore at the time of the Dessern Festival, which he describes at some length (Chapter X.), and his comments here on the relations between the East India Company and the Independent Princes, who, he remarks, are apt to long for more uncontrolled authority, are today especially interesting reading. Further incidents of the journey, including his impressions of Seringapatam, are described in Chapter XI. with remarkable vividness.

Chapter XII., the last in the book, gives an account of a trip that Hall made with his Admiral to Sumatra, and of a visit to the Sultan of Pontiana in Borneo, and here again comes out the zest and enthusiasm for travel of both the Chief and his subordinate. A trifling incident that occurred during the expedition brings back to the author some thoughts of the important services the Admiral had rendered to his country, and he gives an account of the dramatic escape out of Toulon of the frigate *Juno* that was under his command, of his courage and presence of mind during Nelson's rather unlucky attack on the town of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, and of the part he played in the Battle of the Nile.

Hall's description of the India of the early part of the last century, and of his travels, belong to the past, and the modern tourist can hardly hope to have his opportunities of seeing Indian life, but he will be lucky if he can bring into his travels that spirit of enquiry and that keen interest which this naval Captain displays in these various selected passages of his journal. The biographical touch—viz., the episodes in the life of one of the great sea-captains of the Napoleonic Wars, which may be new reading to many—adds to the vividness of his personal experiences, and makes up a volume which should appeal both to youthful readers and to those of riper years.

E. R.

The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584-1602. Second Series, LXVII. London: Hakluyt Society. 1931.

The most interesting and valuable part of this volume, which is at least equal in these qualities to its predecessors, is Sir William Foster's introduction, which occupies the first forty pages or so. He introduces us to the writer of the manuscript which forms the basis of the present work—a young apprentice, who later became a member of the Drapers' Company. He was transferred in 1584 to Constantinople, where he served the English Ambassador; he visited Egypt and Syria, Algiers and Cyprus, but never penetrated further east than Damascus. He was a friend of Samuel Purchas, the author of a famous compendium of Eastern travel. He remained single all his life, "better likinge a free single life then with more welth to be subjected to wooman's humors."

An interesting sidelight on the commercial policy of the sixteenth century is afforded by the correspondence, alluded to by Sir W. Foster, between the Sultan of Turkey and Queen Elizabeth, who is revealed (1580) as definitely opposed to monopolies of, or concessions for, trade. She requests that the grant of facilities by the Sultan should apply not merely to the two or three merchants concerned, but to "all our subjects in generall."

Her action in this case is paralleled by the insertion in the Vintners' Charter in 1577 of the statement, doubtless very distasteful to the Company, to the effect that everyone was free "to pursue such lawful calling whereby he may gain his living, as is most agreeable to his choice or taste."

What would Queen Elizabeth think of the restrictions under which all classes, desirous of earning a living, labour today? A. T. W.

Troublous Times: Experiences in Bolshevik Russia and Turkestan.

By Captain A. H. Brun, Danish R.F.A. Pp. vii+238, with twenty-seven illustrations.

The Russian revolution and the development of the Bolshevik state have been so heavily written up during the past decade that the ordinary reader grows weary and suspicious of the subject; weary of attempts to explain this extraordinary upheaval, which only experts among Western Europeans can really understand; suspicious that each new book and article is some form of subtle propaganda.

Those who turn from "Troublous Times" in this spirit will do the author an injustice, and will neglect a narrative of unusual interest.

As a neutral, delegated in October, 1917, to help Austrian prisoners of war in the concentration camps of the Government-General of Turkestan, Captain Brun had a peculiarly fortunate opportunity of seeing not only the growth of the revolution in an almost forgotten corner of the Russian Empire, but of living in, and travelling about, one of the most interesting areas in all Central Asia.

Of Petrograd during the momentous weeks in which the Kerensky Government was overthrown and during which Lenin took control there is little to add to the many narratives published in half a dozen languages. It is all a turmoil of cruelty and destruction, wanton bloodshed and senseless arrests, culminating in complete confusion.

On the railway journey south from Petrograd the author comes into contact with a party of Russian soldiers, and is confronted with the riddle the solution of which lies in Russian history, in the nature of the country and in the national psychology. "The wistful, harmonious lines of song married to

melancholy old melodies, a beautiful illustration of the Russian national spirit as it still lives among the rural population of the country, rang out into the silent night and seized the imagination. Quite instinctively one drew a comparison between the rough, brutal, nay, wellnigh bestial behaviour of the same soldiers when under the orders of their revolutionary superiors, and the modest, tolerant, and pacific character of their inborn nature, so unmistakably demonstrated when singing the melodies of their homeland. Was it humanly possible to conciliate such contrasts? I asked myself. At such moments there was no doubt left in my mind but that the revolution was a condition *forced* upon the Russian rank and file, and that they would turn in opposition the moment they realized that their special interests were being mismanaged. . . . How, looking at it from a slightly different viewpoint, would it be possible to believe that some 140,000,000 people—the Russian peasants—were willing in the long run to submit to a tyranny wielded by a small group of relentless revolutionaries?"

In such comments the author presents the main features of the Russian problem, on which, despite scrutiny from every angle, the experts are loth to prophesy, and in the face of which the man in the street is frankly reduced to a sheep-like acceptance of the Press slogan.

Arrived in Tashkent in December, 1917, Captain Brun realized the overwhelming nature of his task. In the autumn of 1917 there were some 38,000 Austrian prisoners of war in Turkestan concentrated in about twenty-five camps and work stations, as far apart as Petrovsk in the north, Krasnovodsk on the Caspian, and Andijan in Ferghana, respectively 300, 900, and 250 miles by rail from H.Q. in Tashkent.

In these camps the prisoners were being allowed to waste away. The cemetery in the Troitsky Camp, near Tashkent, held 8,000 graves before its closing in 1916. The water supply of the Zolotaya Orda (Golden Horde) punishment camp was led for miles over sandy plains by hopelessly inadequate means, and the pigs belonging to the Camp Commandant disported in the drinking water channels.

Dirt, starvation, and disease, the result in part of unavoidable circumstances, in part of indifference to suffering, and in part to inefficiency—these were almost invariably the lot of prisoners of war at this time in Turkestan.

British survivors of Kut have told a similar story.

Money for relief purposes was very limited, and the obstruction of upstart Russian revolutionary officials incessant. Under the circumstances the only policy likely to produce results was one of bold and persistent bluff, made partly effective by frequent telegrams to Moscow and by the author's insistence on his importance as a nominee of the Danish Legation.

Though an astonishing improvement was effected in most of the camps, the policy of the Soviet officials in Tashkent brought it all to an end. They really presented to the prisoners two alternatives—namely, either to join the Soviet forces or to face, for an unlimited period, conditions so severe that survival was a desperate gamble.

Escape to Europe, fairly frequent earlier in the war, became almost impossible as physical condition deteriorated.

Of the many published narratives of the sufferings of prisoners during the Great War the story of these Austrians in Turkestan is one of the most tragic. How many are alive today? Perhaps a few thousands, mingled in the Sart, Kirghiz, and Turkoman populations.

The author found time, during numerous tours of inspection, to see historic remains and to mingle with representative people in a very mixed

and interesting population, and though handicapped by ignorance of the languages (even his knowledge of Russian was very limited), he has a ready perception and a happy way of summing up people and their manners.

The bazaars of Samarkand and Bokhara, the tomb of Timur and of his consort Kassina, are described in the admirable middle way between the detailed and learned and the sketchy guide-book style.

A comment on the significance of the Oriental design of today shows an original approach and interesting deduction :

"The Oriental art of the present day, when compared with the ancient art, seems to me to illustrate the retrograde development of the peoples. The perfectly wrought details stand to me as a criterion of all Oriental art ; the general effect, on the other hand, is apt to pall on one, owing to its endless, often rather insipid repetitions. . . ."

"These carpets hailing from Asia Minor, and, maybe, Persia, and with the pattern radiating from a big circular design in the centre indicate the influence of European taste on the original old technique of the countries. Be this as it may, it is certain that the old Oriental art, and particularly the old architecture, has understood the secret of fusing the beauty of the details into an entirety supported by a leading idea, thus imparting to the finished article an artistic spirit of unity and purport. . . ."

The "Short Note on Turkestan" (Chapter V.) is an admirably abbreviated account of the province, the Sarts, Turkomans, and Kirghiz.

Reference is made to the exploits of Colonel F. M. Bailey and to the Indian troops facing the Bolsheviks in the region of Merv.

The spelling is in some cases unusual and inconsistent ; for instance : Timur lenk (p. 42), Timur-i-leng (p. 82); while General Malleson is described as "Madison" (p. 136) and "Mallison" (p. 177).

A sketch map on the inside cover showing the location of camps, railways, and the chief towns would be helpful.

The twenty illustrations, from photographs by the author, are well chosen.

H. P. T.

The Claims of the Armenians : Friends of Armenia.

This little pamphlet is an appeal to the British nation to assist the survivors of the ancient Armenian race. It outlines the relations existing between Great Britain and Armenia before and during the Great War, and gives an account of the relief work on which the Friends of Armenia Society in conjunction with the League of Nations is now engaged on behalf of these unfortunate people.

Few nations have had a more chequered history than Armenia. Their country formed a gateway between the East and West, and has formed the battleground of contending hosts since remote ages. It is only in comparatively recent times, however, that the so-called Armenian Question became a prominent factor in European politics.

After the capture of Constantinople in 1453, Mohammed II. organized the Christians into *millets* or separate religious communities under their own ecclesiastical chiefs, which gave them a recognized position under Turkish law. That the Armenians were known to the Turks as the *Milleti Sadiz* or faithful Millet, and that many of them occupied prominent positions in the Government, goes to show that their relations with the Turks were at one time satisfactory enough. As a Turkish writer has pointed out, if the Turks had always desired the destruction of the Armenians they could have

blotted them out in the sixteenth century, when the Empire was at the height of its power, and no one could have intervened to help them.

It cannot be denied that the attitude of the European Powers encouraged the Armenians into a conflict with the Turks, which was in the end to prove fatal to them.

The Turks complained, and not without reason, that the interest of the Powers in the Armenians and other Christians was not so altruistic as the world was led to believe, but was inspired largely by political motives. The chancelleries of Europe, they also stated, were always ready to listen to the Armenians' complaints without considering the Turkish point of view.

As a result of the Russo Turkish War of 1878, Russia occupied Turkish Armenia, including Kais and Erzerum. Great Britain, then obsessed with the fear of Russia, regarded this as a menace to her communications and influence with India. Lord Salisbury, our then Foreign Minister, expressed this attitude of mind in a despatch to Mr. Lazard when he wrote: "The presence of Russia in Turkish Armenia will make Western Asia look Russia-wards." By the secret convention of Cyprus, Lord Salisbury hoped to achieve the double purpose of checkmating Russia in Turkey and inducing the Sultan to undertake reforms "for the protection of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte." By the terms of this convention consuls were sent to Asia Minor to assist in carrying out the reforms. Had this plan of working with the Turks been persisted in, it is probable that in time some lasting good would have been achieved. But Beaconsfield's Government fell in 1880, and Gladstone, animated by a hatred of Islam in general and the Turk in particular, recalled our representatives. The Armenians had now come to look to Europe, and especially to Great Britain, for protection and assistance in realizing their dreams of a national revival. Revolutionary societies, so called, were formed, and Armenian emissaries carried on an active propaganda in the capitals of Europe. Abdul Hamid, fearful of the repercussions of the Armenian Movement, embarked on a policy of tyrannical repression and massacre, with what dreadful results the world is familiar.

During the World War the Turks resolved on the extermination of the Armenians, which was carried out with ruthless barbarity in 1915. They allege as an excuse the murder of Turkish prisoners by Armenians who were fighting on the side of Russia, though an underlying motive was, doubtless, to destroy the economic supremacy of the Armenians, leaving the field free to the German and the Turk.

The friends of Armenia have perhaps displayed more zeal than discretion in pursuit of their object. Vilification of the Turk, accompanied by excessive laudation of the Armenian, the constant appeal to racial and, above all, religious prejudice, while it exasperated their enemies, did little to further the Armenian cause. It should have been obvious that the protection of a small unarmed Christian community on the confines of a Moslem empire was a problem which involved careful handling and a clear appreciation of what it was practicable to achieve. Great Britain could never count on the support of the other Powers in her efforts at reform, and it was not possible for her to coerce Turkey without that support.

The Turks have now not only deprived themselves of an industrious and intelligent section of their community, but they have incurred the invincible hatred of the Armenian race. A consequence of this is shown by a recent article in *The Times* describing the serious anti-Turkish activities of the Armenians on the Soviet frontier.

Europe has persistently under-estimated the power and ability of the

Turk—a mistake which has led finally to the holocaust at Smyrna in 1922. Her efforts on behalf of the Christians have led to nothing but the virtual extermination of the Greek and Armenian communities in Asia Minor. Tenacious of their religion and customs, hardy and virile, possessed of great natural ability, this ancient race has surely a "title to survive," to quote the words of Sir Arnold Wilson in his Introduction.

It is hoped the appeal on their behalf will not pass unheeded. F. R.

GOLD, STERLING, AND THE PRICE LEVEL.

Politicians, Financiers, and Currency. By Sir John O. Miller, K.C.S.I., Hon. LL.D (Aber.). London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd. 2s. 6d. net.

"A return to inflation is now the real danger. It holds out many attractive prospects, but inflation is a slippery slope on which only the most expert performers can keep their feet. The inexpert, like novices in the art of ski-ing, are only too likely to be swept into a crevasse or hurled over a precipice." When this book was published, the passage quoted from it (page 86) had the Cassandra-like ring which even the more intelligent section of the British public almost invariably discounts. Few things leave it colder than indication of potential danger perceived by a careful thinker. "No doubt, no doubt," the average man replies, "but at the moment the danger is remote, so why worry?" Now, of course, the danger is no longer remote: it is upon us, though Mr. Snowden believes that it can, and will be, fought off. "The pound will not go the way of the mark or the franc," he said in his broadcast address on the evening of September 21 last. "When about a fortnight ago I spoke of the danger of inflation," he explained, "I was referring to what might happen if we did not balance the Budget, and at the same time had to abandon the gold standard. I should have been very alarmed as to the consequences then, for in that case the Government would have had to borrow to meet current expenditure. With confidence destroyed it would very soon have found it impossible to borrow, and it would have been driven to inflate the currency—that is to say, to print more and more paper money in order to make ends meet." Yet, if our export trade does not increase, and our import trade is not curtailed; if the additional revenue which the Chancellor expects to get from new taxation falls short of his estimates; if, in short, notwithstanding economies and new taxes, the country fails to pay its way, what then?

One has sufficient sympathy for, and is sufficiently similar to, the average man to have no wish to follow up that question. To do so would, in fact, be unfair to this book, which is very far from attempting anything in the nature of sensational speculation. Analysis, not speculation, is its method—analysis preceded by modest, indeed over-modest, appreciation of the difficulties of the author's task in relation to his fitness to undertake it. "A Fool Rushes In," he puts over his first chapter, which, nevertheless, conducts the reader into the company of so well-known an authority as Mr. Irving Fisher, and helps to simplify his treatment of the Quantity Theory. A telling quotation from "the lamented *Westminster Gazette*" enables the author to show how much that theory needs study. A total increase in the various circulating media from £214,000,000 to £540,000,000, the paper averred, had little to do with increased cost of living. Sir John Miller proceeds to deal with this example of "wrong-headedness," and with the views and policy of the Cunliffe Committee, reprinting a section of a pamphlet in which he questioned the wisdom of returning to the pre-war gold standard.

The reprint and the chapters following it are well worth careful reading, for a great many of the evils which Sir John Miller foresaw have actually come to pass. The real burden of the immense debt contracted by the country during the war has been more than doubled : relatively to the money available for effecting exchanges of the world's commodities, there has been over-production, while unemployment has gone up by leaps and bounds. That these evils have been accentuated by other than monetary causes—tariffs, for example—Sir John Miller would, one imagines, be the first to admit. Few, however, will, one thinks, disagree with his view that return to the pre-war gold standard has been the main cause.

Nor will many disagree with his conclusion that the surest protection against the consequences of both deflation and inflation is to be found in "the establishment now of a definite principle of currency morality—namely, that stability in the measure of value is essential to social justice, and that its maintenance is a duty which the State owes to the people." The question, however, remains : how is such a stability to be achieved? We are, once again, off the gold standard. Assuming we ever return to it, how are we to choose, and then to maintain, a parity synonymous with stability? It must be said in criticism of this very useful little book that it does not go very far in answering that question.

E. M. GULL.

India in Bondage. By Jabez T. Sunderland, M.A., D.D. New York : Lewis Copeland Company.

The Case for India. By Will Durant. New York : Simon and Schuster.

For good or ill, the world at large is taking a far closer interest in our Indian problem today than ever before. The striking personality of Mr. Gandhi has helped in this direction, and the gesture of the Round Table Conference has been a powerful stimulus. Although the solution of the problem is completely and exclusively our own business, we cannot but be sensitive, in a world which is becoming so rapidly international, to the goodwill of our neighbours. And among our neighbours America is immensely more important than any other, not only by virtue of kinship, but because she has problems of her own which in their degree are not dissimilar from ours in India. It is of special interest therefore to see something of the food on which public opinion in America is being fed. Here are two of the volumes which have recently been served up for its consumption. What weight they may carry it is difficult to estimate, but they are widely read and freely quoted. One of them is by a unitarian divine of obvious standing, especially in missionary circles ; the other by a graduate of a Jesuit college, who is now an educationalist, lecturer, and writer on philosophy, determined that "not an American will be left to stand by in ignorant comfort while one-fifth of mankind is on Golgotha."

Dr. Sunderland's book is a straightforward study in malignity. He has visited India twice, and claims to have read everything of importance that, from any point of view, has been written about India, including the Imperial Gazetteer. He has also cultivated contact with Indian leaders such as Lajpat Rai, and he is an assiduous student of the Indian Press. In handling all these ingredients his recipe is simplicity itself : ignore, *in limine*, anything that is to England's credit ; quote as gospel any saying of her declared enemies ; rake in the gutters for every incident to her discredit ; substitute irresponsible

gossip for the results of responsible enquiry; distort history and invert facts; add a sauce of unctuous righteousness; and then dish up in 500 pages of declamation. He has been almost monotonously faithful to his plan. If he has read all that he claims, there has been no temporizing in his selection of authorities. No allusion is made, for example, to Bishop Whitehead's remarkable work on India. From cover to cover, there is not a word on any of the more recent books by men who have served, and been trusted by, India for a lifetime. Lord Ronaldshay's name appears once in a footnote, not for his classic studies of Indian character, but as an authority on the consumption of champagne at the Viceregal dinner-table. On the other hand, there is a perfect anthology culled from the writings of such people as Dr. Ruiterford, disgruntled ex-officials like Sir Henry Cotton or Mr. Bernard Houghton, extremists like Lala Lajpat Rai and any anonymous scribbler in the anti-British Press. This is the sort of documentary evidence which Dr. Sunderland has collected for America's instruction.

Detailed criticism of the book is not an agreeable task. Its main thesis, however, is worth summarizing. India, it says, is a land of ancient culture and virility; it was the only power which was able to turn Alexander the Great aside from his conquest of the world. It is now "held in forced bondage by foreign bayonets," and the bondage is the same as that of the negro slaves in the Southern States of America fifty years ago. The country is steadily getting poorer, and its people suffer from perpetual famine. They are "now struggling for their independence as their only hope of ever getting rid of the exploitation of their country, and therefore of their poverty and misery." This poverty is due to taxation, which is twice as heavy as in England,* to the destruction of Indian manufactures as a result of British rule, and to the enormous cost of the government. As items of the last type, he mentions the £100,000,000 which the Indian Assembly spontaneously voted by way of a war-gift to Great Britain, but his version is that the money was "forced, coerced, wrung from the Indian people." Akin to this revision of history is Dr. Sunderland's assurance that "one-half of what India pays every year in taxes goes out of the country, and is of no further service to those who have paid the taxes." And in precise elucidation he quotes a statement that Britain took \$500,000,000 from India between 1875 and 1900. This statistical *tour de force* presumably means that, during the twenty-five years in question, India's remittances to the Secretary of State averaged £20,000,000 a year. That, of course, is quite possibly true, and every penny of the money can be accounted for, the greater part going in payment of interest for legitimate debt and in the purchase of railway material for the enrichment of the country.

Dr. Sunderland makes full play with the bad manners of many Englishmen in India, and rolls as a sweet morsel under his tongue every detail of the severities incidental to the suppression of the 1919 rising in the Punjab. Nor does he allow himself the weakness of recognizing that there is another side to each of his indictments. Our frequent rudeness and irritability brook no denial; but surely there is some set-off in the sacrifices which have been made for the well-being of India by generations of English men and women. And, if martial law did rule for a time in the Punjab, it is permissible to recall the anarchy and barbarities which had rendered it necessary. From his catalogue of our crimes Dr. Sunderland passes on to complain that "Judge Rowlatt, the father of the outrageous Rowlatt Acts," was honoured and rewarded with a

* Mr. Snowden has just put taxation in Great Britain at £16 7s. 1d. per head. In India, according to the Statistical Abstract, it is 6s. 8d. per head. The disparity is still greater if taken in ratio to the average income.

K.C.S.I. Sir Sidney Rowlatt, as everyone knows except Dr. Sunderland, had no responsibility for the Rowlatt Acts; he was merely chairman of a commission which laid bare the ugly network of subterranean conspiracy and terrorism then spreading over the land, and which advised the establishment of special judicial tribunals for dealing with it. The Acts which were loosely known by his name were subsequently repealed; but, cries Dr. Sunderland, "were the people of India ever recompensed in any way for the terrible injustices and sufferings which they caused? or did the British Government ever acknowledge their injustices or make any kind of apology for them? No." His answer to his own rhetorical question is correct, but for the simple reason that the Acts were never enforced. So much for the "terrible sufferings and injustices" which swarm in these 500 pages.

The *obiter dicta* in this extraordinary book are equally elevating. Caste, we are told, has no relation to India's political life; it is only a ceremonial affair like the associations or guilds which abound in America; and both brahmans and *sudras* fill all grades of political office. Moslems and Hindus "are not naturally hostile," and it is the presence of the British in India "that is mainly responsible for such riots or other hostilities as exist." There are also strange and wonderful excursions into history. "The republican form of government in ancient India had a duration of at least a thousand years"; and on the strength of this discovery India becomes "the Mother of Republican America." This ought to make the Middle West safe for Dr. Sunderland. And for the American Irish also he has a kindly word. It is the "autocratic and imperialistic Englishmen batten on fat Indian pensions" who obstruct all political advance in England, who opposed woman suffrage, who maintain feudalism in the country, and were "the leaders in keeping Ireland so long in bondage." Fantasy and malignity could hardly go further.

Mr. Durant's book is the strangest mixture of good and evil. Its Chapter I. is pure vitriol, distilled from the worst features in Dr. Sunderland's book and the wild slanders quoted therein. There is hardly a page without its deliberate untruth, or the half-truth, which is worse than a lie. Chapter II. is a summary of some of the many biographies of Mr. Gandhi. Chapter III. rakes up once more all the story of Amritsar and the Akali Sikhs, and embraces one of the most misleading accounts of Sir John Simon's report which have yet been perpetrated. "Less liberal than the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms," it is a "subtle proposal for the further disunion of India"; communal elections are continued as being "more indispensable than ever to the disunity of India"; and the proposed Federal Government is to include representatives of the Indian States for the reason that "these, being under native autocrats, do not want home-rule in India." From this farrago Mr. Durant passes in Chapter IV. to a tolerably fair statement of "the Case for England," and a good deal of rodomontade in reply; and finishes with a plea for dominion status with guarantees, or exactly what is being discussed at the Round Table. "For a long time to come," he adds, "India will need British aid against invasion, against land-hungry native princes, and against religious fanaticism within." The moderation of the conclusion is some little atonement for the vicious travesty at the beginning; but prejudice and distortion predominate.

If these two volumes represent what the United States are being taught to believe about our work for India and the spirit of our Empire, then it is, obviously time for those who value our honour and the cause of truth to concert measures for a very different educational campaign. MESTON.

NOTES

SIR AUREL STEIN AND THE FRENCH INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL EXHIBITION.

SIR AUREL STEIN has expressed his admiration for the International Colonial Exhibition, at present held in Paris, and for its great promoter and director, Marshal Lyautey, in a scholarly and stimulating article printed in full in the *Asiatic Review*.

After giving a general outline he says: The Indian section, it is true, occupies but a modest pavilion among the array of great structures, including a permanent Colonial Museum, exhibition galleries, halls, etc., which, interspersed with ornamental gardens, places of entertainment, and the like, spreads itself over an area of more than 250 acres. Yet there is probably at the present day no other place to be found where the powerful influence exercised by the old civilization and art of India over great regions of Asia outside its own limits is presented to the eye in a more impressive fashion.

The vast extension of Indian cultural influences, from Central Asia in the north to tropical Indonesia in the south, and from the border lands of Persia to China and Japan, has been fully revealed to the world at large only during the last seventy years or so, and almost entirely through the researches of Western scholars. They have shown that ancient India was the radiating centre of a civilization which by its religious thought, its art and literature was destined two thousand years since to leave its mark on races wholly diverse and scattered over the greater part of Asia.

Yet India itself may be considered to have remained until quite recently unconscious of this its great rôle in the past. This curious fact can largely be attributed to those peculiar features of traditional Indian mentality which *inter alia* account for the fact that amidst the vast stores of Indian classical literature there are to be found but very scanty relics of what may be properly classed as written historical records.

However, the fertilizing contact with Western thought through modern education has made its effect felt in this direction also. Some knowledge of a "Greater India" is gradually being brought home now to a wider circle of the Indian public. It is bound to be justly pleasing to patriotic pride, and may be expected to command increasing attention.

Sir Aurel praises the careful, full-size reproductions of such magnificent architectural buildings as the main temple of Angkor Wat, where Hindu influence is so clearly shown in the details of sculpture and building, and he points out the same influences apparent in the examples of the work of the early craftsmen of Indo-China.

"The abundance of Sanskrit inscriptions, composed in true Indian classical style, have enabled French scholars for the last fifty years gradually to recover much of the history of those Khmer and Shan dynasties under which for centuries there flourished a civilization, in many ways essentially Hindu, in those distant lands of Farther India. At the same time their researches have thrown much light on the way in which that civilization was affected by

the potent influence of ancient China, the eastern neighbour of those lands. Apart from relations in language and race that influence made itself felt through the assertion of Chinese political power. Information about this is gathered from the historical records of China which here, as elsewhere in Asia, form a precious source of reliable historical information.

"But how that earlier and in many ways stronger Indian influence was carried across the seas, and perhaps by land also, through religious propaganda, trade, and other means we may never learn with any certainty. Indian literature, so rich in the spheres of philosophy, religious doctrine, poetry, and various sciences, unfortunately maintains complete silence about this notable cultural conquest just as it does about the same in the direction of Central Asia and the great islands of Indonesia. All that can be assumed with some confidence is that as far as the last-named field and Indo-China are concerned, that conquest emanated mainly from Southern India.

"And again the same influences are clearly shown in the exhibits in the Dutch East Indies section, part of which has unfortunately been destroyed by fire.

L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME ORIENT.

"It has already been stated that the realization of what may justly be described as 'Greater India' is the result of scholarly labours reaching back scarcely further than the last two generations. If we leave aside the great region to the north-west and north, including Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Tibet, the main share in the work of elucidating the facts concerning that expansion of early Indian culture must be attributed chiefly to French scholars.

"It is an achievement of which France, that home of sound, critical methods in the fields of historical and antiquarian researches, may be proud, and a worthy accompaniment of its great past as a colonizing power. The work was begun by French scientific missions from the very time when French protectorates were first established on the coasts of Indochina in the third quarter of the last century. The study of the materials thus collected was the merit of a small but highly distinguished group of scholars working at Paris, among them that great Indologist, the late M. Barth.

"But the systematic organization of the work dates back only to the very end of the last century, when the *École française d'Extrême Orient* was established by M. Doumer, then the far-sighted Governor-General of Indo-China and now President of the French Republic. It was meant to assure the prosecution of those researches under the conditions most helpful to it—i.e., in the country itself. At the same time it was to provide also the organ for the careful preservation of the multitude of ruined temples and other monuments which attest the ancient civilization implanted in that soil.

"Created after the model of the great French schools of Rome and Athens, the *École française d'Extrême Orient* has under the direction of distinguished savants like MM. Finot, Foucher, Maitre, Coedes, rendered splendid services in both directions. With a staff strengthened by a steady flow of competent young French scholars, it has carried on researches of the greatest value for the history, languages, and archaeology not merely of Indo-China, but of vast regions extending from India to China and Japan.

"On the archaeological side the School has, by means of systematic conservation and excavation within the territories under French protection, recovered a series of magnificent monuments which, owing to the influence of a tropical climate and to other adverse conditions, were lying in ruins and exposed to

final destruction. Under its supervision a number of excellently planned and housed museums have been established at Hanoi, the capital of French Indochina, and at the chief places of the several provinces. All of them shelter an abundance of relics of ancient art. Being wisely provided with ethnographic sections, these museums in addition offer ample opportunity for the study of the development of local arts and crafts from the earliest stages to the present day.

"Special exhibits in the Arts Section of the Exhibition devoted to Indochina bring the results of these manifold activities of the *École française d'Extrême Orient* before the eyes of visitors. Others without going to Paris will find those results admirably summed up and illustrated in a special publication prepared by the *École* for the occasion of the Exhibition. It would be well if the Archaeological Survey of India, which, since its reorganization, due to Lord Curzon, has under Sir John Marshall's direction successfully carried on tasks corresponding to the archaeological side of the *École's* work, but extending over the much larger field presented by India, were in a not too distant future to be offered an opportunity to demonstrate the fruits of its labours in a similarly impressive fashion at the centre of the British Empire.

"Turning to the African portion of the far-flung colonial dominions of France as represented at the exhibition now open at Paris, Indian visitors would also find much to interest and instruct them. There is the coastal region extending from Tunis to Morocco Islamic civilization, which has so much enriched the artistic heritage of India, has produced some of its finest fruits in architecture and crafts. The sections of the Exhibition devoted to Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco contain reproductions of some of the most striking architectural objects surviving in those time-honoured seats of Muhammadan culture.

"But Morocco is the land in which this culture has escaped disturbing foreign influences, and there a fortunate dispensation of our time has assured the continued survival of indigenous crafts in their artistic and technical excellence. The merit for this is due to Marshal Lyautey, the great French proconsul of our times. While securing peace and ordered progress to Morocco during his long tenure of office as Resident General, he directed special attention also to the protection of its traditional arts and crafts. By his intimate knowledge of Oriental civilizations and his appreciation of their arts, he was predestined for this task in Morocco just as he is for his present functions as *Commissaire Générale* of the Colonial Exhibition."

He expresses the admiration we must all feel for Marshal Lyautey, and tells how that great administrator took thought to keep the deteriorating influence of shoddy away from the craftsmen of Morocco. "By a carefully planned and steadily pursued policy Marshal Lyautey succeeded in preserving the high standards of indigenous Moroccan craftsmanship in domestic architecture, woodcarving, textile manufacture, etc. This is not the place to detail the methods by which this happy result was attained, beneficial alike to the local producer and the Western lover of good art work. Encouragement given to the masters to maintain their traditional good taste and skill, protection afforded to the old guild system, strict exclusion of inferior materials and shoddy examples from the European market, have all played their part in this effective policy.

"The results thus attained may be judged by the superior merit of the products of modern Moroccan arts and crafts to be seen at the Exhibition. The prices which these products deservedly command among appreciative Western purchasers prove the economic benefits secured through Marshal

Lyantey's policy. They are aptly illustrated by the fact that the 'service des arts indigènes' established in Morocco which, through its French staff, supervises the activity of the guilds, the supply of sound materials to the craftsmen, the disposal of the products, etc., has for a long time been self-supporting."

And lastly, a suggestion: "It would be easy for the visitor who is conscious of the decay or complete extinction of many, if not most, of the art industries for which India was once famous to appreciate the lesson to be drawn from the Moroccan example. Unfortunately conditions may have 'progressed' too far for this example to be successfully followed on Indian soil. But probably it is not yet too late for an endeavour to be made in one portion or another of the great sub-continent by systematic encouragement, such as rulers of Indian States might afford, to save what superior skill and taste are still to be found among local art workers."

If this suggestion is followed up, as assuredly it will be in some measure, we must be grateful to Sir Aurel Stein for giving an added stimulus to the impression which must be made on all who have seen this most admirable Exhibition.

CHINESE CONTACT WITH LURISTAN BRONZES.

The influence of China on Persian art has often been discussed; in the *Burlington Magazine* for August, 1931, Mr. Perceval Yetts has an interesting article on Chinese Contact with Luristan Bronzes, in which he propounds a new and opposite theory. He writes: "Many writings have appeared on the Luristan bronzes; but, so far as I know, in none has the remark been made that possibly these bronzes reached China, and influenced the art of the Han period. The following note summarizes a theory which I discussed in lectures at the time of the Persian Exhibition and later in Sweden. At the *Ostasiatiska Samlingarna* in Stockholm, unexpectedly strong support for the theory was found among the amazingly significant collection of small bronzes which is one of the chief glories of the Museum."

Readers are referred to the *Magazine* for illustrations of the decorative motives which exemplify the contact. The chief motive is a creature called by Mr. Yetts the "attenuate feline." Many of the bronzes served as buckles and ornaments to straps and horse-trappings, and the way in which these bronzes came into China at the time of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) is given by Mr. Yetts as follows:

"A factor essential to the theory which links China with Luristan is the quest of the superior horse, and it happened thus. Several Han Emperors had suffered humiliating invasions by the Hsiung-nu, their nomadic neighbours on the north. The menace became so threatening that the Emperor Wu sought to enlist foreign help against the foe. With that aim he sent in 138 B.C. a minor official, named Chang Ch'ien, as envoy to the Yüeh-chih, a tribe who themselves had received many injuries from the Hsiung-nu. The plan failed, because, unknown to the Chinese, the Yüeh-chih had migrated westwards, and, having settled in a land of plenty north of the Oxus, had lost desire for revenge. But when he returned, after twelve years, Chang Ch'ien brought back the first news of Persia, as well as of other countries, and became a national hero. In Ferghana he had seen 'horses which sweat blood and belong to the breed of *t'ien-ma*, the celestial horse.' The Emperor was seized with longing to possess some of the superior horses, no doubt chiefly because of army needs. By mounting his cavalry on horses larger and fleetier than the small Mongolian breed, which was the only kind then known in the Far East, he hoped to beat the nomads at their own tactics. From the Wu-sun, a people living near Lake Issyk-kul, he received in 115 B.C. several dozen horses

in return for gifts. Eight years later, a thousand horses arrived from the same source, on the marriage of a Chinese princess with the Wu-sun chief.

"But the Emperor, not to be put off with an inferior substitute, still coveted the blood-sweating steeds of Ferghana. His agents reported that the best to be obtained there, called after a certain 'City of Erh-shih,' were kept out of sight. Accordingly in 106 B.C. he sent a mission with 1,000 pieces of gold, and a golden model of a horse, in order to ask the King of Ferghana to satisfy his desire. The request was refused, and the envoys, in a rage, smashed the golden horse and started back home. The notables of Ferghana were also incensed at being thus treated with contumely, and so they had the envoys intercepted and killed on the frontier. A Chinese expedition of 6,000 cavalry and several hundred thousand foot was the sequel. Two years later it came back defeated and decimated. Instead of abandoning the quest of the superior horse, as some of his ministers advised, the Emperor insisted on another and larger expedition, which in 101 B.C. returned victorious, but with heavy loss. The two campaigns against Ferghana, lasting four years, cost China several hundred thousand lives and a vast expenditure of material. The gain was not merely a score or two of superior horses and a breeding stock of lesser quality. Chinese prestige had been firmly established all along the great highway to the West, and the road became free to Chinese commerce.

"Now these superior blood-sweating horses may reasonably be identified with the famous Nisæan breed of classical lore. The evidence is plentiful that the Nisæan was generally esteemed the largest and best in Western Asia,* though I cannot find mention that it was credited with sweating blood—a peculiarity sometimes attributed to the Hungarian. Nearly forty years ago Terrien de Lacouperie connected the afore-mentioned 'City of Erh-shih' with the Nisæan tradition.† Hirth follows him in a long note to his translation‡ of Chang Ch'ien's biography in Chapter CXXIII. of the 'Shih-chi,' which contains the historical data outlined above. The ancient sound of the two syllables, now pronounced in Peking as 'Erh-shih,' was probably somewhat like 'Nish.' The Greek *Nysaia* may well have been the transliteration of some Persian, Parthian or Soghdian proper name like 'Nish.' As Hirth remarks, the name may have come to be associated with the best in the horse-breeding world. 'Tattersall's' is perhaps a parallel. Once the name of a famous horse-market in London, it is now current all over the world as a general designation for concerns to do with horses.

"The next step in the argument is to identify the home of the classic steeds with the place where the Luristan bronzes are found. Herodotus (VII, 40) located it on 'a large plain in Medic territory,' which Rawlinson recognized 'in the rich and extensive grazing grounds of Khava and Alishdar.' The latter lie in the Persian province of Luristan, and are sites of the recent bronze finds. Professor V. Minorsky discussed the subject at the Congress on Persian Art last January; and here it must suffice to state that there is a strong presumption in favour of the identification.

"The final argument for Chinese contact with Luristan bronzes is, of course, the plausible surmise that the superior horses captured in Ferghana were accompanied with the trappings peculiar to their place of origin. It is a theme which offers scope for much fuller treatment than is possible in a brief note. One illuminating fact to be stressed would be the objective evidence provided by Chinese tomb figures of superior horses at later dates. Many display the retention of Persian elements in their harness. Perhaps Han parallels may come to light; but, at all events, we see unquestionable similarities between isolated pieces from Luristan and China as here represented."—*Burlington Magazine*, August, 1931.

* W. Ridgeway, *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*. Pp. 186 seq. Cambridge, 1905.

† *Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization*. Pp. 220, 224. London, 1894.

‡ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Vol. xxxvii. Pp. 89-152. 1917.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET ASKHABAD.

THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR IN TRANSCASPIA.

Translated from the "Turkomeno Vedéniyé," October, 1930.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the thirteenth anniversary of the October revolution, the Soviet national republics of Central Asia celebrate the tenth anniversary of the liberation of the territory of the former Turkistan from the last stronghold of the White Guard régime which had been established in Bokhara. On September 5, 1920, the Red Army, led by Michael Vasilivitch Frunze, entered, after stubborn fighting, into the capital of the Amir of Bokhara. On that day the red flag flew over the palace of the Amir.

Just seven months before these events the province of Transcaspia was freed from Denikin's troops of the "Volunteer Army."

The development of the counter-revolutionary power and the downfall of the Soviet rule in Transcaspia had their origin in a series of circumstances connected with the constitution of the former Czarist colony. With the existence of a petty bourgeoisie and official class, and the absence of any industrial proletariat in the provincial centre, the organization of the counter-revolutionary rising presented no great difficulty.

The first Soviets in Ashkhabad and the other towns of the province at first exercised no great authority. The small group of Bolsheviks had no strong backing. Two or three hundred of the town proletariat of Ashkhabad—labourers, mechanics, and artisans—that was all that the provincial Soviet could depend upon, all upon whose support they could count.

The great majority of the railway proletariat followed the lead of their chiefs, and only an insignificant group of the engine-house labourers sympathized with the Bolsheviks, and they showed no activity. It was only fear of action on the part of the district authorities and the Tashkent proletariat that caused the counter-revolutionary element to maintain a waiting attitude.

However, notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances, the Soviets in Transcaspia gradually acquired more and more influence, and overcame the opposition of the former officer class and officialdom. In February, 1918, at length an end was made of dual authority, the sabotage of officialdom was broken, and the Soviets became the ruling power in the province.

The rising in Bokhara now took place. Emissaries of the Amir of Bokhara with the active assistance of refugee Russian officers made a descent upon Chirchik and a Red Army detachment which had reached Kagan station from Tashkent with the district Commissar, Comrade Kopilov.

Bodies of Red Guards came to their assistance from Kizil Arvat, Ashkhabad, Merv, etc. As a result of their vigorous action during February and March this front was dissolved. The difficulties of supply now became serious. The drafting of Red Guard workmen to the front facilitated the development of anti-Bolshevik agitation, especially in Ashkhabad and Kizil Arvat. Provocative interference with the assemblies of railwaymen was not resisted as it should have been. Leaders of the Social Revolutionary Party, their nominees, and Mensheviks insinuated themselves into the Soviets. The counter-revolutionary element, encouraged by the promise of support from the English military mission in Meshed, busily prepared for action. They made as their pretext the dispositions made by the district authorities for taking a census of the male population capable of bearing arms.

In compliance with instructions from Tashkent the military Commissar of the province, Comrade Kopilov, divided the town into four areas, and fixed points of assembly for the census.

On June 16 the inhabitants were warned that registration would commence on the morning of the 17th.

The Social Revolutionary Party and Mensheviks thought this moment favourable—they could take advantage of the census as a means for agitation against the Bolsheviks, accusing them of effecting a general mobilization.

On the morning of the 17th the counter-revolutionaries posted their agents at the points fixed by the military Commissar to direct all who came to a meeting in the town garden, where they said the purpose of the census would be explained. The meeting was a surprise for the Bolsheviks. A large crowd gathered, but nobody opened the proceedings. The people became restless, and began to murmur. Having thus prepared the soil, the counter-revolutionaries proceeded to carry out their provocative plan. Accusing the Bolsheviks of having summoned the meeting and then not appearing themselves, the traitors began to deliver inflammatory speeches. At ten o'clock the Social Revolutionary Sharagin mounted the platform. He declared that the Soviet authorities were working up a war, called upon the workmen to resist the census, and to resolutely oppose the attempt to carry out mobilization. After Sharagin representatives of the officer class and of the priesthood came forward. They, too, uttered virulent abuse of the Soviet authority, predicting its early downfall. The entry of the Bolsheviks was met with hisses. Shouts were raised: "Down with the Bolsheviks! Down with the German spies!"

At the end of the meeting they allowed Kopilov, the War Commissar, to mount the tribune. He read out a telegram received from Tashkent, and proceeded to explain the object of the census. However, they would not let him say any more. Incited by the counter-revolutionary element, the crowd became violent. Cries were heard of "Beat him! Down with him!"

They dragged Comrade Kopilov down from the tribune and began to hammer him. With great difficulty he was rescued from the hands of the crowd and enabled to conceal himself.

The commander of the garrison, Comrade Asanov, now appeared in the garden with two Red Army mounted men. With shouts that Asanov had come to shoot those present at the meeting, Social revolutionary agents rushed at him. Asanov was compelled to fire a few shots in the air. This somewhat cooled the tumultuous mob. The meeting broke up. Some of the workmen, instigated by the Social Revolutionists, went to the depot for arms. Alarming sounds were soon heard in the depot.

A group of the town workmen, numbering fifty, having armed themselves, came to the help of the revolutionary committee in the house of the "Revolutionary Proletariat" (now the Red Army House). In the railway quarter there were about 2,000 rifles, machine-guns, and several boxes of ammunition.

On the demand of the crowd which collected the magazine was opened, and the arms were quickly distributed. Firing began. In the evening the Social Revolutionaries made an attack upon the town, but there was no one to oppose them. The Red Guard were in their barracks. Then the traitors took to their usual method—provocation. Firing was directed upon the workmen. Assistant engine-driver Kirsanov was killed by their bullets, and several workmen were wounded.

Not content with their local forces, the Social Revolutionaries summoned their partisans from Kizil Arvat. On the same day two troop trains with two guns and a machine-gun left Kizil Arvat, under command of Social Revolu-

tionary Zugatov. Simultaneously with this movement a train left Krasnovodsk with workmen for the defence of the Soviets, and it picked up on the way the Bolsheviks of Jebel and Kazanjik.

The Kizil Arvat Bolsheviks also started with Comrade Dianov at their head. Their trains stopped at Bezmain. A demand upon the Social Revolutionaries to surrender their arms was telephoned to Ashkhabad.

The workmen of Kushk fortress sent an armoured train to the support of the revolutionary committee. This train was shunted on to a siding by the Mensheviks at Merv, and only the Kushk delegation succeeded in reaching Ashkhabad.

On the arrival of the trains and of the workmen's deputation, June 18, a stormy meeting was held at the railway station. A small number of the Bolsheviks of the revolutionary committee were present. The Bolshevik comrades Telluja, Molibojko and others succeeded in persuading the workmen to seek a solution of the situation by peaceful means. A commission was appointed to allay the conflict. On the insistence of the Social Revolutionaries the elections for the new Soviet had to be carried out by universal, direct and secret voting.

But the supreme Commissar Frolov, who had come in haste from Tashkent, changed the arrangements that had been made for the elections, and explained to the workmen the meaning of the Soviet authority and who ought to be in power. It was decided to form a Soviet of Communists, left wing Social Revolutionaries and sympathizers of these parties. Notwithstanding this, at the time of the elections a majority of right wing Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks were returned for the Soviet. They stood as sympathizers with the party of the left wing Social Revolutionaries. The counter-revolutionary party were not napping; they prepared for a decisive blow.

The activities of Commissar Frolov, who was not noted for patience and was given to misuse of spirituous liquors, afforded the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks a trump card in their provocative game, and hastened the events that were maturing. Misled by the outward quiet, Frolov judged that the situation in Ashkhabad was stable. He placed great reliance upon the Armenian militia as one of the most powerful units of the Red Guards.

Further developments compelled Frolov to go to Kizil Arvat with his corps. The counter-revolutionaries took advantage of this. On Frolov's departure Ashkhabad was left defenceless.

The Soviet only had a mere handful of Red Guards at their disposal. The Armenian militia on which Frolov relied went over to the Whites, a treacherous blow in the back of the Red Guards.

The Red Guards put up a stubborn resistance. After a three days' fight Ashkhabad fell into the hands of the Whites on July 14. The defenders of the Soviet régime were part killed and part taken prisoners.

Two trainloads of White Guards were sent to Kizil Arvat and annihilated Frolov's detachment, killing more than 170 Red Guards and workmen. On their way they wiped out a small detachment under Comrade Dimitriev, Commissar for Health, which had been posted at Bezmain to stop trains going to Kizil Arvat.

The White terror spread to other towns of the province. They took prisoners wholesale. All the most active Soviet workers were captured. Men were thrown into prison on the least suspicion of sympathy with the Soviet rule. Systematic police search was instituted by the Social Revolutionaries.

Executions began to be carried out. The first victims were those of the Commissars of the province who remained alive and were captured after street

fighting—namely, Comrades Telluja, Jitnikov, Botminov, Rozanov, Maliboshko, Petrosov; and the head workmen, Bolsheviks, arrested when passing through by rail—namely, Comrades Kolostov, Smedejni, and Khrenov.

Comrades Poltaratzki and Kalinichenko were shot at Merv. Workmen were shot at Kazanjik, Kizil Arvat, and other towns.

The wave of the White Guards, intoxicated with victory, rolled as far as Charjuj, but then suffered a decisive repulse and was hurled back.

The intoxication, too, quickly passed away. The workmen soon began to leave their traitor leaders. In order to maintain their position the Social Revolutionaries had to seek external aid. It was not long in coming.

In the middle of August, not long after the reverse, a force of Scottish troops [*sic*], Sepoys, and Artillery arrived. Funtikov's Government became obedient servants of the English. By their orders there took place on September 20 the most hideous massacre in history—they shot twenty-six Baku Commissars.*

In the end the English turned out the Social Revolutionary Government, thinking it necessary to replace it by a stronger rule. The English formed a committee of public safety from their adherents.

On the departure of the English troops in the spring of 1919, the province came under the orders of Denikin's Generals. Thus the Social Revolutionary party departed from their favourite watchword "for non-party Soviets" to the length of submitting to the rule of Czarist Generals. However, the days of the bloody administration of the White Guard régime were numbered. The heroic troops of the Red Army, with the aid of the workers far and wide, advanced westwards, step by step capturing towns and villages deluged with the blood of the workers who had succumbed to the tyranny of the Social Revolutionaries. The demoralized White troops retreated to the sea, and by February 6, 1920, the province was cleared of White Guard rule.

The liberated Transcaspian province presented the picture of a ruined country, plundered to the last thread by the White bandits.

Heroic efforts, great enthusiasm, and intense exertion of the creative strength of the proletariat and the labouring peasantry were needed to establish the authority of the Soviets, and to renew the ruined economic system.

Under the leadership of the Communist party, with the continuous untiring help of the S.S.S.R., the builders of Socialist Soviet Turkmenia have accomplished the task with honour.

EXHIBITION OF INDIAN ART.

A SPECIAL temporary exhibition of Indian art will be held in the Prints and Drawings Gallery of the British Museum this autumn. It will consist chiefly of miniatures of the Hindu and Mogul schools, including recent acquisitions and of some large coloured copies from the frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh; but other departments will contribute, and a choice of fine sculptures and of MSS. will be shown. The exhibition will open towards the middle of October.

* This accusation has no foundation of truth whatever. The facts of this much-discussed story are that when the Baku Commissars were arrested by the provisional Government in Askhabad, General Malleson, then in Meshed, hearing of their arrest, sent instructions that they should be handed over to him to be kept as hostages. Instead of complying, the Askhabad Government delivered them to an official of their own, who took them into the desert by train and there had them executed. The Bolsheviks built up the slander and repeat it whenever possible.

LONDON SCHOOL OF HYGIENE AND TROPICAL
MEDICINE*(University of London).*

THE next series of eight lectures and demonstrations on tropical hygiene, which are intended for men and women outside the medical profession proceeding to the Tropics, will be given by Lieut.-Colonel G. E. F. Stammers, O.B.E., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.H., from October 21 to 30 next.

These courses of instruction, in addition to providing simple rules for guidance in regard to preparation for life in the Tropics and personal hygiene, will also embrace a short account of some of the more common diseases, with advice in regard to measures of protection against such diseases, and some guidance in simple methods of self-treatment.

The synopsis and other particulars can be obtained from the Secretary, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Keppel Street, Gower Street, W.C. 1.

THE EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

THE Eighteenth Congress of Orientalists was held in Leyden in September. It is needless to dwell on the great value of these meetings when Orientalists from all parts of the world meet. The papers reached a very high level, and included not only those of interest to pundits, but others of more general interest, and such modern subjects as "Modern Arabic Literature" were not excluded. The arrangements were excellent, and the committee are to be congratulated on the great success of the week.

"INFORMATIONS MUSULMANES."

WE welcome the appearance of *Informations Musulmanes*, which, as its title shows, devotes itself "to giving clear and accurate information to those who are interested in Moslem questions." The editors, who include a well-known Russian official, whose career lay entirely in Persia and Central Asia, write: "The Orient as a whole, and particularly the Moslem part of it, is called upon to play one of the most important rôles in this crisis, as a prime factor in international politics. The wealth of these Moslem countries, the character of their populations, their species of mentality, make them deserving of a profound study."

The first number, which includes a detailed list of the distribution of Moslems, who are computed to reach the important total of 250 millions, is in English. The second number is in French, and gives full summaries of each Moslem country in alphabetical order, quoting the sources in most cases, and showing an intimate knowledge of the countries, which is none too common in such publications.

To conclude, I would recommend students of the Moslem world to read *Informations Musulmanes*, which will also be invaluable for reference.

P. M. SYKES.

THE IRAQ TREATY, 1930.

By S. G. VESEY-FITZGERALD.

(Read before the Grotius Society on April 23, 1931, and reprinted by kind permission of the Society.)

ON June 30, 1930, a treaty was signed between plenipotentiaries for the King-Emperor and the King of Iraq. This treaty, as we are informed by a note on its title-page,* has not been ratified by His Majesty. But, following on the signature of the treaty, congratulatory telegrams were exchanged between King George and King Faisal which will certainly be interpreted in the East as tantamount to ratification, and the treaty is widely regarded as being in force. It is remarkable for three things: (a) Its doctrinaire insistence on the unfettered sovereignty of Iraq; (b) its silence on the protection of minorities; and (c) its silence on the justiciability of foreigners by the Iraqi Courts. Islam is the legally established religion of Iraq; and the two latter questions, so far at least as they concern non-Moslems, are, in terms of Muhammadan law, the questions of the position of *dhimmis* and *mustamins*. It is not proposed in this paper to deal with the theory of sovereignty nor with the position of foreigners, except so far as they shed light on the principal question, the protection of minorities; nor shall we concern ourselves with the Moslem minorities beyond noting that their position in Iraq gives rise to very grave anxiety in the minds of observers who certainly cannot be accused of any lack of sympathy with the Arab ideals.†

The non-Moslem minorities of Iraq consist of a small but wealthy, influential, and ancient Jewish community seated principally in Baghdad, and the Christian communities, numbering some 270,000 souls, of the northern frontier of the Mosul province, with whom for political purposes we may include their neighbours, the Sabæans, and the Yezidis or devil worshippers. The Jews have always shown an ample capacity to look after themselves under Moslem rule. The real questions are, therefore, whether protection is desirable or feasible for the Christians, and what are the respective responsibilities of Great Britain and of the League of Nations in the matter. Let us remark in passing that these Christians are in close proximity to the Kurds, who, though themselves a minority with grievances against the Arab Government, have in the past been a ready instrument of Turkish "frightfulness."

* Cmd. 3627 of 1930.

† See particularly letter from Sir Arnold Wilson headed "Peace in Iraq—the Protection of Minorities," in *The Times*, May 22, 1931; see also Bertram Thomas, "Alarms and Excursions," *passim*. The Moslem population is divided between nomad, agriculturist, and townsman; Hanafi, Shaffi, and Shia; Arab, Persian, Kurd, and a few Turks. And, except so far as the terms Shaffi and Kurd are locally almost interchangeable, no one of these methods of division agrees with any other. Much of Sir A. Wilson's letter applies with even greater force to the non-Moslem minorities. This letter and Sir A. Wilson's book "Mesopotamia, 1917-1920," both published since this essay was read to the Society, show that very great authority may be cited in support of some, at least, of its conclusions. That the Government would be outnumbered if all the minorities were to unite is immaterial, since they are most unlikely to do so.

I

First, the question of sovereignty. The preamble of the treaty speaks of the relations between their two Majesties as being already those of "independent sovereigns," and of a treaty between them on terms of "complete freedom, equality and independence." These phrases may raise a smile on the face of the modern political theorist who is apt to regard sovereignty as an outworn dogma; but they are the culmination of a real diplomatic victory for the astute politicians of Baghdad who have always shown themselves adepts at reaping the fullest possible advantage from the British connection at the same time that they have held themselves free to agitate against that connection. Such phrases contain in themselves the seeds of future trouble. They are out of place in describing the relations between Iraq and the British Empire, not because of any disparity in size and power, but because Iraq is an artificial creation of British policy which but for the continued support of Great Britain would fall to pieces tomorrow. It is the not altogether appropriate bottle into which, after failures in Syria and the Hajjaz, we have decanted the wine of that particular brand of Arab nationalism known as Shareefian. Unfortunately, there were other spirits in the bottle already, some of them fiery; and there are thirsty neighbours looking on. Can we continue to be responsible for the existence of Iraq—for that is what the proposed offensive and defensive alliance really means—and be indifferent to the justice of its internal administration?

I have heard an eminent international lawyer assert that this treaty sets up a virtual protectorate over Iraq: by which, I suppose, he meant to answer in the negative the question which I have just asked. There is much to be said for this view. No Iraqi Government could afford to ignore our advice and run the risk of our denouncing the alliance. But, if such is the intention, then, although the terms of the treaty may be a pleasing tribute to Arab vanity, it violates the first and most vital rule in all dealings with Oriental peoples (and, one would have thought, in all honest diplomacy and legal draftsmanship whatever)—namely, never to kindle false hopes or to leave the other side in a moment's doubt as to your real intentions.

But the official defence of the treaty does not run on these lines. It appears to be the contention of His Majesty's Government (or, at least, of its defenders), first, that the treaty only comes into force on the admission of Iraq to the League of Nations; secondly, that on that event we shall have ceased to be in any way responsible to the League of Nations; thirdly, that in a treaty between two independent States all restrictions on internal sovereignty, such as are implied, for instance, in safeguards for minorities, would be out of place.

We shall cease to be responsible to the *League of Nations*. But shall we cease to be responsible to our own consciences? If we do not take our responsibility more seriously than this, we may be perfectly certain that the League will not, and indeed cannot, do so. As for the contention that the treaty does not come into force till Iraq is admitted to the League, we are pledged by the preamble of the treaty "without qualification or proviso" to do our utmost to secure her admission. *Quod faciendum est, pro jam facto habetur*. It does not lie in our mouths to move the League to insert the safeguards on which we have failed to insist. The words "without qualification or proviso" refer grammatically to the information communicated to the Iraqi Government, but they will be taken to mean (and it is obviously intended that they should be so taken) that the British Government will raise no quali-

fication or proviso to the admission of Iraq to the League. If provisos are attached to that admission or if it is delayed, we shall be accused by our enemies in Iraq of breach of faith. If we really support the admission of Iraq to the League, is it likely that any other member of the League will oppose us? Why should they? And, indeed, how can they? The utmost to be expected is that some of them, and perhaps also the U.S.A., may be perturbed about the justiciability of their citizens by Iraqi courts and may press for extraterritorial privileges by the revival of the Capitulations which have, it is understood, been suspended, not abrogated, during the period of British control. And one can only hope that anxiety for their own nationals may indirectly benefit the Christian minorities.

Nor can the third contention of the defenders of the treaty be regarded as better founded. There are numerous precedents for the inclusion in treaties of conditions derogating from internal sovereignty, particularly where, as in the present instance, sovereignty is in effect being transferred from one Government to another. An apposite instance from our own history is the Treaty of Paris, 1763, with its provisions protecting the laws, privileges, and religious liberty of the French Canadians. We are handing over the Assyrian Christians to a Moslem Government, just as France handed over her Roman Catholic colonists to us. Is there anything derogatory to the dignity of the recipient of our bounty if we ask him to furnish guarantees such as we ourselves with a far stronger claim as conquerors were ready to furnish?

The parallel with Canada may seem at first sight far-fetched, but it is not so. Not only did we create Iraq; we are directly responsible for subordinating the Christians to its Government. The report of the League of Nations Commission, 1925, shows that the grant of the Mosul *vilayat* to Iraq rather than to Turkey was inseparably bound up with a recommendation that the mandatory régime should continue in force for about twenty-five years. Had the question been merely between Turkish and Iraqi allegiance without the deciding factor of British control, Turkey rather than Iraq would apparently have been the choice. With true Ottoman finesse, the diplomatists of Baghdad had previously got rid of the word "mandate" in the official description of the relations between Iraq, Great Britain, and the League.* There is no mandate for Iraq. If we withdraw British control, we are in effect handing over these people to a Government quite different from that of their choice; and the fact that we have already to a great extent deserted our obligations does not make the breach of faith any smaller. Moreover, as regards one of these smaller Christian communities, the Assyrians, the case is even stronger. General Laidoner reported to the League in favour of the inclusion of the Assyrian Highlands, their home, with the rest of the Mosul *vilayat*, in Iraq. That his recommendation was not accepted was due merely to successful violence on the part of Turkey. Correctly gauging the impotence of international control, the Turks drove the Assyrians out by force, even while the Laidoner Commission was sitting, and presented the League with an accomplished fact. The treatment of the Assyrians was that of the Armenians on previous occasions. The spirit of Abul Hamid is not yet completely exorcised from his successors: and, as in the time of Abdul Hamid so now, the Turks would not have dared to act as they did had they been confronted with a

* The effect of this is to make it appear as if the sovereignty of the Iraqi State had always been unfettered. Thus the "fundamental law" proceeds from no authority but the Iraq Parliament, which might repeal it without any outside body having a legal say.

single first-class Power. For the homelessness of the Assyrians, for the fact that they are cast upon Iraq as refugees, we in particular and the League in general are responsible, a responsibility we have so far shirked. It is up to us to do something about it, even as was done for the Greek refugees. Let us assume, as has been suggested in the defence put forward for the treaty, that the Minorities Protection Committee have grossly overstated their case; that their "highly-coloured and alarmist reports" are "for the most part utterly devoid of foundation and in other instances so distorted and exaggerated as to be entirely misleading." Let us assume that the present insecurity of life and property in Northern Mosul is no worse than is to be expected in a newly demarcated borderland. This may be an answer to the Committee, but it is no answer to the facts of the case. To denounce the Iraq Treaty now might perhaps be a breach of faith with our allies the Shareefian nationalists: but to have signed the treaty at all, or to observe it, was, and is, a breach of faith both with the League of Nations and with our equally loyal allies, the Assyrian Christians.

II

"What need have we," some will say, "for protection of minorities?" Is Islam a great bully who must be kept in order or a genial protector from whom peaceful subjects can have nothing to fear? Those members who recollect Syed Ameer Ali's address to this Society in 1919 and have received the recent publications of the Iraq Minorities Rescue Committee may find some difficulty in reconciling the two views. Yet there is substance in both views.

Islam has in the past a proud record of toleration, a record which, though disfigured with blots, compares favourably with that of any European nation. Toleration, moreover, is founded upon divine ordinance in the Quran; and it might well seem that special safeguards are superfluous. Unfortunately, however, this very fact stands in the way of justice; for the corollary of toleration is subjection.* The relation between Moslem and non-Moslem which the Caliph Omar created and Muhammadan lawyers expound, is one of shepherd and sheep, not primarily in the sense which the Gospels have taught us to attach to that allegory, but in the commercial sense of one who pastures and protects his sheep as a good investment for his own benefit. Tributaries should be maintained, as Ali is reported to have advised Omar, for the common benefit of Moslems.† Moreover, though it is true that Moslem Courts will normally endeavour to do justice evenly between Moslem and non-Moslem, they do so subject to the handicap that the Moslem is regarded as *ipso facto* more reliable than the non-Moslem, and consequently neither the latter's evidence nor his oath can be accepted in opposition to the Moslem.‡ "A judge," says the Minhaj,§ "should treat the parties who appear before him in an impartial manner. . . . But where one of the parties is a Moslem and the other an infidel subject, he is permitted to show more respect to the former than to the latter." Again, the description of the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb as an intolerant bigot is unfair, as the names of Hindu princes in high military command under him testify. But he did believe in the dominance of Islam as a privileged community, and he took steps to enforce it.

* "Kitab-al-Kharaj of Abu Yusuf," Fagnan's trans., pp. 59 and 61.

† *Ibid.*, p. 57.

‡ This is no longer the law of the Nizamia, or secular Courts, but it is the sacred law and is revered as such.

§ Howard's trans., p. 506. This is, of course, a Shafii authority.

This is the Muhammadan spirit of toleration, excellent by the standards of the Middle Ages or even of the eighteenth century, but somewhat old-fashioned at the present day.* It is true that, in the course of the gallant attempt to reform Turkey from within which began in 1839 and lasted till the accession of Abdul Hamid, these invidious distinctions of evidence were abolished, at any rate for the secular Courts which were then created; and the equality of all subjects before the law was proclaimed. But he would be a bold man who should reckon on the old spirit of domination being extinct, particularly in such out-of-the-way places as the Mosul *vilayat*.

And even for the toleration enjoined by the law there is no efficient safeguard. It has always been the weakness of Islam that its governors and its lawyers have been two separate classes.† So, though a great man like the Mufti al Jamali might stand undaunted even before Selim the Grim in defence of his non-Moslem subjects, yet when a strong ruler such as Abdul Hamid has chosen to defy the law there has normally been no means of bringing him to book, while in the time of a weak ruler, such as, for instance, the *fainfant* sultans who preceded Selim III., there has been no check on the irreligious oppression of a multitude of petty local tyrants—captains of janissaries or lords of the valleys or grasping pashas. King Faisal is an honourable and chivalrous man; so also were Sultans Abdul Majid and Abdul Aziz. The Baghdad intelligentsia is believed to include men who genuinely believe in freedom and progress and all the most liberal ideals of the West; so also did the Committee of Union and Progress, and so also does the Government of Mustapha Kamal Pasha Ghazi. Yet Abdul Aziz was succeeded by Abdul Hamid, who massacred and maltreated his Bulgarian and Armenian subjects, and the same policy was carried on by both the Republican Governments which succeeded him. Are we sure that history may not take the same course in Mosul? or (what is perhaps more likely) that the minorities will not be neglected in order that the revenues may be spent in Baghdad? Is there any reason to suppose that the Iraqi, left to his own devices, is going to be any better than the Turk, from whom, rather than from ourselves, he learned such statecraft as he possesses?

At the end of the eighteenth century "it is only fair to remember that the tolerance of the Turks set an example to Europe which was sorely needed." The Christian was allowed a "greater measure of liberty than that enjoyed by dissidents in any other country in Europe. Catholics in Ireland and Protestants in Austria might envy him his privileges. He was free to exercise his religion, to educate himself as he pleased, to accumulate wealth; however humble his origin, in a system which accounted nothing of birth, he could hold high office in the Government";‡ and in 1829 Russian officers fighting on behalf of the subject peoples of Turkey noted that the economic position of these peoples was better than that of the Russian peasantry, or (we may add) than that of the peasantry in many other parts of Europe. How does it come about that the very century which saw the last of their legal disabilities removed by the gallant efforts of the reforming party saw also such a marked

* See also "The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects" and article in *J.R.A.S.*, 1931, p. 311, both by A. S. Tritton.

† So, by one of the *ex post facto* hadiths, the Prophet is reported to have said that the happiness of his people depended on two classes—the *omrah* (rulers) and the *muqaha* (prudentes).

‡ Camb. Mod. Hist., x. 170, 172; Lipson, "Europe in the Nineteenth Century," p. 185.

falling off in their real security? The answer can be given very shortly: the spirit of nationalism. Moslem did not persecute non-Moslem. Turkish rulers, frightened by national strivings for independence, strove to coerce or, failing that, to exterminate the infant nationalities which they foresaw would slip from their grasp and, they feared, bring down their power. Except in the case of the Armenians, atrocities were by no means all on one side. But nationalism on one side called forth an answering and vindictive nationalism on the other. It is too late in the day to lament this; and in any case we believe that, for all its evils, the nationalist spirit is on the whole a good thing. But, in view of the history of the last sixty years, can we regard with equanimity the establishment of the youngest (which is at the same time the oldest)* of Moslem nationalities, the Arab, in a position to dominate other races and peoples? We admire the historic chivalry of Islam, and count many friends among both old-fashioned and modernist Moslems at the present day, but we must add to all the above a further note of warning. Among the Westernizing influences in Islam are to be reckoned not only admirers of Nansen and Gilbert Murray, but also admirers of Nietzsche and the doctrine of the ruthless superman.

III

But there is yet another lesson to be learned from the Turkish history of the nineteenth century—namely, the futility of ill-advised expressions of sympathy and the utter futility of divided international councils. Probably few students of European history, of whatever political complexion, look back upon either the Treaty of Paris, 1856, or that of Berlin, 1880, with anything but feelings of shame. The wording of these treaties was widely different; their effect was the same, as the Bulgarians understood in 1875 and the Armenians in 1898, 1910, and 1913. The Treaty of Berlin contained paper safeguards for minorities which, it is admitted, were much worse than useless; they merely excited the suspicious Abdul Hamid to the more active persecution of those whom he regarded as the friends of his enemies. But to those who warn us of the futility of intervention, we reply that the real futility lies in leaving to the polite phraseology of an international body duties which we ought to discharge for ourselves. With its admission of Turkey to participate in the public law of Europe, with its express repudiation of the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey, with its unequivocal guarantee of independence and territorial integrity, the Treaty of Paris, 1856, is the obvious ancestor of the present treaty. It is not an ancestor to be proud of.

What then can we do? To interfere is futile, not to interfere is equally so. But admission to the League of Nations is no more the vital issue today than was admission to the public law of Europe in 1856. The real question is not of interference with an existing state of affairs, but of an originating grant, and it lies between Great Britain and Iraq. Even for those who derive their political philosophy from Rousseau, it is not merely a question of the Arab's right to govern himself, but of his capacity to govern others. We are, in effect, making a present of the sovereignty which, though we have shrunk from saying so, is a duty imposed upon us by the accident of conquest. Let

* Islam, as already noticed, is supranational. But the word in the Quran commonly translated nation, *ummat*, is used ambiguously of Islam as a whole or of the Arab race. The Arab is accordingly apt to suppose that the pre-eminence which the Book of God accords to the Faithful is doubly his own by divine command and right of birth.

this misconceived treaty be revised; and let the Iraqi be told quite plainly that we will recognize and protect his independence only when he puts his minorities in a position to fend for themselves without outside interference. In our homely English proverb, he must "do as he would be done by." Let the League of Nations, if it need be dragged into the matter at all, be called upon to arrange a loan for the proper settlement of the Assyrian refugees, even as it has so successfully done in the case of the Greek refugees; let the settlement be carried out (this is vital) under British supervision; but if, as is understood, the French are willing to settle large numbers of these people in Syria, by all means let them do so. For what should follow, there are fortunately excellent precedents such as even an Arab may listen to without loss of prestige. Muhammad the Conqueror, at the zenith of his power after the fall of Constantinople, translated the tolerance of Islam towards its subjects into the *millat* system, by which those subjects were given large powers of self-government. The *millats* were not territorial; that was impossible, if only because their members were too widely scattered. But the Turkish Government did recognize territorial self-government of subject races in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Chios; and we ourselves, in addition to the Canadian precedent, have recently created a local government for a minority which has a compact territory in North-East Ulster. Let Northern Mosul be created a territorial *millat*,* a State within a State, with its own rights of defence, justice, education, and so forth, and its own revenues, subject to definite duties to the central authority. Such an autonomous community would be a source of strength to Iraq just where strength is most needed, and where any other solution of the problem would be a source of weakness—viz., on the Turkish frontier. And if this led other minorities—the Kurds, for example—to demand similar treatment, then one may remind the Arabs of the Eastern fable, familiar to them, of the dying peasant who invited his sons to break a bundle of sticks. A federation of self-interest is much stronger than a purely centralized Government of discordant minorities.

* Since this paper was read, the signature of the Iraq Oil Convention has added a new and hopeful element to the situation; for it has given a big international business corporation a direct interest in seeing that a potential source of recruitment of its labour force is kept contented. A considerable part of the revenue of the proposed Northern Mosul sub-State might well come from the annual rental paid by the Corporation.

On July 24, when the paper was already in print, a debate on the treaty took place in the House of Commons, a debate chiefly remarkable for the difficulty which even widely-travelled Englishmen have in appreciating how great is the step from toleration to equality not merely of legal status, but of opportunity and treatment. The distinction is vital in all cases where some deep line of cleavage—as, e.g., religion—renders the fusion of majority and minority remote.



THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 77, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1980.

		EXPENDITURE.		RECEIPTS.	
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Office Expenses:		296	3 4	By Subscriptions :	1,301 Subscriptions
Salaries ..	...	...	...	" "	Less : Estimated value of outstanding sub-
Rent ..	...	...	...	" "	scriptions at January 1, 1930 ..
Telephone ..	...	...	...	" "	1,285 5 0
Stationery ..	...	...	...	" Diner Club :	
Printing ..	...	...	...	Contribution to expenses	25 0 0
Postage ..	...	...	...	" Annual Dinner ..	169 0 0
Office cleaning, etc.	...	...	...	" Journal :	
Insurance ..	...	...	...	Subscriptions	33 18 0
Audit Fee ..	...	...	...	Sales ..	10 18 1
Bank charges	...	...	...	" Interest Received :	5 0 0
Gas ..	...	...	...	War Loan interest	8 3 7
Sundries ..	...	...	...	Abbey Road Building Society	3 7 2
		617	4	Bank deposit	16 10 9
		687	7 6	" Excess of Expenditure over Income	98 12 5
" Journal :		509	19 5		
Printing ..	...	...	...
Postage ..	...	...	...
Maps (Books)	...	...	...
Reporting, etc.	...	...	...
		33	1 11		
		609	4 4		
" Lectures :		39	5 0		
Lecture Halls	...	...	...
Lecture Fees and Council	...	...	...
Lecture expenses	...	...	...
Lantern ..	...	...	...
Lantern slides	...	...	...
Maps ..	...	...	...
		186	18 11		
Annual Dinner	...	...	...
Library	...	...	...
Income Tax Schedule "D"	...	...	...
		187	8 9		
		10	13 9		
		7	16 0		
		£1,639	4 3		

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 77, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

BALANCE SHEET AT DECEMBER 31, 1930.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>To</i> Sundry Creditors:									
Members' Subscriptions received in advance	...	56	2	0			...	88	1
Journal Subscriptions received in advance	...	1	12	6			...	11	13
Sales of Tickets for Persian Luncheon	...	24	3	6			...	...	...
Office Expenses	...	66	16	3			...	...	...
Lecture Expenses	...	22	19	6			...	...	...
Dinner Club	...	4	17	7			...	...	...
Income Tax Schedule "D," 1930-1931	...	3	0	0			...	...	...
					179	11			
					118	15			
					425	9			
<i>Life Subscription Fund as at January 1, 1930</i>	...						...	...	...
<i>Persian Fund represented by Investments contra</i>	...						...	...	...
<i>Income and Expenditure Account:</i>							...	...	...
Balance as at January 1, 1930	...	318	4	6			...	...	...
Less: Excess of Expenditure over Income during the year	...	98	12	5			...	...	...
					214	12			
							£938	8	3
<i>By Cash:</i>									
At Bank	...						...	...	...
In Hand	...						...	...	...
<i>Investments:</i>							...	...	...
War Savings Certificates (Nominal)	...						...	...	...
War Loan (held against Life Subscription Fund)	100	0	0				...	...	...
						
<i>Investment of Persian Fund:</i>							...	...	...
£467 8s. 3d. 34 per cent. Conversion Loan value at December 31, 1930	...						...	...	...
£56 National Savings Certificates	...						...	...	...
						
<i>Special Expenditure to be met from Persian Fund</i>							...	...	...
<i>Club Premises Account:</i>							...	...	...
Balance as at January 1, 1930	...	134	0	0			...	...	...
Additions	...						...	...	...
						
							147	11	0
							£938	8	3

We have audited the above Balance Sheet and the accompanying Income and Expenditure Account, and we certify that they are correct to the best of our knowledge and belief.

HOPE, AGAR AND CO.

Chartered Accountants.

PINNERS HALL, AUSTIN FRIARS,
LONDON, E.C. 2.

June 18, 1931.